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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY M. A. THIERS,
LATE PRIME MINISTER OF FRANCE.

TRANSLATED,
WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES,
BY
FREDERICK SHOBERL.

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WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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THE LATEST METHOD



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HISTORY

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OF THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONCENTRATION OF ALL THE POWERS IN THE HANDS OF THE COMMITTEE—ABOLITION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, OF THE MINISTERS, OF THE SECTIONARY SOCIETIES, ETC.—RELIGIOUS SYSTEM OF THE COMMITTEE—ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SUPREME BEING.

THE government had just sacrificed two parties at once. The first, that of the ultra-revolutionists, was really formidable, or likely to become so; with the second, that of the new moderates, this was not the case. Its destruction, therefore, was not necessary, though it might prove serviceable, in order to remove all appearance of moderation. The committee struck it without conviction, from hypocrisy and envy. This latter was a difficult blow to strike. The whole committee hesitated, and Robespierre withdrew to his home as on a day of danger. But St. Just, supported by his courage and his jealous hatred, remained firm at his post, cheered Herman and Fouquier, affrighted the Convention, wrung from it the decree of death, and caused the sacrifice to be consummated. The last effort that any authority has to make in order to become absolute is always the most difficult; it is obliged to exert all its strength to overcome the last resistance; but, this resistance vanquished, everything gives way, everything falls prostrate before it; it has now but to reign without obstacle. Then it is that it runs riot, expends its strength, and ruins itself. While all mouths are closed, while submission is in every face, hatred conceals itself in the heart, and the act of accusation of the conquerors is prepared amidst their triumph.

The committee of public welfare, having successfully sacrificed the two descriptions of persons so different from each other who had presumed to oppose, or merely to find fault with, its power, had become irresistible. The winter was past. The campaign of 1794 (Germinal, year 2) was about to open with the spring. Formidable armies were to guard all the frontiers, and to cause that terrible power to be felt abroad which was so cruelly felt

at home. Whoever had made a show of resistance, or of feeling any sympathy with those who had been put to death, had no alternative but to hasten to offer their submission. Legendre, who had made an effort, on the day that Danton, Lacroix, and Camille-Desmoulins were arrested, and who had endeavoured to influence the Convention in their favour—Legendre deemed it right to lose no time in atoning for his imprudence, and in clearing himself from his friendship for the late victims. He had received several anonymous letters, the writers of which exhorted him to strike the tyrants, who, they said, had just thrown off the mask. Legendre repaired to the Jacobins on the 21st of Germinal (April 10), denounced the anonymous letters sent to him, and complained that the people took him for a Seid, into whose hands they could put a dagger. "Well, then," said he, "since I am forced to it, I declare to the people who have always heard me speak with sincerity, that I now consider it as proved, that the conspiracy, the leaders of which are no more, really existed, and that I was the puppet of the traitors. I have found proofs of this in various papers deposited with the committee of public welfare, especially in the criminal conduct of the accused before the national justice, and in the machinations of their accomplices, who wish to arm an honest man with the dagger of the murderer. Before the discovery of the plot, I was the intimate friend of Danton. I would have answered with my life for his principles and his conduct. But now I am convinced of his guilt. I am persuaded that he wished to plunge the people into a profound error. Perhaps I should have fallen into it myself, had I not been timely enlightened. I declare to the anonymous scribblers who want to persuade me to stab Robespierre, and to make me the instrument of their machinations, that I was born in the bosom of the people, that I glory in remaining there, and that I will die rather than abandon its rights. They shall not write me a single letter that I will not carry to the committee of public welfare."

The submission of Legendre was soon generally imitated. Addresses, pouring in from all parts of France, congratulated the Convention and the committee of public welfare on their energy. The number of these addresses, in every kind of style, and under the most burlesque forms, is incalculable. Each eagerly signified adlierence to the acts of the government, and acknowledged their justice. Rhodéz sent the following address: "Worthy representatives of a free people, it is then in vain that the sons of the Titans have lifted their proud heads; the thunderbolt has overthrown them all! What, citizens! sell its liberty for base lucre! The constitution which you have given us has shaken all thrones, struck terror into all kings. Liberty advancing with giant step, despotism crushed, superstition annihilated, the republic recovering its unity, the conspirators unveiled and punished, unfaithful representatives, base and perfidious public functionaries, falling under the axe of the law, the fetters of the slaves in the New World broken—such are your trophies! If intriguers still exist, let them tremble! let the death of the conspirators attest your triumph! As for you, representatives, live happy in the wise laws which you have made for the welfare of all nations, and receive the tribute of our love."*

It was not from horror of sanguinary means that the committee had struck the ultra-revolutionists, but with a view to strengthen the hands of authority, and to remove the obstacles that impeded its action. Accordingly, it was afterwards seen constantly tending to a twofold aim: to render itself more

* Sitting of the 26th Germinal. *Moniteur*, No. 208, of the year 2, (April, 1794.)

and more formidable, and to concentrate power always in its own hands. Collot, who had become the spokesman of the government at the Jacobins, explained in the most energetic manner the policy of the committee. In a violent speech, in which he indicated to all the authorities the new track which they ought to pursue, and the zeal which they ought to display in their functions, he said, "The tyrants have lost their strength; their armies tremble before ours; several of the despots are already seeking to withdraw from the coalition. In this state, they have but one hope left, that of internal conspiracies. We must not cease, therefore, to keep a vigilant eye on the traitors. Like our victorious brethren on the frontiers, let us all present arms and fire all at once. While our external enemies fall beneath the strokes of our soldiers, let the internal enemies fall beneath the strokes of the people. Our cause, defended by justice and energy, shall be triumphant. Nature is this year bountiful to the republicans. She promises them a double harvest. The bursting buds proclaim the fall of the tyrants. I repeat to you, citizens, let us watch at home, while our warriors are fighting without; let the functionaries charged with the public concerns redouble their attention and zeal; let them thoroughly impress themselves with this idea, that there is perhaps not a street, not a crossing, where there is not a traitor meditating a last plot. Let this traitor find death, ay, and the speediest of death. If the administrators, if the public functionaries wish to find a place in history, this is the favourable moment to think of doing so. The revolutionary tribunal has already secured for itself a distinguished place there. Let all the administrations imitate its zeal and inexorable energy; let the revolutionary committees, in particular, redouble their vigilance and their activity; and let them firmly withstand the importunities with which they are beset, and which would hurry them into an indulgence pernicious to liberty."

St. Just presented to the Convention a formidable report on the general police of the republic. He therein repeated the fabulous history of all the conspiracies; he exhibited them as the rising of all the vices against the austere system of the republic; he said that the government, instead of relaxing, ought to strike without ceasing, until it should have sacrificed all the wretches whose corruption was an obstacle to the establishment of virtue. He pronounced the customary eulogy on severity, and sought in the usual way, at that time, by figures, of all kinds, to prove that the origin of the great institutions must be terrible. "What," said he, "would have become of an indulgent republic? We have opposed sword with sword, and the republic is founded. It has issued from the bosom of storms. It has this origin in common with the world arising out of chaos, and man weeping at the moment of his birth." In consequence of these maxims, St. Just proposed a general measure against the ex-nobles. It was the first of the kind that was enacted. In the preceding year, Danton had, in a moment of irritation, caused all the aristocrats to be outlawed. This measure, impracticable on account of its extent, had been changed into another, which condemned all suspected persons to provisional detention. But no direct law against the ex-nobles had yet been passed. St. Just held them forth as irreconcilable enemies of the revolution. "Do what you will," said he, "you will never be able to satisfy the enemies of the people, unless you re-establish tyranny. Let them go elsewhere in search of slavery and kings. They cannot make peace with you; you do not speak the same language; you do not understand one another. Drive them out, then! The world is not inhospitable, and with us the public welfare is the supreme law." St.

Just proposed a decree banishing all the ex-nobles, all foreigners, from Paris, from the fortresses, and from the seaports, and declaring all those outlawed who should not have obeyed the decree within the space of ten days. Other clauses of this *projet* made it the duty of all the authorities to redouble their zeal and activity. The Convention applauded this proposition, as it always did, and voted it by acclamation. Collot-d'Herbois, the reporter of the decree to the Jacobins, added his own tropes to those of St. Just. "We must," said he, "make the body politic throw out the foul sweat of aristocracy. The more copiously it perspires the more healthy it will be."

We have seen what the committee did to manifest the energy of its policy. We have now to show the course which it pursued for the still greater concentration of power. In the first place, it ordered the disbanding of the revolutionary army. That army, a contrivance of Danton, had at first been serviceable for carrying into execution the will of the Convention, when relics of federalism still existed; but, as it had become the rallying-point of all the agitators and all the adventurers, as it had served for a point of support to the late demagogues, it was necessary to disperse it. Besides, the government, being implicitly obeyed,* had no need of these satellites to enforce the execution of its orders. In consequence, a decree was passed for disbanding it. The committee then proposed the abolition of the different ministries. Ministers were powers still possessing too much importance beside members of the committee of public welfare. Either they left everything to be done by the committee, and in this case they were useless; or they insisted on acting themselves, and then they were important competitors. The example of Bouchotte, who, directed by Vincent, had caused the committee so much embarrassment, was pregnant with instruction. The ministries were in consequence abolished, and in their stead the twelve following commissions were instituted;

1. Commission of civil administration, police, and the tribunals.
2. Commission of public instruction.
3. Commission of agriculture and the arts.
4. Commission of commerce and articles of consumption.
5. Commission of public works.
6. Commission of public succours.
7. Commission of conveyance, posts, and public vehicles.
8. Commission of finances.
9. Commission of organization and superintendence of the land forces.
10. Commission of the navy and the colonies.
11. Commission of arms, gunpowder, and mines.
12. Commission of foreign relations.

These commissions, dependent on the committee of public welfare, were neither more nor less than twelve offices, among which the business of the administration was divided. Herman, who was president of the revolutionary tribunal at the time of Danton's trial, was rewarded for his zeal by the appointment of chief of one of these commissions. To him was given the most important of them, that of civil administration, police, and tribunals.

* "One only power now remained—alone, terrible, irresistible. This was the power of DEATH, wielded by a faction steeled against every feeling of humanity, dead to every principle of justice. In their iron hands order resumed its sway from the influence of terror; obedience became universal from the extinction of hope. Silent and unresisted, they led their victims to the scaffold, dreaded alike by the soldiers, who crouched, the people, who trembled, and the victims, who suffered. The history of the world has no parallel to the horrors of that long night of suffering!"—*Alison*. E.

Other measures were adopted to effect more completely the centralization of power. According to the institution of the revolutionary committees, there was to be one for each commune or section of a commune. The rural communes being very numerous and inconsiderable, the number of committees was too great, and their functions were almost null. There was, moreover, a great inconvenience in their composition. The peasants being very revolutionary but generally illiterate, the municipal functions had devolved upon proprietors who had retired to their estates, and were not at all disposed to exercise power in the spirit of the government. In consequence, a vigilant eye was not kept upon the country, and especially upon the mansions. To remedy this inconvenience, the revolutionary committees were abolished and reduced to district committees. By these means the police, in becoming more concentrated, became also more active, and passed into the hands of the tradesmen of districts, who were almost all stanch Jacobins, and very jealous of the old nobility.

The Jacobins were the principal society, and the only one avowed by the government. It had invariably adopted the principles and the interests of the latter, and, like it, spoken out against the Hebertists and Dantonists. The committee of public welfare was desirous that it should absorb in itself almost all the others, and concentrate all the power of opinion, as it had concentrated in itself all the power of the government. This wish was extremely flattering to the ambition of the Jacobins, and they made the greatest efforts for its accomplishment. Since the meetings of the sections had been reduced to two a week, in order that the people might be able to attend them, and to secure the triumph of revolutionary motions, the sections had formed themselves into popular societies, and a great number of such societies had been established in Paris. There were two or three of them in each section. We have already mentioned the complaints preferred against them. It was said that the aristocrats, that is, the commercial clerks and the lawyers' clerks, dissatisfied with the requisition, the old servants of the nobility, all those, in short, who had any motive for resisting the revolutionary system, met at these societies, and there showed the opposition which they durst not manifest at the Jacobins or in the sections. The number of these secondary societies prevented any superintendence of them, and opinions which would not have dared to show themselves anywhere else, were sometimes expressed there. It had already been proposed to abolish them. The Jacobins had not a right to do so, neither could the government have taken such a step, without appearing to infringe the freedom of meeting and deliberating together, a freedom so highly prized at that time, and which, it was held, ought to be unlimited. On the motion of Collot, the Jacobins decided that they would not receive any more deputations from societies formed in Paris since the 10th of August, and that the correspondence with them should be discontinued. As to those which had been formed in Paris before the 10th of August, and which enjoyed the privilege of correspondence, it was decided that a report should be made upon each, to inquire whether they ought to retain that privilege. This measure particularly concerned the Cordeliers, already struck in their leaders, Ronsin, Vincent, and Hebert, and considered as suspected. Thus all the sectionary societies were condemned by this declaration; and the Cordeliers were to undergo the ordeal of a report.

It was not long before this measure produced the intended effect. All the sectionary societies, forewarned or intimidated, came one after another to the Convention and to the Jacobins, to declare their voluntary dissolution. All

congratulated alike the Convention and Jacobins, and declared that, formed for the public benefit, they voluntarily dissolved themselves, since their meetings had been deemed prejudicial to the cause which they meant to serve. From that time there were left in Paris only the parent society of the Jacobins, and in the provinces the affiliated societies. That of the Cordeliers, indeed, still subsisted beside its rival. Instituted formerly by Danton, ungrateful towards its founder, and since wholly devoted to Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, it had given a momentary uneasiness to the government, and vied with the Jacobins. The wrecks of Vincent's office and of the revolutionary army still assembled there. It could not well be dissolved; but the report was presented. This report stated that for some time past it corresponded but very rarely and very negligently with the Jacobins, and that consequently it might be said to be useless to continue to it the privilege of correspondence. It was proposed, on this occasion, to inquire whether more than one popular society was needed in Paris. Some even ventured to assert that a single centre of opinion ought to be established and placed at the Jacobins. The society passed to the order of the day on all these propositions, and did not even decide whether the privilege of correspondence should still be granted to the Cordeliers. But this once celebrated club had terminated its existence. Entirely forsaken, it was no longer of any account, and the Jacobins, with their train of affiliated societies, remained sole masters and regulators of public opinion.

After centralizing opinion, if we may be allowed the term, the next thing thought of was to give regularity to the expression of it, to render it less tumultuous and less annoying to the government. The continual observation and the denunciation of the public functionaries, magistrates, deputies, generals, administrators, had hitherto constituted the principal occupation of the Jacobins. This mania for incessantly attacking and persecuting the agents of authority, although it had its inconveniences, possessed also its advantages, whilst any doubt could be entertained of their zeal and their opinions. But now that the committee had vigorously seized the supreme power, that it watched its agents with great vigilance and selected them in the most revolutionary spirit, it would have been prejudicial to the committee, nay even dangerous to the state, to permit the Jacobins to indulge their wonted suspicions, and to annoy functionaries for the most part closely watched and carefully chosen. It was on occasion of Generals Charbonnier and Dagobert being both calumniated, while one was gaining advantages over the Austrians, and the other expiring in the Cerdagne, oppressed with age and wounds, that Collot d'Herbois complained at the Jacobins of this indiscreet manner of condemning generals and functionaries of all kinds. Throwing, as usual, all blame upon the dead, he imputed this mania of denunciation to the relics of Hebert's faction, and besought the Jacobins no longer to permit these public denunciations, which, he said, wasted the valuable time of the society, and threw a stigma on the agents selected by the government. He therefore proposed that the society should appoint a committee to receive denunciations and to transmit them secretly to the committee of public welfare; and this motion was adopted. In this manner denunciations became less inconvenient and less tumultuous, and demagogue disorder began to give way to the regularity of administrative forms.

Thus then to declare in a more and more energetic manner against the enemies of the Revolution, and to centralize the administration, the police, and the public opinion, were the first concerns of the committee and the first fruits of the victory which it had gained over all the parties. Ambition

began, no doubt, to interfere in its determinations much more than in the first moment of its existence, but not so much as the great mass of power which it had acquired might lead one to infer. Instituted at the commencement of 1793, and amidst urgent dangers, it owed its existence to emergency alone. Once instituted, it had gradually assumed a greater share of power, in proportion as it needed more of it for the service of the state, and it had thus attained the dictatorship itself. Such had been its position amidst that universal dissolution of all the authorities, that it could not reorganize without gaining power, and act well without indulging ambition. The last measures which it had adopted were no doubt profitable to it, but they were prudent and useful. Most of them had even been suggested to it, for in a society which is reorganizing itself, everything comes to submit to its creative authority. But the moment was at hand when ambition was to reign paramount, and when the interest of its own power was to supersede that of the state. Such is man. He cannot long remain disinterested, and he soon adds self to the object which he is pursuing.

The committee of public welfare had still one concern to attend to, a concern which always preoccupies the founders of a new society, namely, religion. It had already paid homage to moral ideas by *making integrity, justice, and all the virtues, the order of the day*; it had now to direct its attention to religious ideas.

Let us here remark the singular progress of their systems among these sectaries. When they aimed at destroying the Girondins, they represented them as moderates, as faint republicans, talked of patriotic energy and *public welfare*, and sacrificed them to these ideas. When two new parties were formed, the one brutal, extravagant, striving to overthrow, to profane, everything: the other indulgent, easy, friendly to gentle manners and pleasures, they passed from ideas of patriotic energy to those of order and virtue. They no longer beheld a fatal moderation undermining the strength of the Revolution, they saw all the vices arrayed at once against the severity of the republican system. They beheld, on the one hand, anarchy rejecting all belief in God, effeminacy and corruption rejecting all idea of order, mental delirium rejecting all idea of morals. They then conceived the republic as virtue assailed by all the bad passions at once. The word virtue was everywhere: they placed justice and integrity upon the order of the day. It yet remained for them to proclaim the belief in God, the immortality of the soul, all the moral creeds; it yet remained for them to make a solemn declaration, to declare, in short, the religion of the state. They resolved, therefore, to pass a decree on this subject.* In this manner they should oppose order to the anarchists, faith in God to the atheists, and morals to the dissolute. Their system of virtue would be complete. They made it above all a particular point to remove from the republic the stigma of impiety, with which it was branded throughout all Europe. They resolved to say what is always said to priests who accuse you of impiety because you do not believe in their dogmas—**WE BELIEVE IN GOD.**

They had other motives for adopting a grand measure in regard to religion. The ceremonies of reason had been abolished; festivals were re-

* "The Dictators possessed in the highest degree that fanaticism which distinguished certain social theories; just as the Fifth-monarchy men of the English revolution, to whom they may be compared, possessed that of certain religious ideas. The first desired the most absolute political equality, as the others did evangelical equality; the former aspired to the reign of virtue, as the other to the reign of the saints. In all affairs, human nature is apt to run into extremes, and produces, in a religious age, evangelical democrats—in a philosophic age, political democrats."—*Mignet*. E.

quired for the tenth days ; and it was of importance, when attending to the moral and religious wants of the people, to think of their wants of the imagination, and to furnish them with subjects of public meetings. Besides, the moment was one of the most favourable. The republic, victorious at the conclusion of the last campaign, began to be so at the commencement of this. Instead of the great destitution of means from which it was suffering last year, it was, through the care of its government, provided with powerful military resources. From the fear of being conquered it passed to the hope of conquering. Instead of alarming insurrections, submission prevailed everywhere. Lastly, if, owing to the assignats and the *maximum*, there was still some restraint upon the internal distribution of productions, Nature seemed to have been pleased to load France with all her bounties, in bestowing upon her the most abundant crops. From all the provinces tidings arrived that the harvest would be double, and the corn ripe a month before the usual time. This was therefore the moment for prostrating that republic, saved, victorious, and loaded with favours, at the feet of the Almighty. The occasion was grand and touching for those who believed. It was seasonable for those who merely complied with political ideas.

Let us remark one singular circumstance. Sectaries, for whom there existed no human convention that was respectable, who, from the extraordinary contempt in which they held all other nations, and the esteem with which they were filled for themselves, dreaded no opinion, and were not afraid of wounding that of the world ; who in matters of government had reduced everything to just what was absolutely necessary ; who had admitted no other authority but that of a few citizens temporarily elected ; who had not hesitated to abolish the most ancient and the most stubborn of all religions—such sectaries paused before two ideas, morality and faith in God. After rejecting all those from which they deemed it possible to release man, they remained under the sway of the two latter, and sacrificed a party to each of them. If some of them did not believe, they nevertheless all felt a want of order among men, and, for the support of this human order, the necessity of acknowledging in the universe a general and intelligent order. This is the first time in the history of the world that the dissolution of all the authorities left society a prey to the government of purely systematic minds—for the English believed in the Christian religion—and those minds which had outstripped all the received ideas adopted, retained, the ideas of morality and faith in God. This example is unparalleled in the history of the world : it is singular, it is grand, it is beautiful : history cannot help pausing to remark it.

Robespierre was reporter on this solemn occasion ; and to him alone it belonged to be so, according to the distribution of the parts which had been made among the members of the committee. Prieur,* Robert Lindet, and Carnot, silently superintended the administrative and the war departments. Barrère made most of the reports, particularly those which related to the operations of the armies, and all those in general which it was necessary to make extempore. Collot-d'Herbois, the declaimer, was despatched to the clubs and the popular meetings, to convey to them the messages of the committee. Couthon, though paralytic, likewise went everywhere, harangued

* "Prieur was originally a barrister at Chalons. In 1792 he was deputed to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death, and was afterwards appointed a member of the committee of public safety. In 1794, after the fall of the Mountain, he was appointed president of the Convention. Having been engaged in the insurrection of 1795, he concealed himself for some time, and was pardoned in the following year. Prieur was a humane man, but not remarkable for ability."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

the Convention, the Jacobins, the people, and possessed the art of exciting interest by his infirmities, and by the paternal tone which he assumed in saying the most violent things. Billaud, less excitable, attended to the correspondence, and sometimes discussed questions of general policy. St. Just, young, daring, and active, went to and fro between the fields of battle and the committee; and, when he had impressed terror and energy on the armies, he returned to make murderous reports against the parties whom it was requisite to send to death.* Lastly, Robespierre, the head of them all, consulted on all matters, spoke only on important occasions. For him were reserved the high moral and political questions, as more worthy of his talents and his virtue. The duty of reporter on the question which was about to be discussed belonged to him by right. None had spoken out more decidedly against atheism, none was so venerated, none had so high a reputation for purity and virtue, none, in short, was so well qualified by his ascendancy and his dogmatism for this sort of pontificate.

Never had so fair an occasion offered for imitating Rousseau, whose opinions he professed and whose style he made his continual study. The talents of Robespierre had been singularly developed during the long struggles of the Revolution. That cold and heavy being began to speak extempore; and when he wrote, it was with purity, brilliancy, and energy. In his style was to be found somewhat of the poignant and gloomy humour of Rousseau, but he had not been able to borrow either the grand ideas or the generous and impassioned soul of the author of *Emile*.

On the 18th of Floreal (May 7, 1794) he appeared in the tribune, with a speech which he had composed with great care. Profound attention was paid to him. "Citizens," said he, in his exordium, "it is in prosperity that nations, like individuals, should pause to reflect and listen, in the silence of the passions, to the voice of wisdom." He then developed at length the system adopted. The republic, according to him, was virtue; and all the adversaries which it had encountered were but vices of all kinds, excited against it and paid by kings. The anarchists, the corrupt men, the atheists, had been but the agents of Pitt. "The tyrants," added he, "satisfied with the hardihood of their emissaries, had been anxious to exhibit to the view of their subjects the extravagances which they had purchased, and, affecting to believe that they characterized the whole French nation, they seemed to say to them, 'What will you gain by shaking off our yoke? The republicans, you see, are no better than ourselves!'" Brissot, Danton, Hebert, figured by turns in Robespierre's speech; and, while he was launching out into declamations of hatred against the pretended enemies of virtue—declamations already extremely trite—he excited but little enthusiasm. Presently, relinquishing this portion of the subject, he rose to ideas truly grand and moral, and expressed with talent. He then obtained universal acclamations. He justly observed that it was not as the authors of systems that the representatives of the nation ought to discourage atheism and to proclaim deism, but as legislators seeking what principles are most suitable to man in a state of society. "What signify to you, O legislators!" he exclaims—"what signify to you the various hypotheses by which certain philosophers explain the phenomena of Nature? You can leave all these subjects to their everlasting disputes. Neither is it as metaphysicians nor as theologians that you ought to view them. In the eyes of the legislator, all that is beneficial to the world

* In one of these "murderous reports" St. Just made use of the following atrocious remark: "The vessel of the Revolution can only arrive safely in port by ploughing its way boldly through a red sea of blood." E.

and good in practice is truth. The idea of the Supreme Being and of the immortality of the soul is a continual recall to justice; it is therefore social and republican. Who then," exclaims Robespierre, "hath given thee the mission to proclaim to the people that the Deity hath no existence? O thou who art in love with this sterile doctrine, and wast never in love with thy country, what advantage dost thou find in persuading man that a blind power presides over his destinies and strikes at random guilt and virtue? That his spirit is but a breath which is extinguished at the threshold of the tomb? Will the idea of his annihilation inspire purer and more exalted sentiments than that of his immortality? Will it inspire him with more respect for his fellow-creatures and for himself, more devotedness to his country, more courage to defy tyranny, more contempt of death and of sensual pleasure? Ye, who mourn a virtuous friend, who love to think that the better part of him has escaped death—ye who weep over the coffin of a son, or of a wife—are ye consoled by him who tells you that nothing but vile dust is left of either? Unfortunate mortal, who expirest by the steel of the assassin, thy last sigh is an appeal to eternal justice! Innocence on the scaffold makes the tyrant turn pale in his car of triumph. Would it possess this ascendancy, if the grave equalled the oppressor and the oppressed?"*

Robespierre, still confining himself to the political side of the question, adds these remarkable observations. "Let us," said he, "here take a lesson from history. Take notice, I beseech you, how the men who have exercised an influence on the destinies of states have been led into one or the other of two opposite systems by their personal character and by the very nature of their political views. Observe with what profound art Cæsar, pleading in the Roman senate in behalf of the accomplices of Catiline, deviates into a digression against the dogma of the immortality of the soul, so well calculated do these ideas appear to him to extinguish in the hearts of the judges the energy of virtue, so intimately does the cause of crime seem to be connected with that of atheism. Cicero, on the contrary, invoked the sword of the law and the thunderbolts of the gods against the traitors. Leonidas, at Thermopylæ, supping with his companions in arms, the moment before executing the most heroic design that human virtue ever conceived, invited them for the next day to another banquet in a new life. Cato did not hesitate between Epicurus and Zeno. Brutus and the illustrious conspirators who shared his dangers and his glory, belonged also to that sublime sect of the stoics, which had such lofty ideas of the dignity of man, which carried the enthusiasm of virtue to such a height, and which was extravagant in heroism only. Stoicism brought forth rivals of Brutus and of Cato, even in those frightful ages which succeeded the loss of Roman liberty. Stoicism saved the honour of human nature, degraded by the vices of the successors of Cæsar, and still more by the patience of the people."

On the subject of atheism, Robespierre expresses himself in a singular manner concerning the Encyclopedists: "In political matters," said he, "that sect always remained below the rights of the people; in point of morality it went far beyond the destruction of religious prejudices: its leaders sometimes declaimed against despotism, and they were pensioned by despots: sometimes they wrote books against the court, at others dedications to kings,

* At the time when Robespierre was indulging in all this specious declamation, he was making every effort to bring to maturity a sanguinary despotism unparalleled in the annals of the world. Not less than thirty innocent individuals were daily led to the scaffold, at the very period when this canting demagogue was solemnly and sentimentally proclaiming the last sigh of the murdered victim to be "an appeal to eternal justice!" E.

speeches for courtiers, and madrigals for courtezans. They were proud in their works, and cringing in the antechambers. This sect propagated with great zeal the opinion of materialism, which prevailed among the great and among the *beaux esprits*; to it we owe in part that kind of practical philosophy which, reducing selfishness to a system, considers human society as a warfare of trickery, success as the rule of right and wrong, integrity as a matter of taste or decorum, the world as the patrimony of clever scoundrels.

"Among those who, at the time of which I am speaking, distinguished themselves in the career of letters and philosophy, one man, by the loftiness of his character, proved himself worthy of the office of preceptor of mankind. He attacked tyranny with frankness; he spoke with enthusiasm of the Deity; his manly and straightforward eloquence described, in words that burn, the charms of virtue; and defended those consolatory dogmas which reason furnishes for the support of the human heart. The purity of his doctrine derived from nature and from a profound hatred of vice, as well as his invincible contempt for the intriguing sophists who usurped the name of philosophers, drew upon him the enmity and the persecution of his rivals and of his false friends. Ah! if he had witnessed this Revolution of which he was the forerunner, who can doubt that his generous soul would have embraced with transport the cause of liberty and equality!"*

Robespierre then strove to counteract the idea that, in proclaiming the worship of the Supreme Being, the government was labouring for the benefit of the priests. "What is there in common between the priests and God? The priests are to morality what quacks are to medicine. How different is the God of Nature from the God of the priests. I know nothing that so nearly resembles atheism as the religions which they have framed. By grossly misrepresenting the Supreme Being, they have annihilated belief in him as far as lay in their power. They made him at one time a globe of fire, at another an ox, sometimes a tree, sometimes a man, sometimes a king. The priests have created a God after their own image; they have made him jealous, capricious, greedy, cruel, and implacable; they have treated him as the mayors of the palace formerly treated the descendants of Clovis, in order to reign in his name and to put themselves in his place; they have confined him in heaven as in a palace, and have called him to earth only to demand of him for their own interest tithes, wealth, honours, pleasures, and power. The real temple of the Supreme Being is the universe; his worship, virtue; his festivals, the joy of a great nation, assembled in his presence to knit closer the bonds of universal fraternity, and to pay him the homage of intelligent and pure hearts."

Robespierre then said that the people needed festivals. "Man," he observed, "is the grandest object that exists in nature, and the most magnificent of all sights is that of a great people assembled together." In consequence, he proposed plans for public meetings on all the Decadis. He finished his report amidst the warmest applause; and proposed the following decree, which was adopted by acclamation:

"Art. 1. The French people acknowledges the existence of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

"Art. 2. It acknowledges that the worship most worthy of the Supreme Being is the practice of the duties of man."

* Robespierre here alludes to Rousseau, of whose sickly philosophy he was throughout life an ardent admirer. E.

Other articles purported that festivals should be instituted, in order to remind man of the Deity and of the dignity of his own nature. They were to borrow their names from the events of the Revolution, or from the virtues most beneficial to man. Besides the festivals of the 14th of July, the 10th of August, the 21st of January, and the 31st of May, the Republic was to celebrate on all the Decadis the following festivals: to the Supreme Being—to the human race—to the French people—to the benefactors of mankind—to the martyrs of liberty—to liberty and equality—to the republic—to the liberty of the world—to the love of country—to hatred of tyrants and traitors—to truth—to justice—to modesty—to glory—to friendship—to frugality—to courage—to good faith—to heroism—to disinterestedness—to stoicism—to love—to conjugal fidelity—to paternal affection—to filial piety—to infancy—to youth—to manhood—to old age—to misfortune—to agriculture—to industry—to our ancestors—to posterity—to happiness.

A solemn festival was ordered for the 20th of Prairial, and the plan of it was committed to David. It is proper to add that, in this decree, freedom of religion was anew proclaimed.

No sooner was this report finished, than it was sent to be printed. On the same day, the commune and the Jacobins, demanding that it should be read, received it with applause, and deliberated upon going in a body to the Convention to present their thanks for the *sublime* decree which it had just passed. It had been remarked that the Jacobins had been silent after the immolation of the two parties, and had not gone to congratulate the committee and the Convention. A member had noticed this, and said that it was a fit occasion for proving the union of the Jacobins with a government which displayed such admirable conduct. An address was accordingly drawn up and presented to the Convention by a deputation of the Jacobins. That address concluded thus: "The Jacobins come this day to thank you for the solemn decree that you have just issued; they will come and join you in the celebration of that great day on which the festival of the Supreme Being shall assemble the virtuous citizens throughout all France to sing the hymn of virtue." The president made a pompous reply to the deputation. "It is worthy," said he, "of a society which fills the world with its renown, which enjoys so great an influence upon the public opinion, which has associated at all times with all the most courageous of the defenders of the rights of man, to come to the temple of the laws to pay homage to the Supreme Being."

The president proceeded, and, after a very long harangue on the same subject, called upon Couthon to speak. The latter made a violent speech against atheists and corrupt men, and pronounced a pompous eulogy on the society. He proposed on that solemn day of joy and gratitude to do the Jacobins a justice which had long been due to them, namely, to declare that, ever since the commencement of the Revolution, they had not ceased to deserve well of the country. This suggestion was adopted amidst thunders of applause. The assembly broke up in transports of joy, nay, indeed, in a sort of intoxication.

If the Convention had received numerous addresses after the death of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, it received many more after the decree proclaiming the belief in the Supreme Being. The contagion of ideas and words spreads with extraordinary rapidity among the French. Among a prompt and communicative people the idea that engages some few minds soon engages the attention of the public generally; the word that is in some mouths is soon in all. Addresses poured in from all parts, congratulating

the Convention on its sublime decrees, thanking it for having established virtue, proclaimed the worship of the Supreme Being, and restored hope to man. All the sections came, one after another, to express similar sentiments. The section of Marat, appearing at the bar, addressed the Mountain in these words: "O beneficent Mountain! protecting Sinai! accept also our expressions of gratitude and congratulation for all the sublime decrees which thou art daily issuing for the happiness of mankind. From thy boiling bosom darted the salutary thunderbolt, which, in crushing atheism, gives us genuine republicans the consolatory idea of living free, in the sight of the Supreme Being, and in expectation of the immortality of the soul. *The Convention forever! The Republic forever! The Mountain forever!*" All the addresses besought the Convention anew to retain the supreme power. There was one even which called upon it to sit till the reign of virtue should be established in the republic upon imperishable foundations.

From that day, the words *Virtue* and *Supreme Being* were in every mouth. Instead of the inscription, *To REASON*, placed upon the fronts of the churches, there was now inscribed, *To THE SUPREME BEING*. The remains of Rousseau were removed to the Pantheon. His widow was presented to the Convention, and a pension settled upon her.

Thus the committee of public welfare, triumphant over all the different parties, invested with all the powers, placed at the head of an enthusiastic and victorious nation, proclaiming the reign of virtue and the worship of the Supreme Being, was at the height of its authority, and at the last term of its systems.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF EUROPE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1794 (YEAR 11)—
GENERAL PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—PLANS OF THE ALLIES AND
OF THE FRENCH—OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN—OCCUPATION OF
THE PYRENEES AND OF THE ALPS—OPERATIONS IN THE NETHER-
LANDS; ACTIONS ON THE SAMBRE AND THE LYS; BATTLE OF
TURCOING—OCCURRENCES IN THE COLONIES—SEA-FIGHT.

IN Europe and in France the winter had been spent in making preparations for a new campaign. England was still the soul of the coalition, and urged the continental powers to advance and to destroy on the banks of the Seine a revolution that alarmed her, and a rival who was hateful to her. The implacable son of Chatham had this year made immense efforts to crush France. It was, however, not without opposition that he had obtained from the English parliament means proportionate to his vast projects.—Lord Stanhope in the Upper House, Fox and Sheridan* in the Lower, were still hos-

* Fox and Sheridan observed "that the conduct of government since the war commenced had been a total departure from the principles of moderation on which they had so much prided themselves before it broke out. They then used language which breathed only the strictest neutrality, and this continued even after the King had been dethroned, and many of

tile to the system of war. They refused all sacrifices demanded by the ministers. They were for granting only just what was necessary for the defence of the coast, and above all they would not suffer this war to be termed *just and necessary*: it was, in their opinion, unjust, ruinous, and punished with just reverses. The pretended motives deduced from the opening of the Scheldt, the dangers of Holland, and the necessity of defending the British constitution, were false. Holland had not been endangered by the opening of the Scheldt, and the British constitution was not threatened. The aim of ministers was to destroy a people who had determined to be free, and to keep continually increasing their personal influence and authority, upon pretext of resisting the machinations of the French Jacobins. This struggle had been maintained by unfair means. Civil war and massacre had been fomented, but a brave and generous nation had frustrated the attempts of its adversaries by unexampled courage and efforts. Stanhope, Fox, and Sheridan, concluded that such a war was disgraceful and ruinous to England. They were mistaken on one point. The English Opposition may frequently reproach ministers with waging unjust wars, but never disadvantageous ones.* If the war carried on against France had no motive of justice, it had excellent motives of policy, as we shall presently see, and the Opposition, misled by generous sentiments, overlooked the advantages that were about to result from it to England.

Pitt affected alarm at the threats of invasion uttered in the tribune of the Convention. He pretended that country-people in Kent had said, "The French are coming to bring us the rights of man." He made this language (paid for, it is said, by himself) a pretext for asserting that the constitution was threatened; he had denounced the constitutional societies in England, which had become rather more active, after the example set them by the clubs of France; and he insisted that, under pretence of a parliamentary reform, their design was to establish a Convention. In consequence, he demanded the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, the seizure of the papers of those societies, and the institution of proceedings against some of their members.† He demanded, moreover, the privilege of enrolling volunteers, and of maintaining them by means of donations or subscriptions, of increasing the force of the army and navy, and of raising a corps of forty thousand foreigners, French emigrants and others. The Opposition made a spirited resistance. It asserted that there was nothing to warrant the suspension of the most valuable of the liberties of Englishmen: that the accused societies deliberated in public; that their wishes, openly expressed, could not be conspiracies, and that they were the wishes of all England, since they were confined to parliamentary reform; that the immoderate increase of the land forces was pregnant with danger to the English people; that, if the volunteers could be armed by subscription, it would become allowable for the minister to raise armies without the sanction of parliament; that the maintenance of so great a number of foreigners would be ruinous, and that it had no other

the worst atrocities of the Revolution had been perpetrated; but now, even though they did not altogether reject negotiation, they issued declarations evidently calculated to render it impossible, and shake all faith in the national integrity."—*Parliamentary History*. E.

* M. Thiers seems to have forgotten Lord North's "disadvantageous" American war, which cost England so much blood and treasure, and was attended with such humiliating results. E.

† An allusion to the various prosecutions of the reformers which took place about this time in Scotland, and to the celebrated trial of Hardy, Thelwall, and Horne Tooke, in England, for treason. E.

object than to pay Frenchmen for being traitors to their country. In spite of the remonstrances of the Opposition, which had never been either more eloquent or less numerous, for it comprehended no more than thirty or forty members, Pitt obtained all that he desired, and carried all the bills which he had presented.*

As soon as these demands were granted, he caused the militia to be doubled; he increased the land forces to sixty thousand men, and the naval forces to eighty thousand; he organized fresh corps of emigrants, and brought to trial several members of the constitutional societies. An English jury, a more solid guarantee than the parliament, acquitted the accused; but this was of little consequence to Pitt, who had in his hands all the means of repressing the slightest political movement, and of wielding a colossal power in Europe.

This was the moment for profiting by this general war to crush France, to ruin her navy for ever, and to take her colonies from her—a much more sure and enviable result in the estimation of Pitt than the repression of certain political and religious doctrines. He had succeeded in the preceding year in arming against France the two maritime powers which should always have continued in alliance with her—Spain and Holland; he was anxious to keep them in their political error, and to turn it to the best account against the French navy. England was able to send out of her ports at least one hundred sail of the line, Spain forty, and Holland twenty, exclusively of a multitude of frigates. How was France, with the fifty or sixty ships left her since the conflagration at Toulon, to cope with such a force? Though, no naval action had yet been fought, the English flag was paramount in the Mediterranean, in the Atlantic Ocean, and in the Indian Seas. In the Mediterranean, the English squadrons threatened the Italian powers which were desirous of remaining neuter, blockaded Corsica with a view to wrest that island from us, and awaited a favourable moment for landing troops and stores in La Vendée. In America, they surrounded our Antilles, and sought to profit by the terrible dissensions prevailing between the whites, the mulattoes, and the blacks, to gain possession of them. In the Indian seas, they completed the establishment of British power and the ruin of Pondicherry. With another campaign our commerce would be destroyed, whatever might be the fortune of arms on the continent. Thus nothing could be more politic than the war waged by Pitt with France, and the Opposition was wrong to find fault with it on the score of advantages. It would have been right in one case only, and that case has not yet occurred; if her debt, continually increasing and now become enormous, is really beyond her wealth, and destined some day to overwhelm her, England will have exceeded her means, and will have done wrong in struggling for an empire which will have cost her her strength. But this is a mystery of the future.

Pitt hesitated at no violence to augment his means and to aggravate the calamities of France. The Americans, happy under Washington, freely traversed the seas, and began to engage in that vast carrying-trade which has enriched them during the long wars of the continent. Pitt subjected their vessels to impressment. The British squadrons stopped American ships, and took away men belonging to their crews. More than five hundred vessels had already undergone this violence, and it was the subject of warm remonstrances on the part of the American government, but they were not

* "The House of Commons passed the bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by a majority of 261 to 42. In the House of Lords it was adopted without a division."—*Annual Register*. E.

listened to. This was not all. By favour of the neutrality, the Americans, the Danes, the Swedes, frequented our ports, bringing thither succours in corn, which the dearth rendered extremely valuable, and many articles necessary for the navy; and took away in exchange the wines and other productions with which the soil of France furnishes the world. Owing to this intermediate agency of neutrals, commerce was not entirely interrupted, and the most urgent wants were supplied. England, considering France as a besieged place, which must be famished and reduced to extremity, meditated the infraction of these rights of neutrals, and addressed notes full of sophistry to the northern courts, in order to enforce a violation of the right of nations.

While England was employing these means of all kinds, she had still forty thousand men in the Netherlands, under the command of the Duke of York. Lord Moira, who had been unable to reach Granville in time, was lying at Jersey with his squadron and a land force of ten thousand men. Lastly, the English treasury held funds at the disposal of all the belligerent powers.

On the continent the zeal was not so great. The powers which had not the same interest in the war as England, and which engaged in it for pretended principles alone, prosecuted it neither with the same ardour nor with the same activity. England strove to rouse the general zeal. She still held Holland under her yoke by means of the Prince of Orange, and obliged her to furnish her contingent to the allied army of the North. Thus that unhappy nation had its ships and its regiments in the service of its most formidable enemy, and against its most steadfast ally. Prussia, notwithstanding the mysticism of her king, had in a great measure shaken off the illusions with which she had been fed for two years past. The retreat of Champagne, in 1792, and that of the Vosges, in 1793, had nothing encouraging for her. Frederick William, who had exhausted his exchequer, and weakened his army in a war which could not have any favourable result for his kingdom, and which could prove serviceable at most to the house of Austria, would have been glad to relinquish it. An object, moreover, of much greater interest to him called him northward; namely, Poland, which was in motion, and the dissevered members of which were tending to reunite. England, surprising him amidst this indecision, prevailed upon him to continue the war by the all-powerful means of her gold. She concluded at the Hague, in her name and in that of Holland, a treaty by which Prussia engaged to furnish sixty-two thousand four hundred men for the service of the coalition. This army was to be under a Prussian commander, and all the conquests that it should make were to belong jointly to the two maritime powers—England and Holland. In return, those two powers promised to furnish the King of Prussia with fifty thousand pounds sterling per month for the maintenance of his troops, and to pay him besides for bread and forage. Over and above this sum, they granted three hundred thousand pounds, to defray the first expenses of taking the field, and one hundred thousand for the return to the Prussian states. At this price Prussia continued the impolitic war which she had begun.*

The house of Austria had no longer any catastrophe to avert in France, since the princess whom she had given to Louis XVI. had expired on the scaffold. That power had less to fear from the Revolution than any other country, since the political discussions of the last thirty years have not yet

* "The discontent of the Prussian troops was loudly proclaimed when it transpired that they were to be transferred to the pay of Great Britain; and they openly murmured at the disgrace of having the soldiers of the great Frederick sold, like mercenaries, to a foreign

awakened the public mind in her dominions; it was, therefore, merely revenge to fulfil an engagement, a wish to gain some fortresses in the Netherlands, perhaps too, but this must have been vague, the silly hope of having a share of our provinces, that induced Austria to continue the war. She carried it on with more ardour than Prussia, but not with much more real activity; for she merely completed and reorganized her regiments without increasing their number. A great part of her troops was in Poland, for she had, like Prussia, a powerful motive for looking back, and for thinking of the Vistula as much as of the Rhine. Galicia occupied her attention not less than the Netherlands and Alsace.

Sweden and Denmark maintained a wise neutrality, and replied to the sophistries of England that the public right was immutable, that there was no reason for violating it towards France, and for extending to a whole country the laws of blockade, laws applicable only to a besieged place; that Danish and Swedish vessels were well received in France; that they found there not barbarians, as the French were called, but a government which did justice to the demands of commercial foreigners, and which paid all due respect to the nations with which it was at peace; that there was, therefore, no reason for breaking off an advantageous intercourse with it. In consequence, though Catherine, quite favourable to the plans of the English, seemed to decide against the rights of neutral nations, Sweden and Denmark persisted in their resolutions, preserved a prudent and firm neutrality, and concluded a treaty by which both engaged to maintain the rights of neutrals, and to enforce the observance of a clause in the treaty of 1780, which closed the Baltic against the armed ships of such powers as had no port in that sea. France, therefore, had ground to hope that she should still receive corn from the north, and the timber and hemp requisite for her navy.

Russia, continuing to affect much indignation at the French Revolution, and giving great hopes to the emigrants, thought of nothing but Poland, and entered so far into the policy of the English merely to obtain their adhesion to hers. This accounts for the silence of England on an event of not less importance than the sweeping of a kingdom from the political stage. At this moment of general spoliation, when England was reaping so large a share of advantages in the south of Europe and in every sea, it would not have become her to talk the language of justice to the copartitioners of Poland. Thus the coalition, which accused France of having fallen into barbarism, was committing in the North the most impudent robbery that policy ever engaged in, meditating a similar procedure against France, and contributing to destroy for ever the liberty of the seas.

The German princes followed the movements of the house of Austria. Switzerland, protected by her mountains, and freed by her institutions from engaging in a crusade on behalf of monarchies, persisted in not espousing either party, and covered by her neutrality the eastern provinces, the least defended of all France. She pursued the same course upon the continent which the Americans, the Swedes, and the Danes, followed at sea. She rendered the same services to French commerce, and reaped the same benefit from her conduct. She supplied us with the horses necessary for our armies and with cattle, of which we had been deficient since the war had ravaged the Vosges and La Vendée; she exported the produce of our manufactures, and thus became the intermediate agent of a most lucrative traffic.

power. The event soon demonstrated that the succours stipulated from Prussia would prove of the most inefficient description."—*Alison*. E.

Piedmont continued the war, no doubt, with regret, but she could not consent to lay down her arms, so long as she should lose two provinces, Savoy and Nice, at this sanguinary and ill-played game. The Italian powers wished to be neuter, but they were exceedingly annoyed on account of this intention. The republic of Genoa had seen the English resort to an unworthy procedure in her port, and commit a real attack upon the right of nations. They had seized a French frigate, lying there under shelter of the Genoese neutrality, and had slaughtered the crew. Tuscany had been obliged to dismiss the French resident. Naples, which had recognised the republic when the French squadrons threatened her coasts, made great demonstrations against her, since the English flag was unfurled in the Mediterranean, and promised to succour Piedmont with eighteen thousand men. Rome, fortunately powerless, cursed us, and had allowed Basseville, the French agent, to be murdered within its walls. Lastly, Venice, though far from feeling flattered by the demagogue language of France, would not on any account engage herself in a war, and hoped, by favour of her distant position, to preserve her neutrality. Corsica was on the point of being wrested from us, since Paoli had declared for the English.* The only places that we had yet left there, were Bastia and Calvi.

Spain, the most innocent of our enemies, continued an impolitic war against us, and persisted in committing the same blunder as Holland. The duties which the thrones pretended to have then to perform against France, the victories of Ricardos, and the English influence, decided her to try another campaign, though she was greatly exhausted, in want of soldiers, and still more of money. The celebrated Alcudia caused d'Aranda to be disgraced for having advised peace.

Politics, therefore, had changed but little since the preceding year. Interests, errors, blunders, and crimes, were the same in 1794 as in 1793. England alone had increased her forces. The allies still had in the Netherlands one hundred and fifty thousand men, Austrians, Germans, Dutch, and English. Twenty-five or thirty thousand Austrians were at Luxemburg; sixty-five thousand Prussians and Saxons in the environs of Mayence. Fifty thousand Austrians, intermixed with some emigrants, lined the Rhine from Mannheim to Basle. The Piedmontese army still consisted of forty thousand men and seven or eight thousand Austrian auxiliaries. Spain had made some levies to recruit her battalions, and demanded some pecuniary aid of her clergy, but her army was not more considerable than in the preceding year, being still limited to about sixty thousand men, divided between the eastern and western Pyrenees.

It was in the North that our enemies proposed to strike the most decisive blows against us by supporting themselves upon Condé, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy. The celebrated Mack† had drawn up in London a plan from which great results were expected. This time the German tactician had been rather more bold, and he had introduced into his plan a march to Paris.

* "The crown of Corsica, which had been offered by Paoli and the aristocratical party, to the King of England, was accepted, and efforts immediately made to confer upon the inhabitants a constitution similar to that of Great Britain."—*Annual Register*. E.

† "Bonaparte speaking to me of him one day, said, 'Mack is a man of the lowest mediocrity I ever saw in my life; he is full of self-sufficiency and conceit, and believes himself equal to anything. He has no talent. I should like to see him opposed some day to one of our good generals; we should then see fine work! He is a boaster, and that is all. He is really one of the most silly men existing; and besides that, he is unlucky.'"—*Bourrienne*. E.

Unluckily it was rather too late for any daring attempt; for the French could no longer be taken by surprise, and their forces were immense. The plan consisted in taking another fortress, that of Landrecies, collecting in force at that point, bringing the Prussians from the Vosges towards the Sambre, and marching forward, leaving two corps on the wings, one in Flanders, the other on the Sambre. At the same time Lord Moira was to land troops in La Vendée, and to increase our dangers by a double march upon Paris.

To take Landrecies, when in possession of Valenciennes, Condé, and Le Quesnoy, was a puerile conceit; to cover the communications towards the Sambre was most judicious; but to place a corps to guard Flanders was absolutely useless, when the intention was to form a powerful invading mass; to bring the Prussians upon the Sambre was a questionable proceeding, as we shall presently see; lastly, to make a diversion in La Vendée was too late by a year, for the great Vendée had perished. We shall soon perceive, from the comparison of the project with the event, the vanity of all these plans drawn up in London.*

The coalition had not, we say, brought into play great resources. There were at this moment only three really active powers in Europe—England, Russia, and France. The reason of this is simple. England was anxious to make herself mistress of the seas, Russia to secure Poland, and France to save her existence and her liberty. There was no natural energy except in these great powers; there was no purpose noble but that of France; and in behalf of this interest she made the greatest efforts that history has ever recorded.

The permanent requisition, decreed in the month of August in the preceding year, had already supplied the armies with reinforcements and contributed to the successes with which the campaign concluded; but this important measure was not destined to produce its full effect till the ensuing campaign. Owing to this extraordinary movement, twelve hundred thousand men had left their homes, and covered the frontiers or filled the depots of the interior. The brigading of these fresh troops had been commenced. One battalion of the line was incorporated with two battalions of the new levy, and excellent regiments were thus formed. On this plan, several hundred thousand men had been organized, and they were distributed on the frontiers and in the fortresses. They were, including the garrisons, two hundred and fifty thousand in the North; forty thousand in the Ardennes; two hundred thousand on the Rhine and the Moselle; one hundred thousand at the foot of the Alps; one hundred and twenty thousand at the Pyrenees; and eighty thousand between Cherbourg and La Rochelle. The means for equipping these forces had been neither less prompt nor less extraordinary than those for assembling them. The manufactures of arms established in Paris and in the provinces, had soon attained the degree of activity which was intended to be given to them, and produced great quantities of cannon, swords, and muskets. The committee of public welfare, skilfully turning the French character to account, had contrived to bring into vogue the manufacture of saltpetre. In the preceding year it had already ordered an examination of all cellars for the purpose of extracting from them the mould impregnated with saltpetre. It soon adopted a still better method. It drew up directions, a model of simplicity and clearness, to teach the citizens how to lixiviate the

* Those who wish to read the best political and military discussion on this subject are referred to the critical memoir on that campaign written by General Jomini, and appended to his great History of the Wars of the Revolution. E.

mould of cellars. It also took into its pay a number of operative chemists to instruct them in the manipulation. The practice soon became generally introduced. People imparted to others the instructions which they had received, and each house furnished some pounds of this useful salt. Some of the quarters of Paris assembled for the purpose of carrying with pomp to the Convention the saltpetre which they had fabricated. A festival was instituted, on which each came to deposit his offering on the altar of the country. Emblematic forms were given to this salt; all sorts of epithets were lavished upon it; some called it the *avenging* salt, others the *liberating* salt. The people amused themselves with it, but produced considerable quantities; and the government had attained its object. Some inconveniences naturally arose out of all this. The cellars were dug up, and the mould, after it had been lixiviated, lay in the streets, which it encumbered and spoiled. An ordinance of the committee of public welfare put an end to this nuisance, and the lixiviated earth was replaced in the cellars. Saline matters ran short: the committee ordered that all the herbage, not employed either as food for cattle or for domestic or rural purposes, should be immediately burned, in order to be employed in the making of saltpetre, or converted into saline substances.

Government had the art to introduce another fashion that was not less advantageous. It was easier to raise men and to manufacture arms than to find horses, of which the artillery and the cavalry were deficient. The war had rendered them scarce, and, owing to the demand and the general rise in the prices of all commodities, they were very dear. It was absolutely necessary to recur to the grand expedient of requisitions, that is to say, to take by force what an indispensable necessity demanded. In each canton, one horse out of every twenty-five was taken and paid for at the rate of nine hundred francs. Mighty, however, as force may be, good-will is much more effective. At the suggestion of the committee, a horse-soldier, fully equipped, was offered to it by the Jacobins. The example was then universally followed. Communes, clubs, sections, were eager to offer to the republic what were called *Jacobin Horsemen*, completely mounted and equipped.

There were now soldiers, but officers were still wanting. The committee acted in this respect with its accustomed promptitude. "The Revolution," said Barrère, "must accelerate all things for the supply of its wants. The Revolution is to the human mind what the sun of Africa is to vegetation." The school of Mars was re-established; young men, selected from all the provinces, repaired on foot, and in military order, to Paris. Encamped in tents on the plain of Sablons, they repaired thither to acquire rapid instruction in all the departments of the art of war, and then to be distributed among the armies.

Efforts equally energetic were made to recompose our navy. It consisted in 1789, of fifty sail of the line and as many frigates. The disorders of the Revolution, and the disaster of Toulon, had reduced it to about fifty vessels, only thirty of which, at most, were in a fit state to be sent to sea. Men and officers were what they stood most in need of. The navy required experienced men, and all the experienced men were incompatible with the Revolution. The reform effected in the staffs of the land forces, was therefore still more inevitable in the staffs of the naval forces, and could not fail to cause a much greater disorganization in the latter. The two ministers, Monge and d'Albarade, had succumbed under these difficulties and been dismissed. The committee resolved, in this instance also, to have recourse to extraordinary means. Jean-Bon-St.-Andre, and Prieur of La Marne, were

sent to Brest with the usual powers of commissioners of the Convention. The Brest squadron, after arduously cruising for four months off the west coast to prevent communication between the Vendéans and the English, had mutinied in consequence of its long hardships. No sooner had it returned than Admiral Morard de Gales was arrested by the representatives, and rendered responsible for the disorderly conduct of the squadron. The crews were entirely decomposed and reorganized in the prompt and violent manner of the Jacobins. Peasants, who had never been at sea, were put on board the ships of the republic to manœuvre against veteran English sailors. Inferior officers were raised to the highest ranks, and Captain Villaret-Joyeuse* was promoted to the command of the squadron. In a month, a fleet of thirty ships was ready to sail: it left the port full of enthusiasm, and amidst the acclamations of the people of Brest; not, indeed, to defy the formidable squadrons of England, Holland, and Spain, but to protect a convoy of two hundred sail, bringing a considerable quantity of corn from America, and ready to fight to the last extremity, if the safety of the convoy required it. Meanwhile, Toulon was the theatre of not less rapid creations. The ships which had escaped the flames were repaired and new ones built. The expenses were levied upon the property of the Toulonese, who had contributed to surrender their port to the enemy. For want of the large ships which were under repair, a multitude of privateers covered the sea, and made valuable prizes. A bold and courageous nation, which lacks the means of carrying on war upon a large scale, may always resort to petty warfare, and therein exert its intelligence and its valour; by land it wages the war of partisans, at sea, that of privateers. According to the report of Lord Stanhope, we had taken, from 1793 to 1794, four hundred and ten vessels, whereas the English had taken from us only three hundred and sixteen. The government then did not renounce the task of re-establishing even the naval portion of our forces.

Such prodigious efforts could not fail to produce their fruit, and we were about to reap, in 1794, the benefit of our exertions in 1793.

The campaign first opened on the Pyrenees and on the Alps. Far from being active on the western, it was destined to be much more so on the eastern Pyrenees, where the Spaniards had conquered the line of the Tech, and still occupied the famous camp of Boulou. Ricardos was dead, and that famous general had been succeeded by one of his lieutenants, the Count de la Union, an excellent soldier, but an indifferent commander. Not having yet received the fresh reinforcements which he expected, La Union thought of nothing further than keeping Boulou. The French were commanded by the brave Dugommier, who had retaken Toulon. Part of the *matériel* and of the troops employed in that service had been sent before Perpignan, while the new levies were training in the rear. Dugommier was enabled to bring thirty-five thousand men into line, and to profit by the wretched state in which the Spaniards then were. Dagobert, still enthusiastic in spite of his age, proposed a plan of invasion by the Cerdagne, which.

* "Louis Thomas Villaret-Joyeuse, a French vice-admiral, served at first in the infantry. An affair of honour in which he killed his adversary obliged him to quit his corps, and he went to Brest, entered into the navy, and made himself known as a brave and intelligent officer. In 1789 he declared for the Revolution, and from 1793 to 1796 was employed at the head of the French fleets, but was generally unsuccessful. In 1797 he quitted the navy and was deputed to the council of Five Hundred where he spoke against the Terrorists. In the year 1802 he was appointed captain-general of Martinique, and in 1805 was decorated with the red ribbon."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

carrying the French beyond the Pyrenees and upon the rear of the Spanish army, would have obliged the latter to fall back. It was deemed preferable to attempt, in the first instance, an attack on the camp of Boulou, and Dagobert, who was with his division in the Cerdagne, was directed to await the result of that attack. The camp of Boulou, situated on the banks of the Tech, and with its back to the Pyrenees, had for outlet the causeway of Bellegarde, which forms the high road between France and Spain. Dugommier, instead of attacking the enemy's positions, which were extremely well fortified, in front, strove by some means to penetrate between Boulou and the causeway of Bellegarde, so as to reduce the Spanish camp. His plan was completely successful. La Union had pushed the bulk of his forces to Ceret, and left the heights of St. Christophe, which commanded the Boulou, insufficiently guarded. Dugommier crossed the Tech, despatched part of his troops towards St. Christophe, and attacked with the rest the front of the Spanish positions, and, after a brisk action, remained master of the heights. From that moment the camp ceased to be tenable. The enemy was obliged to retreat by the causeway of Bellegarde; but Dugommier took possession of it, and left the Spaniards only a narrow and difficult track across the Col de Porteil. Their retreat soon became a rout. Being charged briskly and opportunely, they fled in confusion, leaving us fifteen hundred prisoners, one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, eight hundred mules laden with their baggage, and camp effects for twenty thousand men. This victory, gained in the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), made us masters of the Tech, and carried us beyond the Pyrenees. Dugommier immediately blockaded Collioure, Port-Vendre, and St. Elme, with the intention of retaking them from the Spaniards. At the moment of this important victory, the brave Dagobert, attacked by a fever, closed his long and glorious career. This noble veteran, aged seventy-six years, carried with him the regret and the admiration of the army.

Nothing could be more brilliant than the opening of the campaign in the eastern Pyrenees. In the western we took the valley of Bastan, and these triumphs over the Spaniards whom we had not yet conquered, occasioned universal joy.

Towards the Alps, we had yet to establish our line of defence on the great chain. Towards Savoy, we had, in the preceding year, driven back the Piedmontese into the valleys of Piedmont, but we had to take the posts of the Little St. Bernard and of Mont Cenis. Towards Nice, the army of Italy was still encamped in sight of Saorgio, without being able to force the formidable camp of the Fourches. General Dugommier had been succeeded by old Dumerbion, a brave officer, but almost always ill with the gout. Fortunately, he suffered himself to be entirely directed by young Bonaparte, who in the preceding year had decided the reduction of Toulon, by recommending the attack of Little Gibraltar. This service had gained Bonaparte the rank of general of brigade and high consideration in the army.* After

* The following is the Duchess d'Abrantes's vivid and interesting description of Bonaparte's personal appearance at this period of his career, when he had just been appointed general of brigade: "When Napoleon came to see us after our return to Paris, his appearance made an impression on me which I shall never forget. At this period of his life he was decidedly ugly; he afterwards underwent a total change. I do not speak of the illusive charm which his glory spread around him, but I mean to say that a gradual physical change took place in him in the space of seven years. His emaciated thinness was converted into a fulness of face, and his complexion, which had been yellow and apparently unhealthy, became clear and comparatively fresh; his features, which were angular and sharp, became round and filled out. As to his smile, it was always agreeable. The mode of dressing his

reconnoitering the enemy's positions, and ascertaining the impossibility of carrying the camp of the Fourches, he was struck by an idea not less happy than that which, in the preceding year, had restored Toulon to the republic. Saorgio is situated in the valley of the Roya. Parallel with this valley is that of Oneglia, in which runs the Taggia. Bonaparte conceived the idea of throwing a division of fifteen thousand men into the valley of Oneglia, making this division ascend to the sources of the Tanaro, then pushing it forward to Mount Tanarello, which borders the upper Roya, and thus intercepting the causeway of Saorgio, between the camp of the Fourches and the Col di Tenda. The camp of the Fourches, cut off by these means from the high Alps, must necessarily fall. This plan was liable but to one objection, namely, that it obliged the army to encroach on the territory of Genoa. But the republic had no need to make any scruple of this, for in the preceding year two thousand Piedmontese had passed through the Genoese territory and embarked at Oneglia for Toulon; besides, the outrage committed by the English on the frigate *La Modeste*, in the very port of Genoa, was the most signal violation of a neutral country. There was, moreover, an important advantage in extending the right of the army of Italy to Oneglia, which consisted in covering part of the Riviera of Genoa, in driving the privateers from the little harbour of Oneglia where they were accustomed to take refuge, and thus giving security to the commerce of Genoa with the south of France. This commerce, which was carried on by coasters, was exceedingly annoyed by English cruisers and squadrons, and it was important to protect it, because it contributed to supply the south with grain. There could, therefore, be no hesitation in adopting the plan of Bonaparte. The representatives applied to the committee of public welfare for the necessary authority, and the execution of this plan was immediately ordered.

On the 17th of Germinal (April 6) a division of fourteen thousand men, divided into five brigades, crossed the Roya. General Massena* proceeded

hair, which had such a droll appearance as we see it in the prints of the passage of the bridge of Areole, was then comparatively simple; for the young men of fashion, whom he used to rail at so loudly at that time, wore their hair very long. But he was very careless of his personal appearance; and his hair, which was ill-combed and ill-powdered, gave him the look of a sloven. His little hands too underwent a great metamorphosis. When I first saw him, they were thin, long, and dark; but he was subsequently vain of their beauty, and with good reason. In short, when I recollect Napoleon at the commencement of 1794, with a shabby round hat drawn over his forehead, and his ill-powdered hair hanging over the collar of his gray great-coat, which afterwards became as celebrated as the white plume of Henry IV., without gloves, because he used to say they were a useless luxury, with boots ill-made and ill-blackened—with his thinness and his sallow complexion—in fine, when I recollect him at that time, and I think what he was afterwards, I do not see the same man in two pictures." E.

* "André Massena, Duke of Rivoli and Prince of Esslingen, Marshal of France, was born in 1758 at Nice, and rose from a common soldier to the rank of commander. In 1792, when the warriors of the republic had ascended Mount Cenis, he joined their ranks; distinguished himself by courage and sagacity; and in 1793 was made general of brigade. In the ensuing year he took the command of the right wing of the Italian army. He was the constant companion in arms of Bonaparte, who used to call him the spoiled child of victory. In 1799 Massena displayed great ability as commander-in-chief in Switzerland. After he had reconquered the Helvetic and Rhetian Alps, he was sent to Italy to check the victorious career of the Austrians. He hastened with the small force he could muster to the support of Genoa, the defence of which is among his most remarkable achievements. In 1804 he was created marshal of the empire, and the year after, received the chief command in Italy, where he lost the battle of Caldiero. After the peace of Tilsit, war having broken out in Spain, Massena took the field with the title of Duke of Rivoli; but in 1809 he was

towards Mount Tanaro, and Bonaparte, with three brigades, marched to Oneglia, drove out an Austrian division, and entered the town. He found in Oneglia twelve pieces of cannon, and cleared the port of all the privateers which infested those parts. While Massena was ascending the Tanaro to Tanarello, Bonaparte continued his movement, and proceeded from Oneglia to Ormea in the valley of the Tanaro. He entered it on the 28th of Germinal (April 15), and there found some muskets, twenty pieces of cannon, and magazines full of cloth for the clothing of the troops. As soon as the French brigades had joined in the valley of the Tanaro, they marched for the upper Roya, to execute the prescribed movement on the left of the Piedmontese. General Dumerbion attacked the Piedmontese positions in front, while Massena fell upon their flanks and their rear. After several very brisk actions, the Piedmontese abandoned Saorgio, and fell back on the Col di Tenda. They presently abandoned the Col di Tenda itself, and fled to Limona beyond the great chain.

During these occurrences in the valley of the Roya, the valleys of the Tinea and the Vesubia were scoured by the left of the army of Italy, and soon afterwards the army of the high Alps, piqued with emulation, took by main force the St. Bernard and Mount Cenis. Thus, from the middle of Floreal (the beginning of May), we were victorious on the whole chain of the Alps, and occupied the whole tract from the first hills of the Apennines to Mont Blanc. Our right supported at Ormea, extended almost to the gates of Genoa, covered great part of the Riviera di Ponente, and thus protected commerce from the piracies by which it had been previously annoyed. We had taken three or four thousand prisoners, fifty or sixty pieces of cannon, a great quantity of clothing, and two fortresses. Our commencement, therefore, was as fortunate at the Alps as at the Pyrenees, since on both points it gave us a frontier and part of the resources of the enemy.

The campaign opened rather later on the great theatre of the war, that is, in the North. There, five hundred thousand men were coming into collision from the Vosges to the sea. The French still had their principal force about Lille, Guise, and Maubeuge. Pichegru had become their general. Commanding the army of the Rhine in the preceding year, he had

recalled to Germany. At Esslingen his firmness saved the French army from total destruction, and Napoleon rewarded him with the dignity of prince of that place. After the peace he hastened to Spain, but, being unsuccessful against Wellington, was recalled. In 1814 Massena commanded at Toulon, declared for Louis XVIII. On the landing of Bonaparte in 1815, he joined him, was created a peer, and commander of the national guard at Paris. He lived afterwards in retirement, and his death was hastened by chagrin at the conduct of the Royalists. He died in the year 1817."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"Massena, said Napoleon, was a man of superior talent. He generally, however, made bad dispositions previously to a battle; and it was not until the dead began to fall about him that he began to act with that judgment which he ought to have displayed before. In the midst of the dying and the dead, and of balls sweeping away those who encircled him, Massena was himself, and gave his orders and made his dispositions with the greatest sangfroid and judgment. It was truly said of him, that he never began to act with skill, until the battle was going against him. He was, however, *un voleur*. He went halves with the contractors and commissaries of the army. I signified to him often that if he would discontinue his speculations, I would make him a present of eight hundred thousand, or a million, of francs; but he had acquired such a habit, that he could not keep his hands from money. On this account he was hated by the soldiers, who mutinied against him three or four times. However, considering the circumstances of the times, he was precious; and had not his bright parts been sullied by avarice, he would have been a great man."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Massena was a very superior man, but, by a strange peculiarity of temperament, he possessed the desired equilibrium only in the midst of the greatest dangers."—*Las Cases*. E.

contrived to appropriate to himself the honour of raising the blockade of Landau, which belonged to young Hoche. He had wormed himself into the confidence of St. Just, while Hoche was thrown into prison, and had obtained the command of the army of the North. Jourdan, esteemed as a discreet general, had not been considered as sufficiently energetic to retain the chief command of the North, and had succeeded Hoche at the army of the Moselle, as Michaud had done Pichegru at that of the Rhine. Carnot still presided over the military operations and directed them from his office. St. Just and Lebas had been sent to Guise, to rouse the energy of the army.

The nature of the localities required a very simple plan of operations and one which was likely to have very speedy and very extensive results. It consisted in directing the great mass of the French forces upon the Meuse, towards Namur, and thus threatening the communications of the Austrians. There was the key of the theatre of the war, and there it always will be, while war shall be carried on in the Netherlands against Austrians coming from the Rhine. Any diversion made in Flanders would be an imprudence; for, if the wing thrown into Flanders were strong enough to make head against the allies, it would only contribute to repel them in front without compromising their retreat; and, if it were not considerable enough to obtain decisive results, the allies would only have occasion to let it advance into West Flanders, and might then inclose and drive it back to the sea. Pichegru, with acquirements, intelligence, and abundance of resolution, but a very moderate military genius, formed a wrong notion of the position; and Carnot, prepossessed with his plan of the preceding year, persisted in attacking the enemy directly in the centre, and in harassing him on both his wings. Of course the principal mass was to act from Guise upon the centres of the allies, while two strong divisions, the one operating upon the Lys the other upon the Sambre, were to make a double diversion. Such was the plan opposed to the offensive plan of Mack.

Coburg was still commander-in-chief of the allies. The Emperor of Germany had gone in person to the Netherlands to excite his army, and above all to put an end by his presence to the dissensions which were every moment arising among the allied generals. Coburg collected a mass of about one hundred thousand men in the plains of the Cateau, to blockade Landrecies. This was the first act with which the allies meant to commence, till they could obtain the march of the Prussians from the Moselle upon the Sambre.

The movements began about the end of Germinal. The hostile mass, after repulsing the French divisions which had dispersed before it, established itself around Landrecies. The Duke of York was placed in observation near Cambray, and Coburg towards Guise. By the movement which the allies had just made, the French divisions of the centre, driven backward, were separated from the divisions of Maubeuge, which formed the right wing. On the 2d of Floreal (April 21), an attempt was made to rejoin these Maubeuge divisions. A sanguinary action was fought on the Helle. Our columns, still too much divided, were repulsed at all points, and driven back to the positions from which they had started.

A new but general attack on the centre and on both wings was resolved upon. Desjardins's division, which was towards Maubeuge, was to make a movement in order to join Charbonnier's division, which was coming from the Ardennes. In the centre, seven columns were to act at once and concentrically on the whole hostile mass grouped around Landrecies. Lastly,

on the left, Souham and Moreau,* starting from Lille with two divisions, forming a total of fifty thousand men, were ordered to advance into Flanders

* "Jean Victor Moreau, one of the oldest and most celebrated generals of the French republic, was born in Bretagne in 1763. His father intended him for the law, but he fled from his studies, and enlisted in a regiment before he had attained his eighteenth year. In 1789 he joined the army of the North, and subsequently favoured the Girondins, whose fall greatly affected him, and it was with much repugnance that he accepted the constitution of 1793, when proposed to the army. In 1794 he was appointed general of division, and commanded the right wing of Pichegru's army. He was soon after named commander-in-chief of the troops on the Rhine, and commenced that course of operations which terminated in the celebrated retreat from the extremity of Germany to the French frontier, in the face of a superior enemy, by which his skill as a consummate tactician was so much exalted. In 1798 Moreau was sent to command the army in Italy, but, after some brilliant successes, was compelled to give way to the Russians under Suwarrow. After Napoleon's return from Egypt, Moreau was appointed to the command of the armies of the Danube and Rhine, and gained the decisive victory of Hohenlinden. He was afterwards accused of participating in the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges, and sentenced to banishment, whereupon he went to America and lived in retirement till 1813, when he joined the allied armies, and was killed in the battle of Dresden which was fought in that year."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

The following is a contemporary account of the death of this celebrated general, whose military fame once rivalled that of Bonaparte. It is extracted from a letter written by a British officer, and dated Toplitz, Sept. 4, 1813: "General Moreau died yesterday. He was in the act of giving some opinion on military matters, while passing with the Emperor of Russia behind a Prussian battery to which two French ones were answering, and Lord Cathcart and Sir R. Wilson were listening to him, when a ball struck his thigh and almost carried his leg off, passed through his horse, and shattered his other leg to pieces. He gave a deep groan at first, but, immediately after the first agony was over, he spoke with the utmost tranquillity and called for a cigar. They bore him off the field on a litter made of Cossacks' pikes, and carried him to a cottage at a short distance, which however was so much exposed to the fire, that they were obliged, after just binding up his wounds, to remove him further off to the emperor's quarters, where one leg was amputated, he smoking the whole time. When the surgeon informed him he must deprive him of the other leg, he observed, in the calmest manner, that had he known that before, he would have preferred dying. The litter on which they had hitherto conveyed him, was covered with wet straw, and a cloak drenched with rain, which continued in torrents the whole day. He was brought however safely to Laun, where he seemed to be going on well, till a long conference which took place between him and three or four of the allied generals completely exhausted him. Soon after this he became extremely sick, and died at six o'clock yesterday morning." E.

"'Moreau,' observed the Emperor, 'possesses many good qualities. His bravery is undoubted, but he has more courage than energy; he is indolent and effeminate. When with the army, he lived like a pacha; he smoked, was almost constantly in bed, and gave himself up to the pleasures of the table. His dispositions are naturally good; but he is too lazy for study. He does not read, and since he has been tied to his wife's apron-strings, he is fit for nothing. He sees only with the eyes of his wife and her mother, who have had a hand in all his plots against me; and yet, strange to say, it was by my advice that he entered into this union. You must remember, Bourrienne, my observing to you more than two years ago, that Moreau would one day strike his head against the gate of the Tuileries. Had he remained faithful to me, I would have conferred on him the title of First Marshal of the Empire.'"—*Bourrienne*. E.

"I mentioned," says Barry O'Meara, "Moreau's famous retreat through Germany, and asked him if he had not displayed great military talents in it. 'That retreat,' replied Napoleon, 'was the greatest blunder that ever Moreau committed. The Directory were jealous of me, and wanted to divide, if possible, the military reputation; and as they could not give Moreau credit for a victory, they did for a retreat, which they caused to be extolled in the highest terms, though even the Austrian generals condemned him for having performed it. Moreau was an excellent general of division, but not fit to command a large army. Calm and cool in the field, he was more collected and better able to give orders in the heat of action, than to make dispositions prior to it. His death was not a little curious. In the battle before Dresden, I ordered an attack to be made upon the allies by both flanks of my army. While the manœuvres for this purpose were executing, at the distance of about a hundred yards I observed a group of persons on horseback. Concluding that they were watching my ma-

and to take Menin and Courtrai before the face of Clairfayt. The left of the French army operated without impediment, for Prince Kaunitz, with the division which he had on the Sambre, could not prevent the junction of Charbonnier and Desjardins. The columns of the centre broke up on the 7th of Floreal (April 26), and marched from seven different points on the Austrian army. This system of simultaneous and disjointed attacks, which had succeeded so ill with us last year, was not more successful on this occasion. These columns, too far apart, could not support each other, and gained no decisive advantage at any point. One of them, indeed, that of General Chappuis, was entirely defeated. This general, who had marched from Cambray, found himself opposed to the Duke of York, who, as we have stated, was covering Landrecies on that side. He scattered his troops on different points, and arrived before the intrenched positions of Trois-Ville with an inadequate force. Overwhelmed by the fire of the English, charged in flank by the cavalry, he was put to the rout, and his dispersed division returned pell-mell to Cambray. These checks were owing less to the troops than to the injudicious manner in which the operations were directed. Our young soldiers, staggered at times by a fire to which they were not yet accustomed, were nevertheless easy to lead and to be carried to the attack, and they frequently displayed extraordinary ardour and enthusiasm.

While the attempt on the centre had proved so unavailing, the diversion operating in Flanders against Clairfayt had completely succeeded. Souham and Moreau had started from Lille and proceeded to Menin and Courtrai on the 7th of Floreal (April 26). It is well known that those two fortresses are situated, one beyond the Lys, the other on its banks. Moreau invested the first, Souham took the second. Clairfayt mistaken respecting the march of the French, sought them where they were not; but, being soon apprized of the investment of Menin and the capture of Courtrai, he endeavoured to make us fall back by threatening our communications with Lille. On the 9th of Floreal (April 28), he accordingly advanced to Moucroen with eighteen thousand men, and imprudently exposed himself to the attack of fifty thousand French troops, who might have crushed him while falling back. Moreau and Souham, bringing up immediately a part of their forces towards their threatened communications, marched upon Moucroen and resolved to give battle to Clairfayt. He was intrenched in a position accessible only by five narrow defiles, defended by a formidable artillery. On the 10th of Floreal (April 29), the attack was ordered. Our young soldiers, most of whom saw fire for the first time, at first gave way; but generals and officers braved all dangers to rally them: they succeeded, and the positions were carried. Clairfayt lost twelve hundred prisoners, eighty-four of whom were officers, thirty-three pieces of cannon, four pair of colours, and five hundred muskets. This was our first victory in the north, and it served in an extraordinary degree to heighten the courage of the army. Menin was taken immediately afterwards. A division of emigrants which was shut up in the place, escaped by gallantly cutting their way sword in hand.

The success of the left and the reverse of the centre determined Pichegru and Carnot to abandon the centre entirely, and to act exclusively on the wings. Pichegru sent General Bonnaud with twenty thousand men to Sanghien, near Lille, to secure the communications of Moreau and Souham.

mœuvres, I resolved to disturb them, and called out to a captain of artillery, Throw a dozen bullets at once into that group; perhaps there are some little generals in it. It was done instantly, and one of the balls mortally wounded Moreau. A moment before, the Emperor Alexander had been speaking to him.'—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

He left at Guise only twenty thousand men under General Ferrand, and detached the rest towards Maubeuge, to join Desjardins's and Charbonnier's divisions. These united forces made the right wing, destined to act upon the Sambre, amount to fifty-six thousand men. Carnot, judging much more correctly than Pichegru of the state of affairs, gave an order which decided the issue of the campaign. Beginning to perceive that the point on which the allies might be struck to the greatest advantage was the Sambre and the Meuse, and that, if beaten on that line, they would be separated from their base, he ordered Jourdan to assemble fifteen thousand men from the army of the Rhine, to leave on the western slope of the Vosges as many troops as were indispensable for covering that frontier, then to quit the Moselle with forty-five thousand men, and proceed by forced marches for the Sambre. Jourdan's army, united to that of Maubeuge, was to form a mass of ninety or one hundred thousand men, and to effect the defeat of the allies on the decisive point. This order, the most brilliant of the whole campaign, that to which all its results are to be attributed, was issued on the 11th of Floreal (April 30), from the office of the committee of public welfare.

Coburg had meanwhile taken Landrecies. Regarding the defeat of Clairfayt as less important than it really was, he detached the Duke of York towards Lamain, between Tournay and Lille.

Clairfayt had proceeded into West Flanders, between the advanced left of the French and the sea: thus he was farther than ever from the grand army and from the succour which the Duke of York was bringing him. The French, *en échelon*, at Lille, Menin, and Courtray, formed in advanced column in Flanders. Clairfayt, having arrived at Thielt, was between the sea and this column; and the Duke of York, posted at Lamain, before Tournay, was between this column and the grand allied army. Clairfayt determined to make an attempt on Tournay, and attacked it on the 21st of Floreal (May 10). Souham was at this moment in rear of Courtray. He promptly made his dispositions, returned to Courtray to the succour of Vandamme, and, while preparing a sortie, he detached Macdonald* and Malbranck upon Menin, with orders to cross the Lys there and to turn Clairfayt. The action took place on the 22d (May 11). Clairfayt had made the best dispositions on the causeway of Bruges and in the suburbs; but our young recruits boldly braved the fire from the houses and the batteries, and, after an obstinate conflict, obliged Clairfayt to retire. Four thousand men belonging to

* " Marshal Macdonald is the son of a Highland gentleman of the Clanronald sept, who was among the first to join the Pretender in 1745, and, after the battle of Culloden, escaped to France, where he settled. His son was born in 1765, and entered as lieutenant into the Irish regiment of Dillon. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he embraced its principles, but with moderation. At the battle of Jemappes he behaved with great gallantry, and led the van of the army of the North as general of brigade. On the 18th Brumaire he took part with Bonaparte, but his favour with the First Consul ceased in 1803, and he remained in obscurity till the year 1809, when he was offered a command in the army, and at the battle of Wagram exhibited such skill and intrepidity that the emperor created him a marshal on the field, and said to him, 'Henceforth, Macdonald, let us be friends.' In Spain and Russia, the marshal (now created Duke of Tarentum) equalled the best of Napoleon's generals. He was also at Lutzen and Bautzen, and rendered signal services at Leipsic. Macdonald faithfully adhered to the Emperor until his abdication at Fontainebleau. The new government made him a peer of France, and loaded him with honours. On the return of Bonaparte from Elba, Macdonald endeavoured to make head against him, but in vain: and accordingly he accompanied Louis to the frontiers of the kingdom. The marshal is still living, and inhabits in Paris the splendid hotel of the Legion of Honour. He has daughters, but no son to inherit his title."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

both sides covered the field of battle ; and if, instead of turning the enemy on the side next to Menin, he had been turned on the opposite side, his retreat upon Flanders might have been cut off.

This was the second time that Clairfayt had been beaten by our victorious left wing. Our right wing, on the Sambre, was not so fortunate. Commanded by several generals, who held a council of war with St. Just and Lebas, the representatives, it was not so judiciously directed as the two divisions under Souham and Moreau. Kleber and Marceau, who had been removed to it from La Vendée, were capable of conducting it to a victory, but their opinions were not attended to. The movement prescribed to this right wing was to pass the Sambre and to march upon Mons. A first passage was attempted on the 20th of Floreal (May 9), but, the necessary dispositions not having been made on the other bank, the army could not maintain itself there, and was obliged to recross the Sambre in disorder. On the 22d, St. Just resolved to make a second attempt notwithstanding the failure of the first. It would have been much better to await the arrival of Jourdan, who with his forty-five thousand men, must have rendered the success of the right wing infallible. But St. Just would not admit of hesitation or delay ; and the generals were forced to obey this terrible proconsul. The new passage was not more lucky than the first. The French army crossed the Sambre a second time ; but, again attacked on the other bank, before it was firmly established there, it would have been undone but for the intrepidity of Marceau and the firmness of Kleber.

Thus for a month past the contending parties had been fighting from Maubeuge to the sea with incredible obstinacy and without any decisive results. Successful on the left, we were foiled on the right ; but our troops acquired discipline, and the bold and skilful movement prescribed to Jourdan led the way to important results.

Mack's plan had become impracticable. The Prussian General Möllendorff refused to march to the Sambre, observing that he had no orders to that effect from his court. The English negotiators had been demanding explanations of the Prussian cabinet relative to the treaty of the Hague, and meanwhile Coburg, threatened on one of his wings, had been obliged to dissolve his centre after the example of Pichegru. He had reinforced Kautz towards the Sambre, and moved the main body of his army towards Flanders, to the environs of Tournay. A decisive action was, therefore, about to take place on the left, for the moment was at hand when mighty masses must come into collision and fight one another.

A plan, called *the plan of destruction*, was at this moment conceived at the Austrian head-quarters. Its object was to separate the French army from Lille, to surround and to annihilate it. Such an operation was possible, for the allies could bring nearly one hundred thousand men into action against seventy thousand ; but they made singular dispositions for attaining this object. The French were still distributed in the following manner : Souham and Moreau at Menin and Courtray with fifty thousand men, and Bonnaud in the environs of Lille with twenty thousand. The allies were still divided upon the two flanks of this advanced line ; Clairfayt's division on the left in West Flanders, and the mass of the allies on the right towards Tournay. The allies resolved to make a concentric effort on Turcoing, which separates Menin and Courtray from Lille. Clairfayt was to march thither from West Flanders, passing through Werwick and Lincelles. Generals de Busch, Otto, and the Duke of York, were ordered to march upon the same point from the opposite side, that is from Tournay. De Busch was to proceed to Moucroen,

Otto to Turcoing itself, and the Duke of York, advancing to Roubaix and Mouvaux, was to form a junction with Clairfayt. By this latter junction, Souham and Moreau would be cut off from Lille. General Kinsky and the Archduke Charles, with two strong columns, were directed to drive Bonnaud back into Lille. These dispositions, in order to succeed, would have required a combination of movements which was impossible. Most of these corps were to start from extremely distant points, and Clairfayt had to march through the French army.

These movements were to be executed on the 20th of Floreal (May 17). Pichegru had gone at that moment to the left wing of the Sambre, to repair the checks which that wing had experienced. Souham and Moreau directed the army in the absence of Pichegru. The first intimation of the designs of the allies was given them by the march of Clairfayt upon Werwick. They instantly moved towards that quarter; but, on learning that the main army of the enemy was approaching on the opposite side and threatening their communications, they formed a prompt and judicious resolution, namely, to make an attempt on Turcoing, with a view to possess themselves of this decisive position between Menin and Lille. Moreau remained with Vandamme's division before Clairfayt, in order to retard his march, and Souham marched upon Turcoing with forty-five thousand men. The communications with Lille were not yet interrupted; the French general could therefore send orders to Bonnaud to advance on his side to Turcoing, and to make a powerful effort to maintain the communication between that position and Lille.

The dispositions of the French generals were attended with complete success. Clairfayt could advance but slowly; retarded at Werwick, he could not reach Lincelles on the prescribed day. General de Busch had at first possessed himself of Moucroen, but had afterwards received a slight check, and Otto, having divided his troops to succour him, had not left a sufficient force at Turcoing; lastly, the Duke of York had advanced to Roubaix and Mouvaux, without seeing anything of Clairfayt or being able to connect himself with him. Kinsky and the Archduke Charles had not arrived near Lille till late on the day of the 28th (May 17). Next morning the 29th (May 18), Souham marched briskly upon Turcoing, defeating all that came in his way, and made himself master of that important position. Bonnaud, on his part, marching from Lille upon the Duke of York, who was to interpose between Turcoing and Lille, found him spread out upon an extended line. The English, though taken unawares, attempted to resist, but our young recruits, marching with ardour, obliged them to give way, and, throwing away their arms, to betake themselves to flight. The rout was such that the Duke of York, riding off at full gallop, owed his escape solely to the swiftness of his horse. From that moment the confusion among the allies became general, and from the heights of Templeuve the Emperor of Austria witnessed the flight of his whole army. Meanwhile the Archduke Charles, ill supplied with intelligence and ill placed, was inactive below Lille, and Clairfayt, stopped towards the Lys, was compelled to retreat.* Such was the issue of this *plan of destruction*. It gave us

* "So sudden was the rout, that the Duke of York himself owed his safety to the fleetness of his horse, a circumstance which he had the candour to admit in his official despatch. Such was the defect of the combinations of Prince Coburg, that, at the time when his central columns were overwhelmed, the two columns on the left, amounting to not less than thirty thousand men, under the Archduke Charles and Kinsky, remained in a state of absolute inaction; and Clairfayt, who came up too late to take any active part in the en-

several thousand prisoners, a great quantity of *matériel*, and the glory of a great victory, gained with seventy thousand men over nearly one hundred thousand.

Pichegru arrived when the battle was won. All the allied corps fell back upon Tournay, and Clairfayt, returning to Flanders, resumed his position at Thielt. Pichegru did not make the best use of this important victory. The allies were grouped near Tournay, having their right supported on the Scheldt. The French general resolved to intercept a quantity of forage coming up the Scheldt for them, and made his whole army fight for this puerile object. Approaching the Scheldt, he closely pressed the allies in their semicircular position of Tournay. Presently, all his corps were successively engaged on this semicircle. The action was hottest at Pont-a-Chin, along the Scheldt. For twelve hours there was a most frightful carnage, and without any possible result. From seven to eight thousand men perished on both sides. The French army fell back, after burning some boats, and losing in part that superiority which the battle of Turcoing had gained it.*

We might, nevertheless, consider ourselves as victorious in Flanders, and the necessity to which Coburg was reduced of sending succours elsewhere soon rendered our superiority there more decided. On the Sambre, St. Just had determined to effect a third passage, and to invest Charleroi; but Kautitz, being reinforced, had caused the siege to be raised at the moment when, fortunately, Jourdan arrived with the whole army of the Moselle. From that moment, ninety thousand men were about to act on the real line of operations, and to put an end to the fluctuations of victory. On the Rhine nothing of importance had occurred; General Möllendorff, profiting by the diminution of our forces on that point, had merely taken from us the post of Kaiserslautern, but had returned to his former inactivity immediately after this advantage. Thus from the month of Prairial (the end of May), and along the whole line of the north, we had not only withstood the coalition, but triumphed in several actions. We had gained one great victory, and we were advancing on the two wings into Flanders and on the Sambre. The loss of Landrecies was nothing compared with such advantages and with those which our present situation assured to us.

The war of La Vendée was not entirely finished by the rout of Savenay. Three chiefs had escaped, Laroche-Jacquelein, Stofflet and Marigny. Besides these three chiefs, Charette, who, instead of crossing the Loire, had taken the island of Noirmoutier, remained in Lower Vendée. This war was, however, confined to mere skirmishes, and was not of a nature to give the republic any uneasiness. General Turreau had been appointed to the command of the West. He had divided the disposable army into moveable columns, which scoured the country, directing their course concentrically to one and the same point. They fought the fugitive bands when they fell in with them, and when they had not to fight, they executed the decree of the Convention. They burned the forests and the villages, and carried away the inhabitants, and removed them to other situations. Several actions had

gagement, was obliged to retire. In this action, where the allies lost three thousand men and sixty pieces of cannon, the superiority of the French generalship was very apparent."—*Alison*. E.

* "The Emperor Francis of Austria was on horseback for twelve hours during this sanguinary battle, constantly traversing the ranks, and exhorting his troops to keep up their spirits.—'Courage, my friends,' said he, when they appeared about to droop and give way, 'let us make but a few more efforts, and the day is our own.'"—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

taken place, but they had not been productive of any great results. Haxo, after retaking the isles of Noirmontier and Bouin from Charette, had several times hoped to take him, too; but this daring partisan had always escaped, and appeared again soon after the combat with a perseverance not less admirable than his address. This unhappy war was thenceforward only a war of devastation. General Turreau* had been constrained to adopt a cruel measure, namely, to order the inhabitants of the villages to quit the country, upon pain of being treated as enemies if they remained in it. This measure compelled them either to quit the soil on which they had all the means of existence, or to submit to military executions.† Such are the inevitable miseries of civil wars.

Bretagne had become the theatre of a new kind of war, that of the Chouans.‡ That province had already shown some disposition to imitate La Vendée, but, as the propensity to insurrection was not so general, some individuals only, taking advantage of the nature of particular situations, had engaged in separate acts of robbery and plunder. The wrecks of the Vendean column, which had proceeded into Bretagne, had soon afterwards increased the number of these partisans. They had formed their principal establishment in the forest of Perche, and scoured the country in bands of forty or fifty, sometimes attacking the gendarmerie, levying contributions on small communes, and committing these disorders in the name of the royal and Catholic cause. But the real war was over, and no more could now be done than deplore the particular calamities by which these wretched provinces were afflicted.

In the colonies and at sea, the war was not less active than on the continent. The wealthy settlement of St. Domingo had been the theatre of the greatest horrors recorded in history. The white population had embraced

* "General Turreau was the faithful servant of the Convention in its bloodiest days, and the faithful servant of Bonaparte after his return from Elba. He hated the old government and he hated the Bourbons, whatever government they might establish. He was a man capable of forming military arrangements, and merciless enough to act upon any system however barbarous."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "The poor Vendean royalists were now reduced frequently to live on alms, and forced every two or three days to shift their quarters in the middle of the night, from one wretched cabin to another. Such was the vindictive rigour of the republican party, that the most unrelaxing search was made for fugitives of all descriptions; and every adherent of the insurgent faction who fell into their hands was barbarously murdered, without the least regard to age, sex, or individual innocence. While skulking about in this state of peril, they had occasional rencounters with some of their former companions whom similar misfortunes had driven upon similar schemes of concealment. In particular, a party of Vendean fugitives twice saw the daring Marigny, who had wandered over the whole country, and, notwithstanding his gigantic form and remarkable features, had contrived so to disguise himself, as to avoid all detection. He could counterfeit all ages and dialects, and speak in the *patois* of every village. He appeared before them in the character of an itinerant dealer of poultry, and retired unsuspected by all but one or two of his old companions in arms."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

‡ "The Chouans were four brothers, who were originally smugglers, and named Cotteureau, that of Chouan, which was given them, being merely a corruption of *chui-huant* (screech-owl), because they imitated its cry in order to recognise each other in the woods at night. In 1793 they collected troops near Laval, which took their name, and soon afterwards, being reinforced by some remains of the Vendean army, they made war under the command of the Count de Puisaye, in the name of Louis XVIII. Three of the four brothers fell in battle, one of whom was John, celebrated for his courage and physical strength. The Chouans, after the total defeat of La Vendée, made peace with the Directory; but, about the end of 1799, revived with more energy than ever. Scattered through the country, and almost always invisible, they attacked the patriot posts, but disappeared before considerable bodies of men. Bonaparte put them down effectually in the year 1800."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

with enthusiasm the cause of the Revolution, which they thought must lead to their independence of the mother country. The mulattoes had embraced it not less cordially, but they hoped for something more than the political independence of the colony, and aspired to the rights of citizenship, which had always been refused them. The Constituent Assembly had recognised the rights of the mulattoes; but the whites, who wanted to keep the Revolution to themselves, had then revolted, and a civil war had commenced between the old race of freemen, and those who had been just enfranchised.

Taking advantage of this war, the blacks had appeared upon the stage, and fire and blood proclaimed their presence. They murdered their masters, and burned their property.* From this moment the colony became the theatre of the most horrible confusion. Each party reproached the other with the new enemy that had just started up, and accused its adversary of having supplied him with arms. The negroes, without yet siding with either, ravaged the country. Excited, however, by the emissaries of the Spanish party, it was not long before they pretended to espouse the royal cause. To add to the confusion, the English had interfered. One part of the whites had applied to them in a moment of danger, and had delivered to them the very important fort of St. Nicholas. Santhonax,† the commissioner, assisted principally by the mulattoes and part of the whites, had opposed the invasion of the English, which he could at last find but one expedient for repelling, and that was, to recognise the freedom of the blacks who should declare themselves in favour of the republic. The Convention had confirmed this measure, and, by a decree, proclaimed all the negroes free. From that mo-

* "At midnight, on the 30th of October, 1791, the insurrection of the blacks of St. Domingo broke forth. In an instant twelve hundred coffee and two hundred sugar plantations were in flames; the buildings, the machinery, the farm-houses, were reduced to ashes; and the unfortunate proprietors were hunted down, murdered, or thrown into the flames, by the infuriated negroes. The horrors of a servile war universally appeared. The unchained African signaled his ingenuity by the discovery of new and unheard-of modes of torture. An unhappy planter was sawed asunder between two boards. The horrors inflicted on the women exceeded anything known, even in the annals of Christian ferocity. The indulgent master was sacrificed equally with the inhuman. On all alike, young and old, rich and poor, the wrongs of an oppressed race were indiscriminately wreaked. Crowds of slaves traversed the country with the heads of white children affixed on their pikes. These served as the standards of the furious insurgents. Jean François, a slave of vast penetration, firm character, and violent passions, not unmingled with generosity, was the leader of the conspiracy. His lieutenants were Biasson and Toussaint. The former, of gigantic stature and indomitable ferocity, was well fitted to assert his superiority; the latter, gifted with rare intelligence, dissimulation, boundless ambition, and heroic firmness, was fitted to become at once the Numa and the Romulus of the sable republic in the western hemisphere. The republican commissioners sent out by the Convention contrived for a time partly to quell the insurrection, but, in 1793, it broke out with redoubled fury. Three thousand insurgents penetrated into Cape Town, and, making straight for the prisons, delivered a large body of slaves who were there in chains. Instantly the liberated captives spread themselves over the country, set it on fire in every quarter, and massacred the whites. A scene of matchless horror ensued. Twenty thousand negroes burst into the city, with the torch in one hand and the sword in the other. Neither age nor sex was spared. The young were cut down in striving to defend their houses; the aged in the churches, where they had fled for protection. Virgins were immolated on the altar; infants hurled into the fires. The finest city in the West Indies was reduced to ashes. Its splendid churches, its stately palaces, were wrapt in flames, and thirty thousand human beings perished in the massacre."—*Alison*. E.

† "L. F. Santhonax, deputy from Ain, was successively delegated to St. Domingo by the constitutional King, by the Convention, and by the Directory. His administration was tyrannical and ineffective, and he was frequently denounced to the government in Paris. On his final recall in 1797, he was admitted into the council of Five Hundred; and in the year 1805 was living in retirement at Fontainebleau."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

ment, a portion of them, who had espoused the royal cause, had gone over to the party of the republicans; and the English, intrenched in Fort St. Nicholas, had no longer any hopes of securing that rich settlement, which, after being long ravaged, was destined at last to become independent of any foreign power. Guadaloupe had been taken and retaken, and still continued in our possession. Martinique was definitively lost.

Such were the disorders in the colonies. At sea, an important event had occurred, namely, the arrival of that convoy from America, so impatiently expected in our ports. The Brest squadron had left that port, as we have stated, to the number of thirty sail, with orders to cruise and not to fight, unless the safety of the convoy imperatively required it. We have already said that Jean-Bon-St.-André was on board the admiral's ship; that Villaret-Joyeuse had been promoted from captain to commander of the squadron; that peasants who had never been at sea had been placed among the crews; and that these sailors, officers, and admirals of a day, were sent forth to fight the veteran English navy. Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse weighed on the 1st of Prairial (May 20), and made sail for the isles of Coves and Flores, to wait for the convoy. He took by the way a great number of English merchantmen, the captains of which said to him, "You are taking us retail, but Lord Howe will soon take you wholesale." That admiral was actually cruising off the coasts of Bretagne and Normandy with thirty-three sail of the line and twelve frigates. On the 9th of Prairial (May 28), the French squadron desecrated a fleet. The impatient crews watched those black specks on the horizon growing gradually larger and larger; and, when they ascertained them to be the English, they set up shouts of enthusiasm, and insisted on fighting, with that ardent patriotism which has always distinguished the inhabitants of our coasts. Though the instructions given to the admiral forbade him to fight unless to save the convoy, yet Jean-Bon-St.-André, himself hurried away by the universal enthusiasm, assented to the general wish, and caused orders to be issued to prepare for action. Towards evening, a ship of the rear-division, *Le Révolutionnaire*, which had shortened sail, was brought to action by the English, made an obstinate resistance, lost her captain, and was obliged to steer for Rochefort to refit. Night prevented the action from becoming general.

Next day, the 10th (May 29), the two squadrons were opposite to one another. The English admiral manœuvred against our rear. The movement which we made to protect it brought on an action between the two fleets. The French not manœuvring so well, two of their ships, *L'Indomptable* and *Le Tyrannicide*, found themselves opposed to a very superior force, and fought with determined courage. Villaret-Joyeuse ordered some of his squadron to go to the relief of the ships engaged; but his orders being neither clearly understood nor duly executed, he advanced alone, at the risk of not being followed. This was done, however, soon afterwards: our whole squadron bore down upon that of the enemy, and obliged it to sheer off. Unfortunately, we had lost the advantage of the wind. We kept up a terrible fire on the English but were unable to pursue them. We retained our two ships and the field of battle.

On the 11th and 12th (May 30 and 31), a thick fog enveloped the two fleets. The French endeavoured to lead the English to the north and to the west of the track which the convoy was to pursue. On the 13th, the fog dispersed, and the sun shone brightly upon both squadrons. The French had no more than twenty-six sail, while their adversaries had thirty-six. They again insisted on fighting, and it was agreed to indulge their ardour,

for the purpose of occupying the English and keeping them aloof from the track of the convoy, which was to pass over the field of battle of the 10th.

This action, one of the most memorable that Ocean ever witnessed, began about nine in the morning. Lord Howe bore down to cut our line.* A false manœuvre of our ship, *La Montagne*, allowed him to accomplish his purpose, to cut off our left wing, and to attack it with all his force. Our right and our van were left separated. The admiral would have rallied them around him, with the intention of bearing down upon the English squadron, but he had lost the advantage of the wind, and it was five hours before he was able to approach the field of battle. Meanwhile the ships engaged fought with extraordinary heroism. The English, superior in manœuvring, lost their advantages ship to ship, and had to encounter a tremendous fire and formidable boardings. It was in the heat of this obstinate action that *Le Vengeur*, dismasted, half destroyed, and ready to founder, refused to strike her colours, at the peril of being sent to the bottom.† The English first ceased firing, and retired in astonishment at such a resistance. They had taken six of our ships. Next day, Villaret-Joyeuse, having collected his van and his right, was for bearing down and wresting from them their prey. The English, who had sustained great damage, would perhaps have yielded the victory to us. Jean-Bon-St.-André opposed a new engagement, notwithstanding the enthusiasm of the crews. The English could therefore regain their ports unmolested. They returned to them, astounded at their victory and filled with admiration of the intrepidity of our young seamen. But the essential object of this terrible conflict was accomplished. Admiral Venstabel had on that same day, the 13th, sailed over the field of battle of the 10th, which he found covered with wrecks, and had entered without accident the ports of France.

Thus victorious at the Pyrenees and the Alps, formidable in the Netherlands, heroic at sea, and strong enough to dispute a naval victory most obstinately with the English, we commenced the year 1794 in the most brilliant and glorious manner.

* "Lord Howe signalled that he should attack the centre of the enemy, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line, and that he should pass through the enemy's line and engage to leeward. The two fleets being now about four miles apart, and the crews of the British ships, after the fatigue of sitting up three nights, needing some refreshments, Lord Howe hove to, and gave the men their breakfasts. This over, the British filled, and bore down on the enemy. In a few minutes after a signal was thrown out for each ship to steer for, and independently engage, the ship opposed to her in the enemy's line. The French fleet was drawn up in a close head-and-stern line, bearing about east and west. Between a quarter and half-past 9 A. M. the French van opened its fire on the British van. In about a quarter of an hour the fire of the enemy became general, and Lord Howe, with his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mast-heads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the English ships cut through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire, some at a long and others at a shorter distance. At 10 A. M. when the action was at its height, the French admiral made sail ahead, followed by his second astern, and afterwards by such other of his ships as had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about 11 A. M. the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, and the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. At about one o'clock the general firing ceased, the enemy's vessels, for the most part, striving to escape under a spritsail, or some small sail set on the tallest stump left to them. When the action commenced, the French fleet was, within one ship, numerically equal to the British fleet opposed to it."—*James's Naval History*. E.

† "The heroism of the crew of the *Vengeur* is worthy of eternal remembrance. Though sinking rapidly in the water, and after the lower-deck guns were immersed, they continued vehemently to discharge the upper tier; and at length, when the ship went to the bottom, the crew continued to cheer, and the cries, 'Vive la République,' 'Vive la France,' were heard as she was swallowed up in the waves!"—*Alison*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INTERNAL SITUATION—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE ROBESPIERRE, AND COLLOT-D'HERBOIS—FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING—DISSENSION BETWEEN THE COMMITTEES—LAW OF THE TWENTY-SECOND OF PRAIRIAL—GREAT EXECUTIONS—MISSIONS OF LEBON, CARRIER, MAIGNET, ETC.—LAST DAYS OF TERROR—RUPTURE BETWEEN THE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE—SECESSION OF ROBESPIERRE—BATTLE OF FLEURUS—EVENTS OF THE EIGHTH AND NINTH OF THERMIDOR—EXECUTION OF COUTHON, ST. JUST, AND ROBESPIERRE.

WHILE the republic was victorious against its foreign foes, its internal state had not ceased to be greatly agitated. The evils by which it was afflicted were still the same. These were the assignats, the *maximum*, the scarcity of articles of subsistence, the law regarding suspected persons, and the revolutionary tribunals.

The embarrassments resulting from the necessity for regulating all the movements of commerce had only increased. The Convention had been obliged constantly to modify the law of the *maximum*. It had found it necessary to except from it, at one time, spun thread, and to grant it ten per cent. above the tariff: at another, pins, linen, cambrics, muslins, gauzes, laces of thread and silk, silks, and silken goods. But while the legislature was forced to except a great number of commodities from the *maximum*, there were others which it was expedient to subject to its provisions. Thus, the price of horses having become excessive, it could not avoid determining their value according to height and quality. From these means the same inconvenience invariably resulted. Commerce stood still and closed its markets, or opened clandestine ones; and in this case authority became powerless. If by means of the assignats it had been enabled to realize the value of the national domains, if by the *maximum* it had been enabled to place assignats on a par with merchandise, there was no way of preventing merchandise from withdrawing and concealing itself from purchasers. Thus there was no end to the complaints raised against tradesmen who retired from business or shut up their shops.

Less uneasiness, however, was this year felt on account of articles of consumption. The convoys arrived from America, and an abundant harvest had furnished a sufficient quantity of corn for the consumption of France. The committee, displaying the same vigour in all matters of administration, had ordered a general statement of the crops to be drawn up by the commission of provisions, and part of the grain to be thrashed immediately for the supply of the markets. It had been feared that the itinerant reapers who leave their homes and go to the corn countries would demand extraordinary wages; the committee, therefore, declared that persons of both sexes, who were accustomed to do harvest work, were in forced requisition, and that their wages should be determined by the local authorities. It was not long

before, the journeymen butchers and bakers having struck, the committee adopted a more general measure, and put in requisition workmen of all kinds, who were employed in the manipulation, the transport, and the sale of articles of the first necessity.

The supply of meat was a business of much greater difficulty, and caused much greater uneasiness. In Paris especially it was scarce; and, from the moment when the Hebertists attempted to make this scarcity a pretext for exciting commotion, the evil had only increased. It had been found necessary to put the city of Paris upon an allowance of meat. The commission of provisions had fixed the daily consumption at seventy-five oxen, fifteen thousand pounds weight of veal and mutton, and two hundred hogs. It procured the requisite cattle and sent them to the Hospice de l'Humanité, which was appointed as the common and only authorized slaughter-house. The butchers named by each section came there, and took away the meat which was destined for them, and received a quantity proportioned to the population which they had to supply. Every five days they were to distribute to each family half a pound of meat per head. In this instance recourse was had to tickets, such as were delivered by the revolutionary committees for the distribution of bread, stating the number of individuals of which each family was composed. To prevent tumults and long waiting, people were forbidden to go before six in the morning to the doors of the butchers.

The insufficiency of these regulations soon became apparent. Clandestine dealers had already set up, as we have elsewhere observed. Their number daily increased. The cattle had not time to reach the markets of Neuborg, Poissy, and Sceaux; the country butchers met them and bought them in the pastures. Taking advantage of the less vigilant execution of the laws in the rural communes, these butchers sold above the *maximum*, and supplied all the inhabitants of the great communes and particularly those of Paris, who were not content with the allowance of half-a-pound every five days. In this manner the country butchers had run away with all the business of the town butchers, who had scarcely any thing to do since they were confined to the distribution of rations. Several of them even applied for a law authorizing them to throw up the leases of their shops. It then became necessary to make new regulations to prevent the stoppage of cattle on their way to the markets; and the proprietors of pasture-grounds were subjected to declarations and to extremely annoying formalities. The government was obliged to descend to still more minute details. As wood and charcoal ceased to arrive on account of the *maximum*, and suspicions of forestalling were excited, it was forbidden to have more than four loads of wood and more than two loads of charcoal.

The new government exerted itself with singular activity to surmount all the difficulties of the career upon which it had entered. While it was issuing these numberless regulations, it was engaged in reforming agriculture, changing the legislation of farming, for the purpose of dividing the tillage of lands, introducing new rotations of crops, artificial meadows, and the rearing of cattle. It ordered the institution of botanic gardens in all the chief towns of departments, for naturalizing exotic plants, forming nurseries of trees of all kinds, and opening courses of lectures on agriculture for the instruction, and adapted to the comprehension, of farmers. It ordered the general draining of marshes, on a comprehensive and well-conceived plan. It decreed that the state should make the necessary advances for this great undertaking, and that the owners whose lands should be drained and rendered

wholesome should pay a tax or sell their lands at a certain price. Lastly, it invited all the architects to furnish plans for rebuilding the villages on demolishing the mansions; it ordered embellishments to render the garden of the Tuileries more commodious for the public: and it demanded plans from artists for changing the Opera-house into a covered arena where the people might assemble in winter.

Thus it executed, or at least attempted, almost everything at once; so true it is that the more business one has to do, the more one is capable of doing. The department of the finances was not the least difficult nor the least perplexing. We have seen what resources were devised in the month of August, 1793, to restore the assignats to their nominal value, by withdrawing part of them from circulation. The one thousand millions withdrawn by the forced loan, and the victories which terminated the campaign of 1793, raised them, and, as we have elsewhere stated, they rose almost to par, owing to the terrible laws which rendered the possession of specie so dangerous. This apparent prosperity lasted, however, only for a short time. They soon fell again, and the quantity of issues rapidly depreciated them. Part of them, indeed, returned in consequence of the sales of the national property, but this return was insufficient. These possessions were sold above the estimate, which was not surprising, for the estimate had been made in money, and payment was made in assignats. Thus the price, though apparently above, was really much below, the estimated value. Besides, this absorption of the assignats could be but slow, while the issue was necessarily immense and rapid. Twelve hundred thousand men to arm and to pay, a *matériel* to create, a navy to build, with a depreciated paper, required enormous quantities of that paper. This resource having become the only one, and, moreover, the capital of the assignats increasing daily by confiscations, the government made up its mind to employ them so long as occasion required. It abolished the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary fund, the one arising from the produce of the taxes, the other from the creation of assignats. The two kinds of resources were blended, and, whenever occasion required, any deficit in the revenue was supplied by fresh issues. At the beginning of 1794 (year II) the sum total of the issues was doubled. Nearly four thousand millions had been added to the sum which previously existed, and had raised it to about eight thousand millions. Deducting the sums which had come back and been burned, and those which had not yet been expended, there remained in actual circulation five thousand five hundred and thirty-six millions. In Messidor (year II, June, 1794) the creation of a fresh thousand million of assignats was decreed, of all amounts, from one thousand francs to fifteen sous. The committee of finances again had recourse to a forced loan from the rich. The lists of the preceding year were made use of, and upon those who were entered in those lists was imposed an extraordinary war contribution of one-tenth of the forced loan, that is to say, of ten millions. This sum was not levied upon them as a loan repayable, but as a tax which was to be paid by them without return.

To complete the establishment of the great book, and the plan of giving uniformity to the public debt, it still remained to *capitalise* the life annuities, and to convert them into an inscription. These annuities, of all descriptions and of all forms, were the object of the most complicated stockjobbing. They had the same inconvenience as the old contracts on the state, that of reposing on a royal title, and obtaining a marked preference to republican stocks; for people were still sure that, if the republic consented to pay the

debts of the monarchy, the monarchy would never consent to pay those of the republic. Cambon, therefore, completed his grand work of the regeneration of the debt, by proposing and obtaining a law which capitalised the life annuities; the titles were to be delivered up by the notaries and burned, as the contracts had been. The capital originally furnished by the annuitant was converted into an inscription, and bore a perpetual interest at five per cent., instead of a life revenue. At the same time, out of consideration for aged persons and those of very small fortune, who had meant to double their resources by investing them in annuities for life, those of moderate amounts were preserved and proportioned to the age of the parties. From forty to fifty, all annuities of fifteen hundred to two thousand francs were suffered to exist; from fifty to sixty, all annuities of three to four thousand; and so on to the age of one hundred, and to the sum of ten thousand five hundred francs. If the annuitant comprised in the cases above mentioned had an annuity exceeding the fixed standard, the surplus was capitalised. Certainly more consideration could not well be shown for moderate fortunes and for old age; and yet no law ever gave rise to more remonstrances and complaints, and the Convention incurred more censure for a wise measure, and one conducted with humanity, than for those terrible measures which daily marked its dictatorship.* The stockjobbers were grievously offended, because the law, in order to recognise the credits, required certificates of life. The holders of titles of emigrants could not easily procure these certificates; hence the jobbers, who were sufferers by this condition, complained loudly in the name of the aged and the infirm: they declared that neither age nor indigence was respected; they persuaded the annuitants that they should not be paid, because the operation and the formalities which it required would be attended with endless delays. However, that was not the case. Cambon caused some clauses of the decree to be modified, and, by his incessant superintendence at the Treasury, he carried its provisions into effect with the greatest promptitude. The annuitants who did not job in the titles of others, but lived upon their own income, were speedily paid; and, as Barrère said, instead of waiting their turn of payment in uncovered courts, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, they waited in the warm and comfortable rooms of the Treasury.

Along with these beneficial reforms cruelties continued to run their course.†

* "So numerous was this class of life-annuitants in France, and so tenacious are men of whatever touches their pecuniary interests, that there was no measure at the time which excited such violent discontent, and the Convention were more blamed for this retrenchment than all the sanguinary and terrible laws which had stained their administration."—*Alison*. E.

† "The sun of Liberty was in eclipse, while the crested hydra of the coalition glared round the horizon. The atmosphere was dark and sultry. There was a dead pause—a stillness in the air, except as the silence was broken by a shout like distant thunder, or the wild chant of patriotic songs. There was a fear, as in the time of a plague—a fierceness, as before and after a deadly strife. It was a civil war raging in the heart of a great city as in a field of battle, and turning it into a charnel-house. The eye was sleepless—the brain heated. Sights of horror grew familiar to the mind, which had no other choice than that of being either the victim or the executioner. What at first was stern necessity, or public duty, became a habit and a sport; and the arm inured to slaughter, struck at random, sparing neither friend nor foe. The soul, harrowed up by the spectacle of the most appalling cruelties, could not do without them, and nursed the dreadful appetite for death. The habit of going to the place of execution resembled that of visiting the theatre. Legal murder was the order of the day, a holiday sight, till France became one scene of wild disorder, and the Revolution a stage of blood. The chief actor in this tragic scene, the presiding demon of the storm, was Robespierre."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

The law which expelled the ex-nobles from Paris, the fortresses and the seaports, gave rise to a multitude of vexations. To distinguish the real nobles was not easier now that nobility was a calamity, than when it had been a pretension. Females originally belonging to the commonalty, who had married nobles and become widows, the purchasers of offices who had taken the title of esquire, claimed to be exempted from a distinction which formerly they had so eagerly coveted. This law then opened a new career to arbitrary power and to the most tyrannical vexations.

The representatives on mission exercised their authority with the utmost rigour, and some of them indulged in extravagant and monstrous cruelties. In Paris the prisons daily became more and more crowded. The committee of general safety had instituted a police which spread terror everywhere. At the head of it was a man named Heron, who had under his direction a host of agents, all worthy of their chief. They were what were called, the messengers of the committees. Some acted as spies, others were furnished with secret and frequently even blank orders, and went to make arrests either in Paris or in the provinces. A sum of money was allowed them for each of their expeditions. They extorted more from the prisoners, and thus added rapine to cruelty. All the adventurers who had been disbanded with the revolutionary army, or dismissed from Bouchotte's office, had taken up this new trade and become much more formidable for it. They were everywhere, in the promenades, the coffee-houses, the theatres. Every moment you fancied that you were watched and overheard by one of these inquisitors. Owing to their assiduity, the number of the suspected had increased in Paris alone to seven or eight thousand.* The prisons no longer exhibited the spectacle which they had at first presented; the rich were no longer seen there contributing to the support of the poor, and men of all opinions, of all ranks, leading at their joint cost a tolerably agreeable life, and consoling themselves by the pleasures of the arts for the hardships of captivity. This system had appeared too indulgent for what were called aristocrats. It was alleged that the rich were revelling in luxury and abundance, while the people outside were reduced to rations: that the wealthy prisoners wasted in riotous living those provisions which might have served to feed the indigent citizens: and it had been decided that the system of the prisons should be changed. Refectories and common tables had in consequence been established; the prisoners were supplied at fixed hours and in large halls with an unpalatable and unwholesome food, for which they were obliged to pay at a very dear rate. Nor were they permitted to procure their own provisions, instead of those which they could not eat. They were searched; their assignats were taken from them, and thus they were deprived of all means of procuring themselves comforts of any kind. They were no longer allowed the same liberty of seeing one another and living together, and to the hard-

* "Seven thousand prisoners were soon accumulated in the different places of confinement in Paris; the number throughout France exceeded two hundred thousand! The long nights of these wretched victims were frequently interrupted by visits from the executioners, solely intended to excite alarm; the few hours of sleep allowed them were broken by the rattling of chains and unbarring of doors, to induce the belief that their fellow-sufferers were about to be led to the scaffold. From the farthest extremities of France crowds of prisoners daily arrived at the gates of the Conciergerie, which successively sent forth its bands of victims to the guillotine. Gray hairs and youthful forms, countenances blooming with health, and faces worn with suffering, beauty and talent, rank and virtue, were indiscriminately rolled together to the fatal doors. Sixty persons often arrived in a day, and as many were, on the following morning, sent out to execution. Night and day, the cars incessantly discharged victims into the prison."—*Alison*. E.

ship of seclusion were superadded the terrors of death, which daily became more active and more prompt. The revolutionary tribunal began, after the trial of the Hebertists and the Dantonists, to sacrifice victims in troops of twenty at a time.* It had condemned the family of the Malesherbes and their relatives to the number of fifteen or twenty persons.† The venerable head of that house had met death with the serenity and the cheerfulness of a sage. Happening to stumble, as he was walking to the scaffold, "This false step," said he, "is a bad omen; a Roman would go back to his home." To the family of Malesherbes had been added twenty-two members of the parliament. That of Toulouse had been almost entirely sacrificed. Lastly, the farmers-general‡ were brought to trial on account of their former contracts with the treasury. It was proved that these contracts had contained conditions prejudicial to the state, and the revolutionary tribunal sent them to the scaffold for exactions on tobacco, salt, &c. Among them was that illustrious

* "Fifteen prisoners only were at first placed on the fatal chariot, but their number was soon augmented to thirty, and gradually rose to eighty, who were daily sent forth to execution. When the fall of Robespierre put a stop to the murders, arrangements had been made for increasing them to one hundred and fifty. An immense aqueduct to remove the gore had been dug as far as the Place St. Antoine, and four men were daily employed in emptying the blood of the victims into that reservoir. It was at three in the afternoon when the melancholy procession set out from the Conciergerie. The higher orders in general behaved with firmness and serenity, and silently marched to death. The pity of the spectators was, in a peculiar manner, excited by the bands of females led out together to execution. Fourteen young women of Verdun, of the most attractive forms, were cut off together. 'The day after their execution,' says Riouffe, 'the court of the prison looked like a garden bereaved of its flowers by a tempest.' On another occasion, twenty women of Poitou, chiefly the wives of peasants, were placed together on the chariot; some died on the way, and the wretches guillotined their lifeless remains. One kept her infant in her bosom till she reached the foot of the scaffold; the executioners tore the baby from her breast as she suckled it for the last time, and the screams of maternal agony were only stifled with her life. In removing the prisoners from the gaol of the Maison Lazare, one of the women declared herself with child, and on the point of delivery. The hardhearted gaolers compelled her to move on: she did so, uttering piercing shrieks, and at length fell on the ground, and was delivered of a child in the presence of her persecutors! Such accumulated horrors annihilated all the charities and intercourse of life. Passengers hesitated to address their most intimate friends on meeting. The extent of calamity had rendered men suspicious even of those they loved most. Every one assumed the coarsest dress and the most squalid appearance. An elegant exterior would have been the certain forerunner of destruction. Night came, but with it no diminution of the anxiety of the people. Every family early assembled its numbers. With trembling looks, they gazed round the room, fearful that the very walls might harbour traitors. The sound of a foot—the stroke of a hammer—a voice in the street—froze all hearts with horror. If a knock was heard at the door, every one, in agonizing suspense, expected his fate. Unable to endure such protracted misery, numbers committed suicide."—*Alison*. E.

"Had the reign of Robespierre continued much longer, multitudes would have thrown themselves under the guillotine. That first of all social affections, the love of life, was already extinguished in almost every breast."—*Fréron*. E.

† "The intellects of Madame de Rozambeau, who was one of the daughters of Malesherbes, were unsettled by her grief for the death of her husband. Neither the consoling influence of her father, nor the tender caresses of her daughter, were able to calm the distraction of her mind. Yet when the act of accusation was presented which comprised Malesherbes, herself, and the rest of the family, she appeared suddenly to call together her wandering faculties. She hastened to find Mademoiselle Sombreuil, and, addressing her in tones of rapture, said, 'Ah, Mademoiselle, you had once the happiness to save your father, and I am going to die with mine!' This ray of reason was soon extinct for ever. She went unconsciously to prison, and died upon the scaffold, without appearing to understand her fate."—*Du Broca*. E.

‡ "Among them was the farmer-general Fougere, whose sole crime consisted in his not being able to pay a revolutionary contribution to the amount of thirty thousand livres."—*Du Broca*. E.

votary of science, Lavoisier,* the chemist, who in vain solicited a respite of a few days that he might commit to paper a discovery which he had made.

The impulse was given: men administered, fought, slaughtered, with a horrible harmony. The committees placed at the centre, governed with the same vigour. The Convention, still tranquil, decreed pensions to the widows or the children of the soldiers who had died for their country, modified the judgments of tribunals, interpreted decrees, regulated the exchange of certain domains; attended, in short, to matters the most trivial and the most subordinate. Barrère came every day to read to it reports of victories. These reports he called *carmagnoles*. At the end of every month he intimated for form's sake, that the powers of the committees had expired, and that it was necessary to renew them. He was then answered, amidst applause, that the committees had but to prosecute their labours. Sometimes he even forgot this formality, and the committees nevertheless continued to exercise their functions.

It is at such moments of absolute submission that exasperated spirits burst forth, and that the despotic authorities have to fear the dagger. There was a man, employed as an attendant in the national lottery-office, who had formerly been in the service of several distinguished families, and who was vehemently incensed against the prevailing system. His name was Admiral:† he was fifty years of age, and had formed the design to assassinate one of the leading members of the committee of public welfare, Robespierre or Collot-d'Herbois. For some time past, he had lodged in the same house as Collot-d'Herbois, in the Rue Favart, and hesitated between Collot and Robespierre. On the 3d of Prairial, having made up his mind to despatch the latter, he had gone to the committee of public welfare and waited for him the whole day in the gallery adjoining the committee-room. Not meeting with him there, he had returned home and posted himself on the staircase, with the intention of striking Collot-d'Herbois. About midnight, Collot came in and went up stairs, when Admiral snapped a pistol at him when close to the muzzle. The pistol missed fire. Admiral pointed it again, but again the weapon refused to second his design. A third time he was more successful, but hit only the wall. A scuffle then ensued. Collot-d'Herbois cried "murder." Luckily for him a patrolle was passing along the street, and hastened up on hearing the noise. Admiral then ran up-stairs to his room, where he fastened himself in. He was followed by the patrolle, who threatened to break open the door. He declared that he was armed, and that he would fire upon any one who should dare to come near him. This threat did not intimidate the patrolle. The door was forced. A lock-smith, named

* "Anthony Lawrence Lavoisier, was a celebrated French chemist, whose name is connected with the antiphlogistic theory of chemistry, to the reception of which he contributed by his writings and discoveries. He was born at Paris in 1743, and was the son of opulent parents, who gave him a good education. He had rendered many services to the arts and sciences both in a public and private capacity. In 1791, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the national treasury. He was executed in 1794, on the charge of being a conspirator, and of having adulterated the tobacco with ingredients obnoxious to the health of the citizens. Lavoisier married in 1771 the daughter of a farmer-general, who subsequently became the wife of Count Rumford."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Henri Admiral was originally a servant in the house of the minister Bertin, and afterwards a lottery commissioner at Brussels. He was a short but muscular man, and did not appear to have received a good education. He was executed in 1794, for having attempted the life of Collot-d'Herbois. He ascended the scaffold dressed in a red shirt, and met his fate with firmness."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Geffroy, advanced first, and received a musket-shot, which wounded him almost mortally. Admiral was immediately secured and conducted to prison. When examined by Fouquier-Tinville, he related the circumstances of his life, his designs, and the intention which he had to despatch Robespierre before he thought of Collot-d'Herbois. He was asked who had instigated him to commit this crime. He replied with firmness that it was not a crime, that it was a service which he had meant to render his country; that he alone had conceived this design without any suggestion from another; and that his only regret was that it had not succeeded.

The rumour of this attempt spread with rapidity, and, as usual, it served to increase the power of those against whom it was directed. Barrère went the very next day, the 4th of Prairial, to the Convention to read his report of this new machination of Pitt's. "The internal factions," said he, "do not cease to correspond with that government, which deals in coalitions, which purchases murders, which persecutes liberty as its bitterest enemy. While we make justice and virtue the order of the day, the coalition places on the order of the day crime and assassination. You will everywhere find the baleful spirit of the Englishman—in our markets, in our contracts, on our seas, on the continents, in the kinglings of Europe as well as in our cities. It is the same head that directs the hands which murder Basseville at Rome, the French sailors in the harbour of Genoa, the faithful French in Corsica. It is the same head that directs the steel against Lepelletier and Marat, the guillotine upon Chaliér, and the pistol at Collot-d'Herbois." Barrère then produced letters from London and Holland, which had been intercepted, and which stated that the plots of Pitt were directed against the committees, and particularly against Robespierre. One of these letters said in substance, "We much fear Robespierre's influence. The more concentrated the French republican government becomes, the more strength it will possess, and the more difficult it will be to overthrow it."

This manner of exhibiting facts was well calculated to excite a strong interest in favour of the committees and especially of Robespierre, and to identify their existence with that of the republic. Barrère then related the fact, with all its circumstances, spoke of the *tender solicitude* which the constituted authorities had manifested for protecting the national representation, and described in magnificent terms the conduct of citizen Geffroy, who had received a dangerous wound in seizing the assassin. The Convention received Barrère's report with applause. It ordered an investigation for the purpose of ascertaining whether Admiral had any accomplices; it decreed thanks to citizen Geffroy, and resolved that, as some compensation, the bulletin of the state of his wound should be read every day from the tribune. Couthon then made a violent speech to propose that Barrère's report should be translated into all languages and circulated in all countries. "Pitt! Coburg!" he exclaimed, "and all of you, cowardly and petty tyrants, who consider the world as your heritage, and who, in the last moment of your agony, struggle with such fury, whet, whet your daggers; we despise you too much to fear you, and you well know that we are too great to follow your example!" The hall rang with applause. "But," continued Couthon, "the Law whose reign affrights you has her sword uplifted over your heads. She will strike you all, Mankind needs this example, and Heaven, which you outrage, has commanded it."

Collot-d'Herbois then entered, as if to receive the congratulations of the Assembly. He was hailed with redoubled acclamation, and had difficulty in making himself heard. Robespierre showed much more tact in staying

away, and affecting to withdraw himself from the homage that awaited him.

On this same day, the 4th, a young female, named Cecile Renault,* called at Robespierre's door with a parcel under her arm. She asked to see him, and urgently insisted on being admitted. She said that a public functionary ought to be always ready to receive those who have occasion to speak to him, and at last began to abuse the Duplaix family,† with whom Robespierre

* "Cecile Renault was nearly twenty years of age when she committed the extraordinary act which conducted her to the scaffold. She had one of those figures which please without being beautiful. Her features were far from handsome, yet, from the vivacity of her manners, her agreeable countenance, and elegant deportment, she was called the finest girl of her neighbourhood. Her father lived in Paris, where he carried on the business of a paper-maker. He had seven children, to all of whom he had given a good education. Two of his sons served the republic in the army of the North. Various were the conjectures at the time as to the motives for the conduct of this girl; but none of them, far from having any foundation in truth, had even probability on their side. We can assign no reason for her conduct, except that which she herself declared on her trial. On the fourth of Prairial, towards the close of the day, Cecile Renault presented herself at the door of Robespierre's house; but there seeming to be something suspicious in her manner, she was seized, and brought before the committee of public safety, by whom she was examined, but without effect. The committee then ordered a parcel to be produced before the young girl containing the entire dress of a woman, which she had left with a seller of lemonade immediately before her visit to Robespierre's house, and interrogated her on her motives for providing herself with such apparel. She answered that, well knowing she should be sent to prison, and then to the guillotine, she wished to be provided with a decent dress for the occasion. She was then asked, 'What use did you propose to make of the two knives that were found on your person?' She replied, 'None; I never designed harm against any living being.' As she continued to give the same sort of answers to every question put to her by Fouquier-Tinville, on her subsequent examinations, his ingenuity contrived a species of torture for her. Perceiving that she loved dress, he gave orders to the keeper of the prison to take her clothes from her, and put filthy rags on her. In this condition they compelled her to appear again before the council, but far from being ashamed of her appearance, Cecile Renault jested with the public accuser on the pettiness of his invention. It was then resolved to put her and her family to death, and she was conducted before the revolutionary tribunal. As she entered the box appropriated to the accused, she saw among the associates of her misfortune her father and an aunt by whom she had been educated. Her eyes filled with tears at the spectacle, but in a short time she regained her serenity. Not less than eight carriages were prepared to conduct her accomplices to the scaffold. This sight of fifty-four condemned persons, each covered with a red shirt, and surrounded by a strong guard, was contrived to gratify the jealousy of Robespierre. All eyes sought for the young Renault. The approach of death had made no change in her countenance. During the long time occupied in the march from the Conciergerie to the scaffold, she never betrayed one symptom of fear. She was even seen to smile more than once. On reaching the place of execution, she descended from the cart with firmness, and embracing her father and her aunt, exhorted them to die with constancy. When it was her turn to mount the scaffold, she ascended cheerfully, and even seemed eager to bow her head beneath the axe."—*Du Broca*. E.

† "Robespierre, on his arrival in Paris as a member of the Constituent Assembly, had taken, in common with a young friend, a cheap lodging; and on the evening in which the massacre of the petitioning patriots took place in the Champ de Mars (1791), he was returning thence in great agitation, accompanied by a crowd, crying, 'Vive Robespierre!' His situation at the moment was dangerous, for the red flag was still flying. A carpenter of the name of Duplay, his zealous admirer, invited him to take refuge in his house. Robespierre accepted the offer, and was persuaded not to return home that night. Duplay had a wife and three daughters, who were all flattered by the presence of the great popular leader; and at length the carpenter proposed that Robespierre should give up his lodgings, and become his inmate and his guest. Domiciled in this family, Robespierre sought no other society, and gave all his private hours to this humble circle. Duplay himself received his reward in being appointed one of the jurors of the revolutionary tribunal, a place of power and emolument—as was also, we believe, his son. Madame Duplay became conspicuous as one of the leaders of those ferocious women who sate daily at their needlework round the scaffold.

lodged, because they would not admit her. From the perseverance and the strange air of this young female, suspicions were conceived. She was seized and delivered over to the police. On opening her parcel, it was found to contain some clothes and two knives. It was instantly surmised that she intended to murder Robespierre. On being questioned, she answered with the same assurance as Ladmiral. She was asked what was her business with Robespierre. She replied that she wanted to see how a tyrant looked. She was asked what the clothes and the knives were for. She answered that she had not intended to make any particular use of the knives; that, as for the clothes, she had provided herself with them because she expected to be carried to prison, and from prison to the guillotine. She added that she was a royalist, because she would rather have one king than fifty thousand. She was urged to answer further questions, but refused, and desired to be conducted to the scaffold.

This evidence appeared sufficient to warrant the conclusion that young Renault was one of the assassins armed against Robespierre.* To this last circumstance was presently added another. On the following day, at Choisy-sur-Seine, a citizen was relating in a coffee-house the attempt to murder Collot-d'Herbois, and rejoicing that it had not succeeded. A monk, named Saint-Anax, who was listening to the account, replied that it was unlucky that the scoundrels belonging to the committee had escaped, but he hoped that sooner or later they would be despatched. The unfortunate man was immediately secured and carried the very same night to Paris. These circumstances were more than enough to authorize conjectures of vast ramifications. It was asserted that a band of assassins was in readiness; people eagerly thronged around the members of the committee, begging them to be cautious and to take care of their lives, which were so valuable to the country. The sections assembled, and sent fresh deputations and addresses to the Convention. They said that, among the miracles which Providence had wrought in favour of the republic, the manner in which Robespierre and Collot-

The eldest daughter, Eleonore, who now assumed the classic name of Cornelia, aspired to captivate Robespierre; she endeavoured to become his wife, and ended in passing, in the opinion of the neighbours, as his mistress. She seems to have had much of her mother's ferocity, for she, with her sisters and other companions, used to sit at their windows to see the batches of victims who passed every day to the scaffold. The second sister married Lebas, a member of the Convention; and the third married another member."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

* "It is rather a curious circumstance that, about the time of Cecile Renault's adventure, there appeared, at a masked ball in London, a character dressed like the spectre of Charlotte Corday, who came, as she said, to seek Robespierre, and inflict on him the doom of Marat."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Some writers doubt whether there was any real design against Robespierre, and imagine that, jealous of Collot-d'Herbois being selected as a worthier object of assassination, he falsely represented himself as having been the first object of Ladmiral, and got up the scene of Cecile Renault to counterbalance the popularity which the former event was likely to confer on Collot. There is something to countenance this opinion. The possibility of an intention to assassinate turns altogether on the fact of the knife or knives. Now, in all the early contemporaneous accounts there is no mention of any knife. It is remarkable too, that, while the attack on Collot was blazoned by the government in the Convention, no mention was made of Cecile's attempt till a question was asked about it; and then Barrère made a report in which the facts were stated, with, however, the all-important omission of the knife. That seems to be an afterthought. The earlier writers state distinctly that Cecile had no knife whatsoever. We think it probable, nevertheless, that she had some vague intention of imitating Charlotte Corday; she, however, seems to have been a weak-minded, ignorant girl, who had not thought very distinctly of her object, and not at all of its means."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

d'-Herbois had escaped the strokes of the assassins was not the least. One of them even proposed to furnish a guard of twenty-five men for the personal protection of the members of the committee.

The day appointed for the meeting of the Jacobins was two days afterwards. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois attended, and were received with the utmost enthusiasm. When power has found means to insure a general submission, it merely needs that it should allow base minds to act, and these complete the work of its domination, and add to it divine worship and honours. Robespierre and Collot-d'Herbois were gazed at with eager curiosity. "Look," it was said, "at those valuable men! The God of free men has saved them. He has thrown his shield over them, and has preserved them for the republic. It is right that they should share the honours which France has decreed to the martyrs of liberty; she will thus have the satisfaction of honouring them without having to weep over their funereal urns."* Collot first spoke with his usual vehemence, and said that the emotion which he felt at that moment proved to him how delightful it was to serve the country, even at the price of the greatest perils. "He gathered from it," he said, "this truth, that he who has incurred any danger for his country, receives new strength from the fraternal interest which he excites. That kind applause is a new compact of union between all men of strong minds. The tyrants, held at bay, and feeling their end approaching, strive in vain to have recourse to daggers, to poison, to stratagems; the republicans are not to be daunted. Are not the tyrants aware that, when one patriot expires under their blows, all the patriots who survive him swear upon his grave vengeance for the crime and the eternity of liberty?"

Collot finished amidst applause. Bentalolle proposed that the president should give Collot and Robespierre the fraternal embrace in the name of the whole society. Legendre, with the eagerness of a man who had been the friend of Danton, and who was forced to stoop to more than one meanness to cause that friendship to be forgotten, said that the hand of guilt was raised to strike virtue, but that the God of nature had prevented the consummation of the crime.† He exhorted all the citizens to form a guard around the members of the committee, and he himself offered to be the first to protect their invaluable lives. At this moment some sections solicited admittance into the hall. The enthusiasm was extreme, but the concourse was so great that the society was forced to leave them at the door.

The insignia of supreme power were offered to the committee, and this was the fit moment for declining them. It was sufficient for adroit chiefs to cause such marks of distinction to be offered to them, that they might have the merit of a refusal. The members of the committee who were present opposed with affected indignation the proposal for assigning guards to them. Couthon immediately addressed the assembly. He was astonished, he said, at the proposal which had just been made to the Jacobins, and which had already been submitted to the Convention. He was willing, indeed, to attribute it to pure intentions, but none but despots surrounded themselves with guards, and the members of the committee had no wish to place themselves on the same footing as despots. They had no need of guards to defend

* See the proceedings of the Jacobins on the 6th of Prairial.

† "The clubs and the Convention rung with the most fulsome congratulations on Robespierre's escape, which was openly attributed to the good Genius of the republic, and to the interposition of the Supreme Being, in gratitude for Robespierre having proclaimed his existence! Such was the madness of those times!"—*Maclitt*. E.

them. Virtue, the confidence of the people, and Providence were their protectors. They needed no other guarantees for their safety. Besides, they would always be ready to die at their post and for liberty.

Legendre lost no time in defending his motion. He said that he did not mean to give precisely an organized guard to the members of the committee, but to induce the good citizens to watch over their safety. At any rate, if he was in the wrong, he would withdraw his motion. His intention was pure. Robespierre succeeded him in the tribune. It was the first time that he had risen to speak. He was hailed with loud and prolonged applause. Silence was at length obtained, and he was allowed to begin. "I am one of those," said he, "whom the events which have just occurred ought least to interest. Still I cannot refrain from a few reflections. If the defenders of liberty are exposed to the poniards of tyranny, it is no more than might be expected. I have already said, if we fight the enemy, if we thwart the factions, we shall be assassinated. What I foresaw has happened. The soldiers of tyranny have bitten the dust, the traitors have perished on the scaffold, and daggers have been whetted for us. I know not what impression these events make upon you, but that which they have produced upon me is this: I have felt that it was easier to assassinate us than to conquer our principles and to subdue our armies. I said to myself that the more uncertain and precarious the lives of the defenders of the people are, the more anxious they ought to be to employ their last days in performing actions serviceable to liberty. I, who do not believe in the necessity of living, but only in virtue and in Providence,—I am placed in a state in which most assuredly the assassins had no intention to place me. I feel more independent than ever of the malice of men. The crimes of tyrants and the weapons of assassins have rendered me more free and more formidable to all the enemies of the people. My soul is more disposed than ever to unveil the traitors, and to strip them of the mask with which they presume to cover themselves. Frenchmen! friends of equality, commit with confidence to us the duty of employing the short remainder of life that Providence may grant us, in combating the enemies that surround you!" These words were followed by redoubled acclamations, and transports of enthusiasm burst from all parts of the hall. Robespierre, after enjoying this homage for a few moments, again began to speak against a member of the society, who had moved that civic honours should be paid to Geffroy. Coupling this motion with that for assigning guards to the members of the committee, he maintained that these motions were intended to excite calumny and envy against the government, by loading it with superfluous honours. He, in consequence, proposed and carried the rejection of that which had demanded civic honours for Geffroy.

At the degree of power which the committee had attained, it behoved it to avoid the appearance of sovereignty. It exercised an absolute dictatorship, but it was not for its interest that this should be too plainly perceived; and all the external signs, all the parade of power, would but compromise it to no purpose. An ambitious soldier, who is victor by his sword, and who aspires to a throne, hastens to characterize his authority as speedily as possible, and to add the ensigns of power to power itself; but the leaders of a party, who govern that party by their influence alone, and who wish to remain masters of it, must continually flatter it, incessantly refer to it the power which they exercise, and, while governing, appear only to obey it.

It behoved, therefore, the members of the committee of public welfare, the chiefs of the Mountain, not to separate themselves from it and from the Convention, but to repel, on the contrary, whatever might seem to raise them

too high above their colleagues. People had already changed their opinion, and the extent of their power struck even persons of their own party. They already regarded them as dictators, and it was Robespierre in particular whose high influence began to dazzle all eyes. It was customary to say no longer, *The committee wills it*, but *Robespierre wills it*. Fouquier-Tinville said to an individual whom he threatened with the revolutionary tribunal, "If it please Robespierre, thou shalt go before it." The agents of power constantly named Robespierre in their operations, and seemed to refer everything to him as to the cause from which everything emanated. To him the victims did not fail to impute their sufferings, and the inmates of the prisons recognised but one oppressor—Robespierre. Foreigners themselves, in their proclamations, called the French soldiers *Robespierre's soldiers*. This expression occurred in a proclamation of the Duke of York's.

Sensible how dangerous the use made of his name was, Robespierre lost no time in delivering a speech to the Convention, for the purpose of repelling what he termed perfidious insinuations, the object of which was to ruin him. He repeated it at the Jacobins, and there obtained the applause which was usually bestowed on all his harangues. The *Journal de la Montagne* and the *Moniteur* having given, on the following day, a report of this speech, and asserted that "it was a masterpiece which was not susceptible of analysis, because every word was equivalent to a sentence, every sentence to a page," he took up the matter with great warmth, and complained next day at the Jacobins of the journals, which affected to praise the members of the committee, in order to ruin them by giving them the appearance of being all-powerful. The two journals were obliged to retract what they had said, and to apologize for having praised Robespierre, by the assurance that their intentions were pure.

Robespierre had vanity, but was not great enough to be ambitious. Covetous of flattery and homage, he feasted upon them,* and justified himself

* "Robespierre was now (1794), and had been for some time, no longer like the same man. A sort of delirium of vanity had seized him, and it was at this period that, under the influence, no doubt, of this madness of self-conceit, he put into my hands his *Memoirs*, of which I was thus enabled to take a copy. He sought my company more than ever; his friendship was troublesome to me; it was a weight upon my heart, that I knew not how to get rid of. I never saw him but at night, and, as it were, in secret, sometimes in the garden of the Tuileries, sometimes at my lodgings, and very rarely at his own. He seemed to wish that I should not meet with any of his usual companions. He chatted with me on the most indifferent things, on the fine arts, and on literature, avoided all conversation on political matters, and stopped my mouth by a bitter expression or an angry look whenever I ventured upon that forbidden topic. The reader may figure to himself what I must have felt, when, *tête-à-tête* with him after the horrors of the day, and there was not one but was marked by sanguinary executions, I was obliged to talk to him about Homer, Tasso, or Rousseau, or to analyze Cicero, Montaigne, and Rabelais, with this man, whose hands were stained with blood! He was fond of novels, and took great delight in the poems of Ossian. From a singular contrast, next to those sombre and melancholy products of the bards of the North, he liked nothing so well as the buffooneries of Scarron. He knew by heart two entire cantos of the burlesque translation of the *Æneid*, and I have heard him laugh immoderately on repeating these lines, in which Scarron says that, in the infernal regions, *Æneas*

‘Rencontra l'ombre d'un cocher,
Qui, tenant l'ombre d'une brosse,
En frottait l'ombre d'un carosse.’

But Robespierre's laughter, so far from communicating any hilarity to me, made me profoundly sad. I fancied that I heard the howling of a tiger, and, even at this day, whenever the recollection of that laugh recurs to my mind, I shudder involuntarily, as if a demon

for receiving them by declaring that he had no desire to be all-powerful. He had around him a kind of court, composed of a few men, but chiefly of a great number of women, who paid him the most delicate attentions. Thronging to his residence, they manifested the most constant anxiety for his welfare. They were continually eulogizing among themselves his virtue, and his eloquence, his genius. They called him a divine, a superhuman mortal. An old marquise was the principal of those females who waited, like real devotees, on this proud and blood-thirsty pontiff. The enthusiasm of the women is always the surest symptom of public insatiation. It is they who, by their active attentions, their language, and their solicitude, undertake the task of throwing ridicule upon it.

With the women who adored Robespierre, was associated a ridiculous and absurd sect that had recently sprung up. It is at the moment of the abolition of an established religion that sects particularly abound, because the absolute necessity for believing something seeks to feed itself with other illusions in lieu of those which have been destroyed. An old woman, named Catharine Theot, whose brain was turned in the prisons of the Bastille, called herself the mother of God, and proclaimed the speedy coming of a new Messiah.* He was to appear, according to her, amidst convulsions, and, at the moment of his appearance, an eternal life was to begin for the elect. These elect were to propagate their faith by all means whatever, and to exterminate the enemies of the true God. Dom Gerle, the Carthusian, who had figured under the Constituent Assembly, and whose weak imagination had been led astray by mystic dreams, was one of their true prophets. Robespierre was the other. His deism had no doubt obtained

were venting close to my ear the bursts of his satanic gaiety. Robespierre had habits of excessive delicacy, especially at the period of which I am speaking, and amid the men by whom he was surrounded. He was particular about having his linen very fine, and very white. The woman who took care of it was frequently scolded on this account, and I have witnessed some curious scenes between him and his laundress. He would have his frills plaited with extreme neatness: he wore waistcoats of delicate colours—pink, light blue, chamois, elegantly embroidered. The dressing of his hair took him a good deal of time; and he was very difficult about the colour and cut of his coats. He had two watches, wore several costly rings on his fingers, and had a valuable collection of snuff-boxes. His elegant appearance formed a singular contrast with the studied squalidness of the Jacobins. The populace would have insulted a stranger who should have dressed with such care, and in whom it would have been deemed aristocratic; but in its favourite, Robespierre, this was considered perfectly republican. From a singular contrast, this man, so bold in speech, trembled with fear at the least danger. He did not like to be left alone in the dark. The slightest noise made him shudder, and terror was expressed in his eyes. I had in my room a skull, which I made use of to study anatomy. The sight of it was so disagreeable to him, that he at length begged me to put it away, and not let him see it any more. I was confounded at such a proof of weakness, which furnished occasion for profound reflections.”—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*. E.

* “There lived, in an obscure quarter of Paris, an old woman of the name of Catharine Theot, who had the same mania as our Johanna Southcott, of believing that, at the age of seventy, she was to become the mother of the Saviour, who was now to be born again, and to commence his final reign. With maniacs of this description, it was natural that the great name of Robespierre, who had made himself the apostle of deism, should mingle itself with their visions. The committee of general security heard of these bedlamites—which probably Robespierre himself had never done—and they seized the favourable opportunity of throwing on him all the ridicule and discredit of their fanaticism. There was no proof whatever that he knew any thing of his fanatic admirers; the injury therefore to his reputation was not great—but the insult was. His power was at once too fearful and too fragile to tolerate levity. Its essence was terror and silence; and he wished to be spoken of neither *en bien ni en mal*. At this crisis, as at all the former, his prudence seems to have made him desirous of withdrawing his recent prominence.”—*Quarterly Review*. E.

him this honour. Catharine Theot called him her beloved son; the initiated treated him with reverence, and regarded him as a supernatural being, called to sublime and mysterious destinies. He was probably apprized of their follies, and, without being their accomplice, he profited by their error. It is certain that he had protected Dom Gerle, that he was frequently visited by him, and that he had given him a certificate of civism, signed by his own hand, to save him from the persecution of a revolutionary committee. This sect was widely spread; it had its form of worship and its practices, which contributed not a little to its propagation; it held its meetings at Catharine Theot's, in a remote quarter of Paris, near the Pantheon. Here the reception of new members took place, in the presence of the mother of God, Dom Gerle, and the principal of the elect. This sect began to be known, and it was also vaguely known that Robespierre was regarded by it as a prophet. Thus everything contributed to exalt and to compromise him.

It was among his colleagues more especially that jealousies began to arise. Divisions already manifested themselves, and this was natural; for, the power of the committee being established, rivalries had sprung up. The committee had split into several distinct groups. The twelve members who composed it were reduced to eleven by the death of Herault-Sechelles. Jean-Bon-St.-André, and Prieur of La Marne were still absent on missions. Carnot was exclusively occupied with the war department, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or with the army supplies, Robert Lindet with provisions. These were called *examiners*. They took no part either in politics or in rivalries. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, were linked together. A sort of superiority of mind and manners, the high opinion which they seemed to have of themselves, and the contempt which they appeared to feel for their other colleagues, had led them to form a knot by themselves. They were called the men of the *high hand*. Barrère was, in their estimation, but a weak and pusillanimous creature, disposed, by his suppleness, to serve anybody; Collot-d'Herbois but a club declaimer; Billaud-Varennes but a man of moderate capacity, gloomy, and full of envy. These last three could not forgive this secret disdain of their colleagues. Barrère durst not speak out; but Collot-d'Herbois, and particularly Billaud, whose temper was indomitable, could not conceal the hatred which had begun to inflame them. They sought to prop themselves upon their colleagues called the *examiners*, and to gain them to their side. They had also reason to hope for support from the committee of general safety, which began to feel sore at the supremacy of the committee of public welfare. Specially limited to the police, and frequently watched or controlled in its operations by the committee of public welfare, the committee of general safety could ill brook this dependence. Amar, Vadier, Vouland, Jagot, Louis of the Bas-Rhin, the most cruel of its members, were at the same time the most disposed to shake off the yoke. Two of their colleagues, who were called the *listeners*, watched them on Robespierre's behalf, and this kind of *espionnage* they could no longer endure. The discontented in both committees might therefore unite and become dangerous to Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. We ought particularly to observe that it was the rivalry of pride and power which commenced the division, and not a difference of political opinion; for Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Nouland, Amar, Jagot, and Louis, were not less formidable revolutionists than the three adversaries whom they sought to overthrow.

Another circumstance tended to widen the breach between the committee of general safety and the rulers of the committee of public welfare. Great

complaints were made of the arrests, which daily became more numerous, and which were often unjust, as they were directed against a great number of persons known to be excellent patriots. People also complained of the rapine and vexations of the numerous agents to whom the committee of general welfare had delegated its inquisition. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, not daring to obtain either the abolition or the renewal of this committee, devised a scheme for establishing an office of police in the bosom of the committee of public welfare. This was, without destroying the committee of general safety, to encroach upon, and strip it of its functions. St. Just was to have the direction of this office, but, having been sent to the army, he had not been able to perform that duty, and Robespierre had undertaken it in his stead. The office of police caused those who had been apprehended by order of the committee of general safety to be set at liberty, and the latter committee acted in the same manner towards the other. This usurpation of functions led to an open rupture. This disagreement transpired; and, notwithstanding the secrecy which enveloped the government, it was soon known that its members were at variance.

Other discontents, not less serious, arose in the Convention. It was still very submissive, but some of its members, who had conceived fears on their own account, gained somewhat more boldness from danger. These were old friends of Danton's who had compromised themselves by their connexion with him, and who were sometimes threatened as the relics of the party of the *corrupted* and of the *indulgents*. Some had been guilty of malversation in their functions, and dreaded the application of the *system of virtue*. Others had appeared averse to the exercise of the daily increasing severities. The most compromised among them was Tallien. It was said that he had been guilty of malversation at the commune when he was a member of it, and afterwards at Bordeaux when on mission there. It was added that, while in the latter city, he had suffered himself to be softened and conquered by a young and beautiful female,* who had accompanied him to Paris, and just been thrown into prison. Next to Tallien was mentioned Bourdon of the Oise, who was compromised by his quarrel with the Saumur party, and who had been expelled from the Jacobins with Fabre, Camille, and Philipeaux; likewise Thuriot, who had also been excluded by the Jacobins; Legendre, who, notwithstanding his daily submissions, could never obtain forgiveness

* "Madame Tallien was above the middle height, but a perfect harmony in her whole person took away all appearance of the awkwardness of too lofty a stature. It was the Venus of the Capitol, but still more beautiful than the work of Phidias; for you perceived in her the same perfection of features, the same symmetry in arms, hands, and feet; and the whole animated by a benevolent expression—a reflection of the magic mirror of the soul, which indicated all that there was in that soul, and this was kindness. She might have become the French Aspasia, with whom her wit, her beauty, and her political influence, may serve to establish a comparison, though neither of her husbands was a Pericles. Madame Tallien was born in Spain, where her father, M. de Cabarrus, a French banker, settled, and had acquired a great reputation. At twelve years of age, Theresa Cabarrus was the loveliest of all the beauties of Cadiz. Her father sent her from home at an early age, because he was still too young to take upon himself the superintendence of so lovely a daughter. She was seen about this time by her uncle, Jalabert, who could not escape the fascination which the lovely Theresa, with a look and a smile, exercised upon every man who beheld her. He wished to marry her, but she gave the preference to M. de Fontenoy, to whom she was united some time after. With a cultivated mind and intellectual powers of a high order, Madame Tallien would have possessed, even without her beauty, more than an ordinary share of attractions. She was always remarkably kind and obliging, but such is the effect on the multitude, of a name that bears a stain, that her cause was never separated from that of her second husband."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

for his former connexion with Danton; lastly, Fréron,* Barras,† Lecointe, Rovère,‡ Monestier, Panis, &c., all either friends of Danton's or disapprovers of the system followed by the government. These personal anxieties propagated themselves. The number of the discontented daily increased, and they were ready to join the members of one or the other committee who would give them a hand.

The 20th of Prairial (June 8) approached. It was the day fixed for the festival in honour of the Supreme Being. On the 16th a president was to be appointed. The Convention unanimously named Robespierre to occupy the arm-chair. This was assigning to him the principal part on the 20th. His colleagues, as we see, still strove to flatter and to soothe him by dint of honours. Vast preparations had been made, agreeably to the plan conceived by David. The festival was to be magnificent. On the morning of the 20th the sun shone forth in all its brightness. The multitude, ever ready to attend sights given to it by power, had collected. Robespierre kept it waiting a considerable time. At length he appeared amidst the Convention. He was dressed with extraordinary care. His head was covered with feathers, and in his hand he held, like all the representatives, a bunch of flowers, fruit, and ears of corn. In his countenance, usually so gloomy, beamed a cheerfulness that was uncommon with him. An amphitheatre was erected in the centre of the garden of the Tuileries. This was occupied by the Convention; and on the right and left were several groups of boys, men, aged persons, and females. The boys wore wreaths of violets, the youths of myrtle, the men of oak, the aged people of ivy and olive. The women held their

* "Fréron was the earliest object of the affections of Napoleon's second sister Pauline, but neither the Emperor nor Josephine would hear of an alliance with the friend of Robespierre, and ready instrument of his atrocities."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Barras, of a good family of Provence, was an officer in the regiment of the Isle of France. At the Revolution he was deputed to the Convention, but had no talent for oratory, and no habits of business. On his return to Paris, after having been appointed commissioner to the army of Italy, and to Provence, he helped to oppose Robespierre, marched against the commune which had risen in favour of the tyrant, and succeeded. Subsequent events brought him into the Directory. He did not possess the qualifications required to fill that situation, but he acted better than was expected from him by those who knew him. He put his establishment on a splendid footing, kept a pack of hounds, and his expenses were considerable. When he went out of the Directory, he had still a large fortune, and did not attempt to conceal it; but the manner in which it had been acquired, by favouring the contractors, impaired the morality of the nation. Barras was tall; he spoke sometimes in moments of agitation, and his voice filled the house. His intellectual capacity, however, did not allow him to go beyond a few sentences. He was not a man of resolution, and had no opinion of his own on any part of the administration of public affairs."—*Las Cases*. E.

"Barras was born at Foix, in Provence, in the year 1755, of the family of Barras, whose antiquity in that quarter had become a proverb. He died in retirement in the year 1829."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

‡ "J. M. de Rovère, deputy to the Convention, was the son of a very rich innkeeper in the country of Venassin. A good education and plausible address furnished him with the means of introducing himself into the best society, where he gave himself out as a descendant of the ancient family of Rovère de St. Marc, which had long been extinct. A man named Pin, well known at Avignon for his skill in forging titles, made him a genealogy, by means of which he found himself grafted on that illustrious house, and took the title of Marquis de Fonville, and soon obtained the hand of a Mademoiselle de Claret, a rich heiress, whose fortune he afterwards dissipated. In 1791 Rovère figured under Jourdan at the head of the army of ruffians of Avignon. In 1793, he voted for the King's death, and became one of the persecutors of the Girondins. In the ensuing year he declared against Robespierre. In 1795 he presided in the Convention; but, having afterwards rendered himself obnoxious to the ruling powers, was transported to Cayenne, where he died in the year 1798."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

daughters by the hand, and carried baskets of flowers. Opposite to the amphitheatre were figures representing Atheism, Discord, Selfishness. These were destined to be burned. As soon as the Convention had taken its place, the ceremony was opened with music. The president then delivered a first discourse on the object of the festival. "Republican Frenchmen!" said he, "the ever fortunate day which the French people dedicated to the Supreme Being is at length arrived. Never did the world which he created, exhibit a spectacle so worthy of his attention. He has beheld tyranny, crime, and imposture, reigning on earth. He beholds at this moment a whole nation, assailed by all the oppressors of mankind, suspending the course of its heroic labours, to lift its thoughts and its prayers towards the Supreme Being, who gave it the mission to undertake and the courage to execute them!"

After proceeding in this manner for a few minutes, the president descended from the amphitheatre, and, seizing a torch, set fire to the figures of Atheism, Discord, and Selfishness. From amidst their ashes arose the statue of Wisdom; but it was remarked that it was blackened by the flames from which it issued. Robespierre returned to his place, and delivered a second speech on the extirpation of the vices leagued against the republic. After this first ceremony, the assembly set out in procession for the Champ de Mars. The pride of Robespierre seemed redoubled, and he affected to walk very far before his colleagues. But some indignantly approached and lavished on him the keenest sarcasms. Some laughed at the new pontiff, and said, in allusion to the smoky statue of Wisdom, that his wisdom was darkened. Others uttered the word "Tyrant," and exclaimed that there were still Brutuses. Bourdon of the Oise addressed him these prophetic words: "The Tarpeian rock is close to the Capitol."

The procession at length reached the Champ de Mars. There, from amidst the old altar of the country, rose a lofty mount. On the summit of this mount was a tree, beneath the boughs of which the Convention seated itself. On each side of the mount the different groups of boys, old men, and women, took their places. A symphony commenced; the groups then sang stanzas, alternately answering one another; at length, on a given signal, the youths drew their swords, and swore to the elders to defend the country; the mothers lifted their infants in their arms; all present raised their hands towards Heaven, and the oath to conquer was mingled with the homage paid to the Supreme Being. They then returned to the garden of the Tuileries, and the festival concluded with public diversions.

Such was the famous festival celebrated in honour of the Supreme Being. Robespierre had on that day attained the summit of honours, but he had attained the summit only to be hurled from it.* Everybody had been hurt by his pride. The sarcasms had reached his ear,† and he had observed in

* "All looked forward to something extraordinary as the result of this imposing attitude and ostentatious display on the part of Robespierre. His enemies expected an attempt at usurpation; the people in general, a relaxation of the system of severity. How little this was to understand the nature of the passions! The glossy sleekness of the panther's skin does not imply his tameness, and his fawning eye dooms its prey while it glitters. Robespierre went on as before. No ray of hope appeared in his harangue to the people, which was as dull as it was dispiriting. 'To-day,' he cried, 'let us give ourselves up to the transports of a pure enjoyment; to-morrow, we will combat vice and tyranny anew.' These ideas had taken such strong possession of his mind, that he was haunted by them. He was no longer a voluntary agent, but the mere slave of habitual and violent excitement."—*Hazlitt's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Lecointre of Versailles, stepping up to him, had had the boldness to say, 'I like your festival, Robespierre, but you I detest mortally.' Many among the crowd muttered the word

some of his colleagues a boldness that was unusual in them. Next day he went to the committee of public welfare, and expressed his indignation against the deputies who had insulted him on the preceding day. He complained of those friends of Danton's, those impure relics of the indulgent and corrupted party, and demanded the sacrifice of them. Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who were not less indignant than their colleagues at the part which Robespierre had performed the day before, appeared extremely cold, and showed no disposition to avenge him. They did not defend the deputies of whom Robespierre complained, but, referring to the festival itself, they expressed apprehensions concerning its effects. It had, they said, alienated many minds. Besides, those ideas of the Supreme Being, of the immortality of the soul, those pompous ceremonies, looked like a return to the superstition of former times, and were likely to give a retrograde impulse to the Revolution. Robespierre was irritated by these remarks. He insisted that he never meant to make the Revolution retrograde, that, on the contrary, he had done everything to accelerate its course. In proof of this, he mentioned a *projet de loi*, which he had just drawn up with Couthon, and which would tend to make the revolutionary tribunal still more sanguinary. This *projet* was as follows:

For two months past some modifications in the organization of the revolutionary tribunal had been contemplated. The defence made by Danton, Camille, Fabre, and Lacroix, had shown the inconvenience of the remaining formalities that had been suffered to exist. Every day it was still necessary to hear witnesses and advocates, and, how brief soever the examination of witnesses, how limited soever the examination of the advocates, still they occasioned a great loss of time and were always attended by a certain notoriety. The heads of this government, who wished everything to be done promptly and without noise, were desirous of suppressing these inconvenient formalities. Having accustomed themselves to think that the Revolution had a right to destroy all its enemies, and that they were to be distinguished on the mere inspection, they conceived that the revolutionary proceedings could not be rendered too expeditious. Robespierre, who was specially charged with the superintendence of the tribunal, had prepared the law with Couthon alone, for St. Just was absent. He had not designed to consult his other colleagues of the committee of public welfare, and he merely came to read the *projet* to them before he presented it. Though Barrère and Collot-d'Herbois were quite as willing to admit of its sanguinary dispositions, they could not but receive it coldly, because it was drawn up and digested without their participation. It was however agreed that it should be proposed on the following day, and that Couthon should report upon it; but no satisfaction was given to Robespierre for the affronts which he had received on the preceding day.

The committee of general safety was no more consulted upon this law than the committee of public welfare had been. It knew that a law was preparing, but was not invited to take any part in it. It wished at least, out of

'Tyrant,' and when in the course of his speech he had observed that it was the Great Eternal who had placed in the bosom of the oppressor the sensation of remorse and terror, a powerful voice exclaimed, 'True, Robespierre, most true!'—*Lacretelle*. E.

"Robespierre conceived the idea of celebrating a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, flattering himself, doubtless, with being able to rest his political ascendancy on a religion arranged according to his own notions. But, in the possession of this impious festival, he bethought himself of walking the first, in order to mark his pre-eminence, and from that moment he was lost!"—*Madame de Staël*. E.

fifty jurors who should be designated, to have the nomination of twenty; but Robespierre rejected them all, and chose none but his own creatures. The proposition was submitted on the 22d of Prairial. Couthon was the reporter. After the usual declamations on the inflexibility and promptitude which ought to be the characteristics of revolutionary justice, he read the *projet*, which was couched in terrific language. The tribunal was to be divided into four sections, composed of a president, three judges, and nine jurors. Twelve judges and fifty jurors were appointed, who were to succeed one another in the exercise of their functions, so that the tribunal might sit every day. The only punishment was to be death. The tribunal, said the law, was instituted to punish the enemies of the people. Then followed a most vague and comprehensive definition of the enemies of the people. In the number were included dishonest contractors, and the alarmists who circulated bad news. The power of bringing citizens before the revolutionary tribunal was assigned to the two committees, to the Convention, to the representatives on mission, and to Fouquier-Tinville, the public accuser. If there existed proofs, either *material or moral*, no witnesses were to be examined. Lastly, there was a clause to this effect; *To calumniated patriots the law gives patriot jurors as defenders; to conspirators it grants none.*

A law suppressing all guarantees, limiting the proceeding to a mere nominal appeal, and which, in attributing to the two committees the power of sending the citizens to the revolutionary tribunal, gives them thus the right of life and death, such a law could not but excite real alarm, especially in those members of the Convention who were already uneasy on their own account. It was not said whether the committees were to have the power of bringing the representatives before the tribunal without applying for a previous decree of accusation: thenceforward the committees would possess the power of sending their colleagues to death, without any further trouble than that of pointing them out to Fouquier-Tinville. The remnant of the faction of the so-called *indulgents* was accordingly roused, and for the first time during a considerable period, an opposition was manifested in the bosom of the Assembly. Ruamps moved for the printing and adjournment of the *projet*, saying that, if this law were adopted without adjournment, they would have no other course left them than to blow out their brains.* Lecointre of Versailles, seconded the motion of adjournment. Robespierre immediately came forward to combat this unexpected resistance. "There are," said he, "two opinions as old as our revolution; one, which tends to punish conspirators in a prompt and inevitable manner; the other, which tends to absolve the guilty; this latter has never ceased to show itself on all occasions. It again manifests itself to-day, and I come to put it down. For these two months, the tribunal has been complaining of the shackles which obstruct its progress; it complains of the lack of jurors; a law therefore is required. Amidst the victories of the republic, the conspirators are more active and more ardent than ever. It behoves us to strike them. This unexpected opposition which manifests itself is not natural. You wish to divide the

* "This decree sounded like a death-knell in the ears of the Convention. All were at once made sensible that another decimation of the legislative body approached. Ruamps, one of the deputies, exclaimed, in accents of despair, 'If this decree is resolved on, the friends of liberty will have no other course left than to blow their own brains out.' From this moment there was mortal, though secret war, between Robespierre and the most distinguished members of the Assembly, who began to devise means of screening themselves from power which, like the huge anaconda, enveloped in its coils, and then crushed and swallowed, whatever came in contact with it."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Convention; you wish to intimidate it.”—“No, no,” cried several voices, “nobody shall divide us.”—“It is not we,” added Robespierre, “who have always defended the Convention, it is not we that it will have occasion to fear. At any rate we have now arrived at the point where they may kill us, but where they shall not prevent us from saving the country.”

Robespierre never missed a single occasion to talk of daggers and of assassins, as though he were still threatened. Bourdon of the Oise replied to him, and said that, if the tribunal was in need of jurors, it had but to adopt immediately the proposed list, for nobody had any wish to clog the march of justice, but that the rest of the *projet* ought to be adjourned. Robespierre again ascended the tribune, and said that the law was neither more complex nor more obscure than a great many others which had been adopted without discussion, and that, at a moment when the defenders of liberty were threatened with the dagger, people ought not to strive to retard the repression of the conspirators. He concluded with proposing to discuss the whole law, article by article, and to sit till midnight, if needful, that it might be decreed that very day. The sway of Robespierre once more triumphed. The law was read and adopted in a few moments.

Bourdon, Tallien, and all the members who entertained personal apprehensions, were nevertheless alarmed at such a law. As the committees were empowered to bring all the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, and not a single exception was made in favour of the members of the national representation, they were afraid of being some night apprehended and delivered up to Fouquier, before the Convention should even be apprized of it. On the following day the 23d of Prairial, Bourdon begged leave to speak. “In giving,” said he, “to the committees of public welfare and of general safety the right to send the citizens before the revolutionary tribunal, the Convention certainly could not mean that the power of the committees should extend over all its members without a previous decree.” There were cries from all quarters of “No, no.”—“I fully expected these murmurs,” continued Bourdon; “they prove to me that liberty is imperishable.” This remark caused a deep sensation. Bourdon proposed to declare that members of the Convention could not be delivered up to the tribunal without a decree of accusation. The committees were absent; Bourdon’s motion was favourably received. Merlin moved the previous question; murmurs arose against him, but he explained and demanded the previous question with a preamble to this effect, that the Convention could not strip itself of the right of alone decreeing respecting its own members. The preamble was adopted, to the general satisfaction.

A scene which occurred in the evening gave still greater notoriety to this novel opposition. Tallien and Bourdon, walking in the Tuileries, were closely followed by spies of the committee of public welfare. At length Tallien, indignantly turned round, provoked them, called them base spies of the committee, and bade them go and tell their masters what they had seen and heard. This scene caused a strong sensation. Couthon and Robespierre were enraged. Next day they went to the Convention, resolved to complain bitterly of the resistance which they experienced. Delacroix and Mallarmé furnished them with occasion to do so. Delacroix desired that those whom the law called *corrupters of morals* should be characterized in a more precise manner. Mallarmé inquired what was meant by these words; *The law gives calumniated patriots no other defender than the conscience of patriot jurors*. Couthon then ascended the tribune, complained of the amendments adopted on the preceding day, and of those which were then proposed. “It

was slandering the committee of public welfare," he said, "to appear to suppose that it wished to have the power of sending members of the Convention to the scaffold. That tyrants should calumniate the committee was perfectly natural; but that the Convention itself should listen to the calumny—such an injustice was insupportable, and he could not help complaining of it. Yesterday a member prided himself on a *lucky clamour* which proved that liberty was imperishable, as if liberty had been threatened. The moment when the members of the committee were absent was chosen for making this attack. Such conduct," added Couthon, "is unmanly, and I propose to rescind the amendments adopted yesterday, and those which have just been submitted to-day." Bourdon replied, that to demand explanations concerning a law was not a crime; that, if he prided himself on a clamour, it was because he was pleased to find himself in unison with the Convention; that, if the same acrimony were to be shown on both sides, discussion would be impossible. "I am accused," said he, "of talking like Pitt and Coburg. Were I to reply in the same spirit, where should we be? I esteem Couthon, I esteem the committees, I esteem the Mountain, which has saved liberty."

These explanations of Bourdon's were applauded; but they were excuses, and the authority of the dictators was still too strong to be unreservedly defied. Robespierre then addressed the Assembly in a prolix speech full of pride and bitterness. "Montaineers!" said he, "you will still be the bulwark of the public liberty, but you have nothing in common with the intriguers and the perverse, whoever they be. If they strive to thrust themselves among you, they are not the less strangers to your principles. Suffer not intriguers, each more despicable than the other, because more hypocritical, to attempt to misguide a portion of you, and to set themselves up as leaders of a party." Bourdon of the Oise here interrupted Robespierre, saying that he had never attempted to set himself up for the leader of a party. Robespierre without answering him proceeded thus: "It would be the height of disgrace, if calumniators, leading astray our colleagues—" Bourdon again interrupted him. "I insist," said he, "that the speaker prove what he is advancing; he has asserted in plain terms that I am a villain."—"I have not named Bourdon," replied Robespierre; "we bo to him who names himself! Yes, the Mountain is pure, it is sublime; intriguers belong not to the Mountain." Robespierre then expatiated at great length on the efforts which had been made to frighten the members of the Convention, and to persuade them that they were in danger. He said that it was the guilty only who were thus alarmed, and who strove to alarm others. He then related what had occurred the preceding evening between Tallien and the spies, whom he called the *messengers of the committee*. This recital drew very warm explanations from Tallien, and brought upon the latter abundance of abuse. At length, all these discussions terminated in the adoption of the demands made by Couthon and Robespierre.* The amendments of the preceding day were rescinded, those of that day rejected, and the horrible law of the 22d was left in its original state.

The leaders of the committee were once more triumphant. Their adversaries trembled. Tallien, Bourdon, Ruamps, Delacroix, Mallarmé, and all those who had made objections to the law, gave themselves up for lost, and

* "Robespierre had at this critical period a prodigious force at his disposal. The lowest orders, who saw the Revolution in his person, supported him as the best representative of their doctrines and interests; the armed force of Paris was at his beck; he ruled with absolute sway at the Jacobins; and all important places were filled with his creatures."—*Mignet*. E.

feared every moment that they should be arrested. Though a previous decree of the Convention was still necessary for placing a member under accusation, it was still so intimidated, that it was likely to grant whatever should be demanded of it. It had issued a decree against Danton; it was to be presumed that it would not hesitate to issue another against such of his friends as survived him. A report was soon circulated that the list was drawn up, and the number of the victims was stated to be twelve, and afterwards eighteen. Their names were mentioned. The alarm soon spread, and more than sixty members of the Convention ceased to sleep at their own homes.

There was, nevertheless, an obstacle which prevented their lives from being disposed of so easily as they apprehended. We have already seen that Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère, had replied coldly to the first complaints of Robespierre against his colleagues. The members of the committee of general safety were more adverse to him than ever, for they were to be kept aloof from all co-operation in the law of the 22d, and it even appears that some of them were threatened. Robespierre and Couthon carried their demands to a great length. They were for sacrificing a great number of deputies; they talked of Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Monestier, Legendre, Fréron, Barras. They wanted even Cambon, whose financial reputation annoyed them, and who had seemed adverse to their cruelties; lastly, they meant to include in their vengeance several of the stanchest members of the Mountain, as Duval, Audouin, and Leonard Bourdon.* The members of the committee of public welfare, Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, and all those of the committee of general safety, refused their assent. The danger, now extending to so great a number of lives, might very soon threaten their own.

They were in this hostile position, with not the slightest inclination to agree to a new sacrifice, when another circumstance produced a definitive rupture. The committee of general safety had discovered the meetings that were held at the house of Catherine Theot. They had learned that this extravagant sect regarded Robespierre as a prophet, and that the latter had given a certificate of civism to Dom Gerle. Vadier, Vouland, Jagot, and Amar, immediately resolved to revenge themselves, by representing this sect as an assemblage of dangerous conspirators, by denouncing it to the Convention, and by thus throwing upon Robespierre a share of the ridicule and odium which would attach to it. They sent an agent named Senart, who, pretending to be desirous of becoming a member of the society, was admitted to one of its meetings. In the midst of the ceremony, he stepped to a window, gave a signal to the armed force, and caused almost the whole sect to be secured. Dom Gerle and Catherine Theot were apprehended. Upon Dom Gerle was found the certificate of civism given him by Robespierre, and in the bed of the mother of God was discovered a letter written by her to her beloved son, to the chief prophet, to Robespierre.

When Robespierre learned that proceedings were about to be instituted against the sect, he opposed that course, and provoked a discussion on this subject in the committee of public welfare. We have already seen that Billaud and Collot were not very favourably disposed towards deism, and that they viewed with umbrage the political use which Robespierre wished to make of that creed. They were for the prosecution. Upon Robespierre persisting in his endeavours to prevent it, the discussion grew extremely

* See the list given by Villate in his *Memoirs*.

warm. He had to endure the most abusive language, failed to carry his point, and retired weeping with rage. The quarrel had been so vehement, that, lest they should be overheard by persons passing through the galleries, the members of the committee resolved to adjourn their sitting to the floor above. The report on the sect of Catherine Theot was presented to the Convention. Barrère, in order to revenge himself in his own way on Robespierre, had secretly drawn up the report, which Voulant was to read. The sect was thus rendered equally ridiculous and atrocious. The Convention, horror-stricken by some parts of the report, at others diverted by the picture drawn by Barrère, decreed the accusation of the principal leaders of the sect, and sent them to the revolutionary tribunal.

Robespierre, indignant at the resistance which he had experienced and the insulting language used towards him, resolved to cease attending the committee and to take no further part in its deliberations. He withdrew towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June). This secession proves of what nature his ambition was. An ambitious man never betrays ill-humour; he is irritated by obstacles, seizes the supreme power, and crushes those who have affronted him. A weak and vain declaimer is pettish and gives way when he ceases to meet with either flattery or respect. Danton retired from indolence and disgust, Robespierre from wounded vanity. His retirement proved as fatal to him as that of Danton.* Couthon was left alone against Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, and these latter were about to seize the helm of affairs.

These divisions were not yet bruited abroad. People only knew that the committees of public welfare and of general safety were at variance. They were delighted at this misunderstanding, and hoped that it would prevent fresh proscriptions. Those who were threatened, courted, flattered, implored the committee of general safety, and had even received the most cheering promises from some of its members. Elie Lacoste,† Moyse Bayle, Lavicom-

* "Robespierre now in his retirement began to sink beneath the weight of a part greatly superior to his talents. New vices, foreign to his temper, but superinduced by the perturbation of his mind, added to the perplexity that bewildered him. That man whose heart was, I believe, never moved by the voice or appearance of a woman, latterly abandoned himself to debauchery. Often stretched out in a park, the proprietor of which had been his victim, and surrounded by the most degraded women, he sought the gratification of his sensual appetites. How many torments surrounded Robespierre in his asylum, the papers there found attest. He received a multitude of letters expressive of the wildest adoration; but others contained imprecations that must have congealed his blood. Read these appalling words that were addressed to him! 'This hand that writes thy doom—this hand which thy bewildered eye seeks in vain—this hand that presses thine with horror—this hand shall pierce thy heart! Every day I am with thee—every day I see thee—at every hour my uplifted arm seeks thy breast. Vilest of men! live still awhile to think of me. Sleep to dream of me! let my image and thy fear be the first prelude of thy punishment! Farewell! This very day, on beholding thee, I shall gloat over thy terrors!'"—*Lacretelle*. E.

† "Lacoste, minister of the marine in 1792, was, before the Revolution, head clerk in the navy office. Having attached himself to the Jacobins, he gave great displeasure to the royalists, who looked on him as a coarse and violent man. His enemies, however, confess that Lacoste was a worthy man, who, while following the Revolution, detested its excesses. In the year 1800 Bonaparte gave him a seat in the council of captures, which he still held in 1806."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

‡ "L. Lavicomterie, a writer, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was afterwards a member of the committee of general safety during the Reign of Terror, and participated in the proceedings of the members of the government. Some time after the fall of Robespierre he presented a statement on morality considered as a calculation; in this he insisted that the idea of a retributive and avenging God was absurd, that the human race would be eternal, and that men had no punishments to fear, no rewards

terie,† and Dubarran, the best of the members of the committee of general safety, had promised to refuse their signature to any new list of proscription.

Amidst these dissensions, the Jacobins were still devoted to Robespierre. They made as yet no distinction between the different members of the committee, between Couthon, Robespierre, and St. Just, on the one hand, and Billaud-Varennes, Collot, and Barrère, on the other. They saw only the revolutionary government on one side, and on the other some relics of the faction of the indulgents, some friends of Danton's, who, on occasion of the law of the 22d Prairial, had opposed that salutary government. Robespierre, who had defended that government in defending the law, was still in their estimation the first and the greatest citizen of the republic; all the others were but intriguers, who must be completely destroyed. Accordingly, they did not fail to exclude Tallien from their committee of correspondence, because he had not replied to the accusations preferred against him on the sitting of the 24th. From that day, Collot and Billaud-Varennes, aware of Robespierre's influence, abstained from appearing at the Jacobins. What could they have said? They could not have exposed their solely personal grievances, and made the public judge between their pride and that of Robespierre. All they could do was to be silent and to wait. Robespierre and Couthon had therefore an open field.

The rumour of a new proscription having produced a dangerous effect, Couthon hastened to disavow before the society the designs imputed to them against twenty-four, and even sixty, members of the Convention. "The spirits of Danton, Hebert, and Chaumette, still walk among us," said he; "they still seek to perpetuate discord and division. What passed in the sitting of the 24th is a striking instance of this. People strive to divide the government, to discredit its members, by painting them as Syllas and Neros; they deliberate in secret, they meet, they form pretended lists of proscription, they alarm the citizens in order to make them enemies to the public authority. A few days ago, it was reported that the committees intended to order the arrest of eighteen members of the Convention; nay, they were even mentioned by name. Do not believe these perfidious insinuations. Those who circulate such rumours are accomplices of Hebert's and of Danton's; they dread the punishment of their guilty conduct; they seek to cling to pure men, in the hope that, whilst hidden behind them, they may easily escape the eye of justice. But be of good cheer; the number of the guilty is happily very small; it amounts but to four or six, perhaps; and they shall be struck, for the time is come for delivering the republic from the last enemies who are conspiring against it. Rely for its salvation on the energy and the justice of the committees."

It was judicious to reduce to a small number the proscribed persons whom Robespierre intended to strike. The Jacobins applauded, as usual, the speech of Couthon; but that speech tended not to cheer any of the threatened victims, and those who considered themselves in danger continued nevertheless to sleep from home. Never had the terror been greater, not only in the Convention, but in the prisons and throughout France.

The cruel agents of Robespierre, Fouquier-Tinville, the accuser, and Dumas the president, had taken up the law of the 22d of Prairial, and were preparing to avail themselves of it for the purpose of committing fresh atro-

to hope, beyond the present world. In 1798 Lavicomterie obtained a place in the office for regulating the registers, but was afterwards dismissed, and lived in obscurity at Paris."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

cities in the prisons. Very soon, said Fouquier, there shall be put up on their doors bills of *This house to let*. The plan was to get rid of the greater part of the suspected persons. People had accustomed themselves to consider these latter as irreconcilable enemies, whom it was necessary to destroy for the welfare of the republic. To sacrifice thousands of individuals, whose only fault was to think in a certain manner, nay, whose opinions were frequently precisely the same as those of their persecutors,—to sacrifice them seemed a perfectly natural thing, from the habit which people had acquired of destroying one another. The facility with which they put others to death or encountered death themselves,* had become extraordinary. In the field of battle, on the scaffold, thousands perished daily, and nobody was any longer shocked at it.† The first murders committed in 1793 proceeded from a real irritation caused by danger. Such perils had now ceased; the republic was victorious; people now slaughtered not from indignation, but from the atrocious habit which they had contracted. That formidable machine, which they had been obliged to construct in order to withstand enemies of all kinds, began to be no longer necessary; but once set a going, they knew not how to stop it. Every government must have its excess, and does not perish till it has attained that excess. The revolutionary government was not destined to finish on the same day that all the enemies of the republic should be sufficiently terrified; it was destined to go beyond that point, and to exercise itself till it had become generally disgusting by its very atrocity. Such is the invariable course of human affairs. Why had atrocious circumstances compelled the creation of a government of blood, which was to reign and vanquish solely by inflicting death?

A still more frightful circumstance is that, when the signal is given, when the idea is established that lives must be sacrificed, all dispose themselves for this horrid purpose with an extraordinary facility. Every one acts without remorse, without repugnance. People accustom themselves to this, like the judge who condemns criminals to death, like the surgeon who sees beings writhing under his instrument, like the general who orders the sacrifice of twenty thousand soldiers. They frame a horrid language according to their new operations; they contrive even to render it gay; they invent striking words to express sanguinary ideas. Every one, stunned and hurried along, keeps pace with the mass; and men who were yesterday engaged in the peaceful occupations of the arts and commerce, are to day seen applying themselves with the same facility to the work of death and destruction.

The committee had given the signal by the law of the 22d. Dumas and Fouquier had but too well understood it. It was necessary, however, to find pretexts for immolating so many victims. What crime could be imputed to them, when most of them were peaceful, unknown citizens, who had never given any sign of life to the state? It was conceived that, being con-

* "During the latter part of the French Revolution, it became a fashion to leave some 'mot' as a legacy; and the quantity of facetious last words spoken during that period would form a melancholy jest-book of considerable size."—*Lord Byron*. E.

"One prisoner alone raised piteous cries on the chariot, and struggled, in a perfect frenzy of terror, with the executioners on the scaffold—it was the notorious Madame du Barri, the associate of the licentious pleasures of Louis XV."—*Lauretelle*. E.

† "One of the most extraordinary features of these terrible times was the universal disposition which the better classes both in Paris and the provinces evinced to bury anxiety in the delirium of present enjoyment. The people who had escaped death went to the opera daily, with equal unconcern whether thirty or a hundred heads had fallen during the day."—*Alison*. E.

finned in the prisons they would think how to get out of them, that their number was likely to inspire them with a feeling of their strength, and to suggest to them the idea of exerting it for their escape. The pretended conspiracy of Dillon was the germ of this idea, which was developed in an atrocious manner. Some wretches among the prisoners consented to act the infamous part of informers. They pointed out in the Luxembourg one hundred and sixty prisoners, who, they said, had been concerned in Dillon's plot. Some of these listmakers were procured in all the other places of confinement, and they denounced in each one or two hundred persons as accomplices in the conspiracy of the prisons. An attempt at escape made at La Force served but to authorize this unworthy fable, and hundreds of unfortunate creatures began immediately to be sent to the revolutionary tribunal. They were transferred from the various prisons to the Conciergerie to be thence taken to the tribunal and to the scaffold. In the night between the 18th and 19th of Messidor (June 6), the one hundred and sixty persons denounced at the Luxembourg were transferred. They trembled on hearing themselves called: they knew not what was laid to their charge, but they regarded it as most probable that death was reserved for them. The odious Fouquier, since he had been furnished with the law of the 22d, had made great changes in the hall of the tribunal. Instead of the seats for the advocates and the bench appropriated to the accused and capable of holding eighteen or twenty persons, an amphitheatre, that would contain one hundred or one hundred and fifty accused at a time was by his order constructed. This he called his *little seats*. Carrying his atrocious activity still further, he had even caused a scaffold to be erected in the very hall of the tribunal, and he proposed to have the one hundred and sixty accused in the Luxembourg tried at one and the same sitting.

The committee of public welfare, when informed of the kind of mania which had seized its public accuser, sent for him, ordered him to remove the scaffold from the hall in which it was set up, and forbade him to bring sixty persons to trial at once. "What!" said Collot-d'Herbois in a transport of indignation, "wouldst thou then demoralize death itself?" It should, however, be remarked that Fouquier asserted the contrary, and maintained that it was he who demanded the trial of the one hundred and sixty in three divisions. Everything proves, on the contrary, that it was the committee which was less extravagant than their minister, and checked his mad proceedings. They were obliged to repeat the order to Fouquier-Tinville to remove the guillotine from the hall of the tribunal.

The one hundred and sixty were divided into three companies, tried, and executed in three days. The proceedings were as expeditious and as frightful as those adopted in the Abbaye on the nights of the 2d and 3d of September. Carts ordered for every day were waiting from the morning in the court of the Palace of Justice, and the accused could see them as they went up stairs to the tribunal. Dumas, the president, sitting like a maniac, had a pair of pistols on the table before him. He merely asked the accused their names, and added some very general question. In the examination of the one hundred and sixty, the president said to one of them, Dorival, "Do you know any thing of the conspiracy?" "No." "I expected that you would give that answer: but it shall not avail you. Another." He addressed a person named Champigny, "Are you not an ex-noble?" "Yes." "Another." "To Gudreville, "Are you a priest?" "Yes; but I have taken the oath." "You have no right to speak. Another." To a man named Menil, "Were you not servant to the ex-constituent Menou?" "Yes."

"Another." To Vely, "Were you not architect to Madame?" "Yes; but I was dismissed in 1788." "Another." To Gondrecourt, "Had you not your father-in-law at the Luxembourg?" "Yes." "Another." To Durfort, "Were you not in the life-guard?" "Yes; but I was disbanded in 1789." "Another."

Such was the summary mode of proceeding with these unfortunate persons.* According to the law, the testimony of witnesses was to be dispensed with only when there existed material or moral proofs; nevertheless, no witnesses were called, as it was alleged that proofs of this kind existed in every case. The jurors did not take the trouble to retire to the consultation-room. They gave their opinions before the audience, and sentence was immediately pronounced. The accused had scarcely time to rise and to mention their names. One day, there was a prisoner whose name was not upon the list of the accused, and who said to the Court, "I am not accused; my name is not on your list." "What signifies that?" said Fouquier, "give it quick!" He gave it, and was sent to the scaffold like the others. The utmost negligence prevailed in this kind of barbarous administration. Sometimes, owing to the extreme precipitation, the acts of accusation were not delivered to the accused till they were before the tribunal. The most extraordinary blunders were committed. A worthy old man, Loizerolles, heard along with his own surname the Christian names of his son called over: he forbore to remonstrate, and was sent to the scaffold. Some time afterwards the son was brought to trial; it was found that he ought not to be alive, since a person answering to all his names had been executed: it was his father. He was nevertheless put to death. More than once victims were called long after they had perished. There were hundreds of acts of accusation quite ready, to which there was nothing to add but the designation of the individuals. The trials were conducted in like manner. The printing-office was contiguous to the hall of the tribunal: the forms were kept standing, the title, the motives, were ready composed; there was nothing but the names to be added. These were handed through a small loophole to the overseer. Thousands of copies were immediately worked, and plunged families into mourning and struck terror into the prisons. The hawkers came to sell the bulletin of the tribunal under the prisoners' windows, crying, "Here are the names of those who have gained prizes in the lottery of St. Guillotine." The accused were executed on the breaking up of the court, or at latest on the morrow, if the day was too far advanced.†

* "The judges of the revolutionary tribunal, many of whom came from the galleys of Toulon, laboured incessantly at the work of extermination, and mingled indecent ribaldry and jests with their unrelenting cruelty to the crowds of captives who were brought before them. An old man, who had lost the use of his speech by a paralytic affection, being placed at the bar, the president exclaimed, 'No matter, it is not his tongue, but his head that we want.'"—*Alison*. E.

† The following anecdote, recorded by Prudhomme, will convey an idea of the summary way in which people were tried and executed at this period. M. de Fleury, who was confined in the Luxembourg in the year 1794, wrote the following note to Dumas, president of the revolutionary tribunal: "Man of blood, thou hast murdered my family; thou wilt condemn to the scaffold those who this day appear at thy tribunal; thou mayest condemn me to the same fate, for I declare to thee that I participate in their sentiments." Fouquier-Tinville was with Dumas when he received this letter. "Here," said Dumas, "is a billet-doux—read it."—"This gentleman," replied Fouquier, "is in a great hurry; he must be satisfied." He immediately issued orders to bring him from his prison. About noon M. de Fleury arrived at the tribunal, was tried, condemned in an hour as the accomplice of persons he had never known, and immediately sent to the scaffold, covered with a red shirt, like the man who had attempted to murder Collot-d'Herbois.

Ever since the passing of the law of the 22d of Prairial, victims perished at the rate of fifty or sixty a day. "That goes well," said Fouquier-Tinville; "heads fall like tiles:" and he added, "It must go better still next decade; I must have four hundred and fifty at least."* For this purpose there were given what were called orders to the wretches who undertook the office of spies upon the suspected. These wretches had become the terror of the prisons. Confined as suspected persons, it was not exactly known which of them it was who undertook to mark out victims; but it was inferred from their insolence, from the preference shown them by the gaolers, from the orgies which they held in the lodges with the agents of the police. They frequently gave intimation of their importance in order to traffic with it. They were caressed, implored, by the trembling prisoners; they even received sums of money not to put their names upon their lists. These they made up at random: they said of one that he had used aristocratic language; of another, that he had drunk on a certain day when a defeat of the armies was announced; and their mere designation was equivalent to a death-warrant. The names which they had furnished were inserted in so many acts of accusation; these acts were notified in the evening to the prisoners, and they were removed to the Conciergerie. This was called in the language of the gaolers *the evening journal*. When those unfortunate creatures heard the rolling of the tumbrels which came to fetch them, they were in an agony as cruel as that of death. They ran to the gates, clung to the bars to listen to the list, and trembled lest their name should be pronounced by the messenger. When they were named, they embraced their companions in misfortune, and took a last leave of them. Most painful separations were frequently witnessed—a father parting from his children, a husband from his wife. Those who survived were as wretched as those who were conducted to the den of Fouquier-Tinville. They went back expecting soon to rejoin their relatives. When the fatal list was finished, the prisoners breathed more freely, but only till the following day. Their anguish was then renewed, and the rolling of the carts brought fresh terror along with it.

The public pity began to be expressed in a way that gave some uneasiness to the exterminators. The shopkeepers in the rue St. Honoré, through which the carts passed every day, shut up their shops. To deprive the victims of these signs of mourning, the scaffold was removed to the Barrière du Trône, but not less pity was shown by the labouring people in this quarter than by the inhabitants of the best streets in Paris.† The populace, in

* See the long trial of Fouquier-Tinville for these particulars.

† "It is evident that the better order of the people of Paris had begun to be weary of, if not disgusted with, these scenes. The guillotine had been originally placed in the Carrrousel; it was removed for the execution of the King to the Place Louis XV.; there, at the foot of a plaster statue of liberty, it continued till a few weeks before Robespierre's fall. Around the scaffold were placed rows of chairs, which the passengers hired, as at other places of public amusement, to witness the operations of the 'holy guillotine.' But even of blood the Parisians will tire, and the inhabitants of the adjoining streets, through which the batches were daily trundled for execution, began to find that there might be too much of a good thing. On this, Robespierre transported the guillotine to the other extremity of Paris, where it was erected near the ruins of the Bastille. But by this time the people of the fauxbourg St. Antoine had also become satiated with massacre; and after the revolutionary engine had occupied its new position only four days, and dealt with only seventy-four victims, it was again removed to an open space near the Barrière du Trône. There it stood little more than six busy weeks, in which it despatched fourteen hundred and three victims! It was finally conveyed—for Robespierre's own use—to its original position, in order that he and his friends might die on the scene of their most remarkable triumphs. These movements of the guillotine are indicative of the state of the public mind."—*Quarterly Review*. E.



MADAME ELIZABETH.

a moment of intoxication, may have no feeling for the victims whom it slaughters itself, but, when it daily witnesses the death of fifty or sixty unfortunate persons, against whom it is not excited by rage, it soon begins to be softened. This pity, however, was still silent and timid. All the distinguished persons confined in the prisons had fallen: the unfortunate sister of Louis XVI.* had been immolated in her turn; and Death was already descending from the upper to the lower classes of society. We find at this period on the list of the revolutionary tribunal, tailors, shoemakers, hair-dressers, butchers, farmers, publicans, nay, even labouring men, condemned for sentiments and language held to be counter-revolutionary.† To convey, in short, an idea of the number of executions at this period, it will be sufficient to state that, between the month of March, 1793, when the tribunal commenced its operations, and the month of June, 1794 (22 Prairial, year II), five hundred and seventy-seven persons had been condemned; and that, from the 10th of June (22 Prairial) to the 17th of July (9 Thermidor) it

* "The Princess Elizabeth appeared before her judges with a placid countenance, and listened to the sentence of death with unabated firmness. As she passed to the place of execution, her handkerchief fell from her neck, and exposed her in this situation to the eyes of the multitude; whereupon she said to the executioner, 'In the name of modesty I entreat you to cover my bosom.'"—*Du Broca*. E.

† "Jean Julien, wagoner, having been sentenced to twelve years' hard labour, took it into his head (*s'avisa*) to cry *Vive le Roi!* was brought back before the tribunal and condemned to death, September 1792.

"Jean Baptiste Henry, aged *eighteen*, journeyman tailor, convicted of having sawed a tree of liberty; executed the 6th September, 1793.

"Bernard Augustin d'Absac, aged fifty-one, ex-noble, late captain in the 11th regiment, and formerly in the sea-service, convicted of having betrayed *several towns and several ships* into the hands of the enemy, was condemned to death on the 10th January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Stephen Thomas Ogie Baulny, aged forty-six, ex-noble, convicted of having intrusted his son, aged *fourteen*, to a *garde du corps*, in order that he might emigrate. Condemned to death 31st January, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Henriette Françoise de Marbœuf, aged fifty-five, widow of the *ci-devant* Marquis de Marbœuf, residing at No. 47, *rue St. Honoré*, in Paris, convicted of having *hoped for (désiré)* the arrival of the Austrians and Prussians, and of *keeping provisions for them*. Condemned to death the 5th February, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Jacques de Baume, a *Dutch merchant*, convicted of being the author and accomplice of a plot which existed in the month of June, 1790, tending to encourage our external and internal enemies, by negotiating by way of loan, certain bonds of 100*l.* each, bearing interest at 5 per cent., of George, Prince of Wales, Frederick, Duke of York, and William Henry, Duke of Clarence. Executed the 14th February, 1794.

"Jacques Duchesne, aged sixty, formerly a servant, since a broker; Jean Sauvage, aged thirty-four, gunsmith; Françoise Loizelier, aged forty-seven, milliner; Melanie Cunosse, aged twenty-one, milliner; Marie Magdalene Virolle, aged twenty-five, female hair-dresser;—convicted of having, in the city of Paris, where they resided, composed writings, stuck bills, and *poussé de cris* [the sanguinary code of England has no corresponding name for this capital offence], were all condemned to death the 5th May, 1794, and executed the same day.

"Geneviève Gouvon, aged *seventy-seven*, seamstress, convicted of having been the author or accomplice of various conspiracies formed since the beginning of the Revolution by the enemies of the people and of liberty, tending to create civil war, to paralyze the public, and to annihilate the existing government. Condemned to death 11th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"Françoise Bertrand, aged thirty-seven, *finman* and publican at Leure, in the department of the Côte-d'Or, convicted of having furnished to the defenders of the country *sour wine injurious to the health of citizens*, was condemned to death at Paris 15th May, 1793, and executed the same day.

"Marie Angelique Plaisant, seamstress at Douai, convicted of having exclaimed that she was an *aristocrat*, and '*A fig for the nation.*' Condemned to death at Paris the 19th July, 1794, and executed the same day."—*Extracts from the Liste Générale des Condamnés*. E.

condemned one thousand two hundred and eighty-five; so that the total number of victims up to the 9th of Thermidor amounts to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two.*

The sanguinary agents of these executions, however, were not easy. Dumas was perturbed, and Fouquier durst not go out at night; he beheld the relatives of his victims ever ready to despatch him. In passing with Senard through the wickets of the Louvre, he was alarmed by a slight noise; it was caused by a person passing close to him. "Had I been alone," said he, "some accident would have happened to me."

* "Numbers condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris in each month, from its first institution (17th of August, 1792) to the fall of Robespierre (27th of July, 1793).

1792.	August,	3 victims.
	September,	4
	October,	1
[Tribunal remodelled in March, 1793.]		
1793.	April,	9
	May,	9
	June,	14
	July,	13
[Robespierre elected into the Committee of Public Safety.]		
1793.	August,	5
	September,	16
	October,	60 including Brissot, &c.
	November,	53
	December,	73
1794.	January,	83
	February,	75
	March,	123 including Hebert, &c.
	April,	263 including Danton, &c.
	May,	324
	June,	672
	July,	835 exclusive of Robespierre and his accomplices.

"To the foregoing astonishing account of the *monthly* executions, we think it worth while to add the *daily* detail of the two last months:

June.					
Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	13	11	22	21	25
2	13	12	17	22	15
3	32	13	23	23	19
4	16	14	38	24	25
5	6	15	19	25	44
6	20	16	42	26	47
7	21	17	61	27	30
8	<i>Decadi.</i>	18	<i>Decadi.</i>	28	<i>Decadi.</i>
9	22	19	15	29	20
10	13	20	37	30	14
July.					
Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.	Day.	Victims.
1	23	10	44	19	28
2	30	11	6	20	14
3	19	12	28	21	28
4	27	13	37	22	46
5	28	14	—	23	55
6	29	15	29	24	36
7	67	16	30	25	38
8	<i>Decadi.</i>	17	40	26	54
9	60	18	<i>Decadi.</i>	27	42"

—Quarterly Review. E.

In the principal cities of France terror reigned as absolutely as in Paris. Carrier* had been sent to Nantes to punish La Vendée in that town. Carrier, still a young man, was one of those inferior and violent spirits, who, in the excitement of civil wars, become monsters of cruelty and extravagance. He declared immediately after his arrival at Nantes, that, notwithstanding the promise of pardon made to the Vendéans who should lay down their arms, no quarter ought to be given to them, but they must all be put to death. The constituted authorities having hinted at the necessity of keeping faith with the rebels, "You are *j . . . f . . .*," said Carrier to them, "you don't understand your trade; I will send you all to the guillotine;" and he began by causing the wretched creatures who surrendered to be mowed down by musketry and grapeshot, in parties of one and two hundred. He appeared at the popular society, sword in hand, abusive language pouring from his lips, and always threatening with the guillotine. It was not long before he took a dislike to that society, and caused it to be dissolved. He intimidated the authorities to such a degree that they durst no longer appear before him. One day, when they came to consult with him on the subject of provisions, he replied to the municipal officers that that was no affair of his; that he had no time to attend to their fooleries; and that the first blackguard who talked to him about provisions should have his head struck off. This frantic wretch imagined that he had no other mission than to slaughter.

He resolved to punish at one and the same time the Vendean rebels and the federalists of Nantes, who had attempted a movement in favour of the Girondins, after the siege of their city. The unfortunate people who had escaped the disasters of Mans and Savenai were daily arriving in crowds, driven by the armies which pressed them closely on all sides. Carrier ordered them to be confined in the prisons of Nantes, and had thus collected nearly ten thousand. He had then formed a band of murderers, who scoured the adjacent country, stopped the Nantese families, and added rapine to cruelty. Carrier had at first instituted a revolutionary commission for trying the Vendéans and the Nantese. He caused the Vendéans to be shot, and the Nantese suspected of federalism or royalism to be guillotined. He soon found this formality too tedious, and the expedient of shooting attended with inconveniences. This mode of execution was slow; it was troublesome to bury the bodies. They were frequently left on the scene of carnage, and infected the air to such a degree as to produce an epidemic disease in the town. The Loire, which runs through Nantes, suggested a horrible idea to Carrier, namely, to rid himself of the prisoners by drowning them in that river. He made a first trial, loaded a barge with ninety priests, upon pretext of transporting them to some other place, and ordered it to be sunk when at some distance from the city. Having devised this expedient, he resolved to employ it on a large scale. He no longer employed the mock formality of sending the prisoners before a commission: he ordered them to be taken in the night out of the prisons in parties of one and two hundred, and put into boats. By these boats they were carried to small vessels pre-

* "Jean Baptiste Carrier, born in 1756, and an obscure attorney at the beginning of the Revolution, was deputed in 1792, to the Convention, aided in the establishment of the revolutionary tribunal, and exhibited the wildest rage for persecution. He voted for the King's death, and, in 1793, was sent to Nantes with a commission to suppress the civil war by severity, which he exercised in the most atrocious manner. After the fall of Robespierre, Carrier was apprehended, and condemned to death in 1794."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"This Carrier might have summoned hell to match his cruelty without a demon venturing to answer his challenge."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

pared for this horrible purpose. The miserable wretches were thrown into the hold; the hatches were nailed down; the avenues to the deck were closed with planks; the executioners then got into the boats, and carpenters cut holes with hatchets in the sides of the vessels, and sunk them. In this frightful manner four or five thousand persons were destroyed. Carrier rejoiced at having discovered a more expeditious and more wholesome way to deliver the republic from its enemies. He drowned not only men, but also a great number of women and children.* When the Vendean families were dispersed, after the catastrophe of Savenai, a great number of Nantese had taken children of theirs, with the intention of bringing them up. "They are wolf whelps," said Carrier, and he ordered them to be restored to the republic. Most of these unfortunate children were drowned.

The Loire was covered with dead bodies. Ships, in weighing anchor, sometimes raised boats filled with drowned persons. Birds of prey flocked to the banks of the river, and gorged themselves with human flesh.† The fish, feasting upon a food which rendered them unwholesome, were forbidden by the municipality to be caught. To these horrors were added those of a contagious disease and dearth. In this disastrous situation, Carrier, still boiling with rage, forbade the slightest emotion of pity, seized by the collar and threatened with his sword those who came to speak to him, and caused bills to be posted, stating that whoever presumed to solicit on behalf of any person in confinement should be thrown into prison himself. Fortunately, he was superseded by the committee of public welfare, which desired extermination, but without extravagance.‡ The number of Carrier's victims is computed at four or five thousand.§ Most of them were Vendéans.

* The Marchioness de Larochejaquelein has given some striking details respecting these atrocious massacres, from which we extract the following: "Madame de Bonchamp had procured a small boat, and attempted to cross the Loire with her two children. The armed vessels fired upon her, and a cannon-ball went through the boat; yet she reached the other side, and some peasants swam after, and saved her. She then remained concealed on a farm, and was often obliged to resort to a hollow tree for safety. In this forlorn situation the small-pox attacked her and her children, and her son died. At the end of three months she was discovered, conveyed to Nantes, and condemned to death. She had resigned herself to her fate, when she read on a slip of paper, handed to her through the grate of her dungeon, these words—'Say you are with child.' She did so, and her execution was suspended. Her husband having been dead a long time, she was obliged to say that the child belonged to a republican soldier. She remained shut up, and every day saw some unfortunate woman go to execution, who had been deposited the evening before in her dungeon, after receiving sentence. At the end of three months, it being evident she was not pregnant, she was ordered for execution, but obtained again two months and a half as a last respite, when the death of Robespierre saved her.—Madame de Jourdain was taken to the Loire to be drowned with her three daughters. A soldier wished to save the youngest, who was very beautiful; but she, determined to share her mother's fate, threw herself into the water. The unfortunate girl, falling on dead bodies, did not sink; she cried out, 'Oh, push me in, I have not water enough!' and perished.—A horrible death was that of Madame de la Roche St. André. As she was with child, they spared her till she should be delivered, and then allowed her to nurse her infant; but it died, and the next day she was executed." E.

† Deposition of a captain of a ship on Carrier's trial.

‡ "The Emperor did Robespierre the justice to say that he had seen long letters written by him to his brother, who was then with the army in the provinces, in which he warmly opposed and disavowed these excesses, declaring that they would disgrace and ruin the Revolution."—*L'as Cases*. E.

§ "The miserable victims at Nantes," says Mr. Alison, "were either slain with poniards in the prisons or carried out in a vessel, and drowned by wholesale in the Loire. On one occasion, a hundred priests were taken out together, stripped of their clothes, and precipitated into the waves. Women big with child, infants, eight, nine, and ten years of age, were thrown together into the stream, on the sides of which men armed with sabres, were

Bordeaux, Marseilles, Toulon, atoned for their federalism. At Toulon, Fréron and Barras, the representatives, had caused two hundred of the inhabitants to be shot, and had punished them for a crime, the real authors of which had escaped in the English squadron.* In the department of Vaucluse, Maignet exercised a dictatorship as terrific as the other envoys of the Convention. He had ordered the village of Bedoin to be burned, on account of revolt; and at his request the committee of public welfare had instituted at Orange a revolutionary tribunal, the jurisdiction of which extended to the whole of the South. This tribunal was framed after the model of the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, with this difference, that there were no jurors, and that five judges condemned, on what were termed *moral proofs*, all the unfortunate persons whom Maignet picked up in his excursions. At Lyons, the sanguinary executions ordered by Collot-d'Herbois had ceased. The revolutionary commission had just given an account of its proceedings, and furnished the number of the acquitted and of the condemned. One thousand six hundred and eighty-four persons had been guillotined or shot. One thousand six hundred and eighty-two had been set at liberty by the *justice of the commission*.

placed to cut off their heads if the waves should throw them undrowned on the shore. On one occasion, by orders of Carrier, twenty-three of the royalists—on another, twenty-four, were guillotined together without any trial. The executioner remonstrated, but in vain. Among them were many children of seven or eight years of age, and seven women; the executioner died two or three days after with horror of what he himself had done. So great was the multitude of captives who were brought in on all sides, that the executioners declared themselves exhausted with fatigue, and a new method of execution was devised. Two persons of different sexes, generally an old man and an old woman, bereft of every species of dress, were bound together and thrown into the river. It was ascertained by authentic documents that six hundred children had perished by that inhuman species of death; and such was the quantity of corpses accumulated in the Loire, that the water became infected. The scenes in the prisons which preceded these executions exceeded all that romance had figured of the terrible. On one occasion the inspector entered the prison to seek for a child, where, the evening before, he had left above three hundred infants; they were all gone in the morning, having been drowned the preceding night. To all the representations of the citizens in favour of these innocent victims, Carrier only replied, 'They are all vipers, let them be stifled.' Three hundred young women of Nantes were drowned by him in one night; so far from having had any share in the political discussions, they were of the unfortunate class who live by the pleasures of others. On another occasion, five hundred children of both sexes, the eldest of whom was not fourteen years old, were led out to the same spot to be shot. The littleness of their stature caused most of the bullets at the first discharge to fly over their heads; they broke their bonds, rushed into the ranks of the executioners, clung round their knees, and sought for mercy. But nothing could soften the assassins. They put them to death even when lying at their feet. One woman was delivered of an infant on the quay; hardly were the agonies of child-birth over, when she was pushed, with the new-born innocent, into the fatal boat! Fifteen thousand persons perished at Nantes under the hands of the executioner, or of diseases in prison, in one month. The total number of victims of the Reign of Terror in that town exceeded thirty thousand!" E.

* "Barras, Fréron, and Robespierre the younger, were chosen to execute the vengeance of the Convention on Toulon. Several thousand citizens of every age and sex perished in a few weeks by the sword or the guillotine; two hundred were daily beheaded for a considerable time, and twelve thousand labourers were hired to demolish the buildings of the city. Among those who were struck down in one of the fusillades was an old man, who was severely but not mortally wounded. The executioners conceiving him dead, retired from the scene of carnage; and in the darkness of the night he had strength enough left to raise himself from the ground and move from the spot. His foot struck against a body, which gave a groan, and, stooping down, he discovered that it was his own son! After the first transports of joy were over, they crept along the ground, and, favoured by the night and the inebriety of the guards, they had the good fortune to escape, and lived to recount a tale which might well have passed for fiction."—*Alison*. E.

The North had its proconsul, Joseph Lebon.* He had been a priest, and confessed that, in his youth, he should have carried religious fanaticism to such a length as to kill his father and mother, had he been enjoined to do so. He was a real lunatic, less ferocious perhaps than Carrier, but more decidedly insane. From his language, and from his conduct, it was evident that his mind was deranged. He had fixed his principal residence at Arras,† established a tribunal with the approbation of the committee of public welfare, and travelled through the departments of the North with his judges and a guillotine. He had visited St. Pol, St. Omer, Bethune, Bapaume, Aire, and other places, and had everywhere left bloody traces of his progress. The Austrians having approached Cambray, and St. Just perceiving, as he thought, that the aristocrats of that town were in secret correspondence with the enemy, summoned thither Lebon, who, in a few days, sent to the scaffold a multitude of unfortunate persons, and pretended that he had saved Cambray by his firmness. When Lebon had finished his excursions, he returned to Arras. There he indulged in the most disgusting orgies, with his judges and various members of the clubs. The executioner was admitted to his table, and treated with the highest consideration. Lebon, stationed in a balcony, attended the executions. He addressed the people, and caused the *Ca ira* to be played while the blood of his victims was flowing. One day, having received intelligence of a victory, he hastened to his balcony, and ordered the execution to be suspended, that the sufferers who were about to die might be made acquainted with the successes of the republic.

Lebon's conduct had been so extravagant, that he was liable to accusation, even before the committee of public welfare. Inhabitants of Arras, who had sought refuge in Paris, took great pains to gain admittance to their fellow-citizen, Robespierre, for the purpose of submitting their complaints to him. Some of them had known, and even conferred obligations on him in his youth. Still they could not obtain an interview with him. Guffroy, the deputy,‡ who was at Arras, and who was a man of great courage, spared no

* "Joseph Lebon, born at Arras, at the period of the Revolution connected himself with Robespierre. After the 10th of August he was appointed mayor of that town; was then appointed attorney-general of the department, and afterwards joined the Convention as supplementary deputy. In 1793 he was sent as commissioner to Arras, where he perpetrated the most flagrant cruelties. In the year 1795 he was condemned to death as a Terrorist. At the time of his execution he was thirty years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Lebon prided himself on his apostacy, libertinism, and cruelty. Every day after his dinner he presided at the execution of his victims. By his order an orchestra was erected close to the guillotine. He used to be present at the trials, and once gave notice of the death of those whom he chose to be sentenced to die. He delighted in frightening women by firing off pistols close to their ears."—*Prudhomme*. E.

"It is a curious fact, highly illustrative of the progress of revolutions, that Lebon was at first humane and inoffensive in his government, and it was not till he had received repeated orders from Robespierre, with a hint of a dungeon in case of refusal, that his atrocities commenced. Let no man, if he is not conscious of the utmost firmness of mind, be sure that he would not, under similar circumstances, have done the same."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "In the city of Arras above two thousand persons perished by the guillotine. Mingling treachery and seduction with sanguinary oppression, Lebon turned the despotic powers with which he was invested into the means of individual gratification. After having disgraced the wife of a nobleman, who yielded to his embraces in order to save her husband's life, he put the man to death before the eyes of his devoted consort. Children whom he had corrupted, were employed by him as spies on their parents; and so infectious did the cruel example become, that the favourite amusement of this little band was putting to death birds and small animals with little guillotines made for their use."—*Alison*. E.

‡ "A. B. J. Guffroy, an advocate, was deputy to the Convention, where he voted for the King's death. He was one of the most intemperate journalists of his time. In 1793 he

efforts to call the attention of the committees to the conduct of Lebon. He had even the noble hardihood to make an express denunciation to the Convention. The committee of public welfare took cognizance of it, and could not help summoning Lebon. The committee, however, was not willing either to disavow its agents, or to appear to admit that it was possible to be too severe towards the aristocrats. It sent Lebon back to Arras, and, in writing to him, made use of these expressions: "Pursue the good course, and pursue it with the discretion and the dignity which leave no handle for the calumnies of the aristocracy." The complaints preferred in the Convention by Guffroy against Lebon required a report from the committee. Barrere was commissioned to prepare it. "All complaints against representatives," said he, "ought to be referred to the committee in order to spare discussions, which would annoy the government and the Convention. Such is the course which has been followed on this occasion in regard to Lebon. We have inquired into the motives of his conduct. Are these motives pure?—is the result useful to the Revolution?—is it serviceable to liberty?—are the complaints merely recriminatory, or are they only the vindictive outeries of the aristocracy? This is what the committee has kept in view in this affair. Forms somewhat harsh have been employed; but these forms have destroyed the snares of the aristocracy. The committee certainly has reason to disapprove of them; but Lebon has completely beaten the aristocrats, and saved Cambray. Besides, what is there that ought not to be forgiven the hatred of a republican against the aristocracy! With how many generous sentiments has not a patriot occasion to cover whatever there may be acrimonious in the prosecution of the enemies of the people! The Revolution should not be mentioned but with respect, nor revolutionary measures but with indulgence. *Liberty is a virgin, whose veil it is culpable to lift up.*"

The result of all this was that Lebon was authorized to proceed, and that Guffroy was classed among the troublesome censors of the revolutionary government, and became liable to share their dangers. It was evident that the entire committee was in favour of the system of terror. Robespierre, Couthon, Billaud, Collot-d'Herbois, Vadier, Vouland, Amar, might differ concerning their prerogatives and concerning their number and the selection of their colleagues to be sacrificed; but they perfectly agreed as to the system of exterminating all those who formed obstacles to the Revolution. They did not wish this system to be applied with extravagance by the Lebons and the Carriers; but they were anxious to be delivered promptly, certainly, and with as little noise as possible, after the example set in Paris, from the enemies whom they supposed to have conspired against the republic. While censuring certain insane cruelties, they had the self-love of power, which is always reluctant to disavow its agents. They condemned what had been done at Arras and at Nantes; but they approved of it in appearance, that they might not acknowledge a fault in their government. Hurried into this horrible career, they advanced blindly, not knowing whither it was likely to lead them. Such is the sad condition of the man engaged in evil, that he has not the power to stop. As soon as he begins to conceive a doubt as to the nature of his actions, as soon as he discovers that he has lost his way, instead of turning back, he rushes forward, as if to stun himself—as if to

became one of the committee of general safety. On the downfall of Robespierre, whose enemy he had become, he joined the Thermidorian party. In 1794 he denounced Lebon, with whom he had once been very intimate. Guffroy was subsequently appointed chief assistant in the administration of justice, and died in the year 1800, about fifty-six years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

escape from the sights which annoy him. Before he can stop, he must be calm, he must examine himself, he must pass a severe judgment upon himself, which no man has the courage to do.

Nothing but a general rising could stop the authors of this terrible system. It was requisite that, in this rising, the members of the committees, jealous of the supreme power, the threatened Mountaineers, the indignant Convention, and all the hearts disgusted by this horrid effusion of blood, should be associated. But, to attain this alliance of jealousy, fear, and indignation, it was requisite that jealousy should make progress in the committees, that fear should become extreme in the Mountain, that indignation should restore courage to the Convention and to the public. It was requisite that an occasion should cause all these sentiments to burst forth at once; and that the oppressors should give the first blows, in order that the oppressed might dare to return them.

Public opinion was disposed, and the moment had arrived when a movement in behalf of humanity against revolutionary violence was possible. The republic being victorious and its enemies daunted, people had passed from fear and fury to confidence and pity. It was the first time during the Revolution that such a circumstance could have happened. When the Girondins and the Dantonists perished, it was not yet time to invoke humanity. The revolutionary government was not yet discredited, neither had it become useless.

While waiting for the moment, the parties watched one another, and resentments were accumulated in their hearts. Robespierre had entirely seceded from the committee of public welfare. He hoped to discredit the government of his colleagues by taking no further part in it: he appeared only at the Jacobins, where Billaud and Collot durst no longer show themselves and where he was every day more and more adored. He began to throw out observations there on the intestine dissensions of the committee. "Formerly," said he, "the hollow faction which has been formed out of the relics of Danton and Camille-Desmoulins attacked the committees *en masse*; now it prefers attacking certain members in particular, in order to succeed in breaking the bundle. Formerly, it durst not attack the national justice; now it deems itself strong enough to calumniate the revolutionary tribunal, and the decree concerning its organization; it attributes to a single individual what belongs to the whole government; it ventures to assert that the revolutionary tribunal has been instituted for the purpose of slaughtering the National Convention, and unfortunately it has obtained but too much credence. Its calumnies have been believed; they have been assiduously circulated; a dictator has been talked of; he has been named; it is I who have been designated, and you would tremble, *were I to tell you in what place*. Truth is my only refuge against crime. These calumnies will most assuredly not discourage me, but they leave me undecided what course to pursue. Till I can say more on this subject, I invoke the virtues of the Convention, the virtues of the committees, the virtues of all good citizens, and lastly, your virtues, which have so often proved serviceable to the country."

We see by what perfidious insinuations Robespierre began to denounce the committees, and to attach the Jacobins exclusively to himself. For these tokens of confidence he was repaid with unbounded adulation. The revolutionary system being imputed to him alone, it was natural that all the revolutionary authorities should be attached to him, and warmly espouse his cause. With the Jacobins were of course associated the commune, always

united in principle and conduct with the Jacobins, and all the judges and jurors of the revolutionary tribunal. This association formed a very considerable force, and, with more resolution and energy, Robespierre might have made himself extremely formidable. By means of the Jacobins he swayed a turbulent mass, which had hitherto represented and ruled the public opinion: by the commune he had the local authority, which had taken the lead in all the insurrections, and what was of still more consequence, the armed force of Paris. Pache, the mayor, and Henriot,* the commandant, whom he had saved when they were about to be coupled with Chaumette, were wholly devoted to him. Billaud and Collot had taken advantage, it is true, of his absence, to imprison Pache; but Fleuriot, the new mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were just as much attached to him; and his adversaries had not dared to take Henriot from him. Add to these persons, Dumas, the president of the tribunal, Coffinhal, the vice-president, and all the other judges and jurors, and we shall have some idea of the influence which Robespierre possessed in Paris. If the committees and the Convention did not obey him, he had only to complain to the Jacobins, to excite a movement among them, to communicate this movement to the commune, to compel the municipal authority to declare that the people resumed its sovereign powers, to set the sections in motion, and to send Henriot, to demand of the Convention sixty or seventy deputies. Dumas, Coffinhal,† and the whole tribunal would then be at his command, to put to death the deputies whom Henriot should have obtained by main force. All the means, in short, of such a day as the 31st of May, more prompt and more certain than the former, were in his hands.

Accordingly, his partisans, his parasites, surrounded and urged him to give the signal for it. Henriot offered moreover the assistance of his columns, and promised to be more energetic than on the 2d of June. Robespierre, who preferred doing everything by words, and who imagined that he could yet accomplish a great deal by such means, resolved to wait. He hoped to

* "Henriot was the offspring of parents who were poor, but maintained an irreproachable character, residing in Paris. In his youth he was footman to a counsellor of parliament. He made no conspicuous figure in the early period of the Revolution, but rose by degrees to be commandant of his section, and distinguished himself by his cruelty in the September massacres. At the time of the contest between the Mountain and the Girondins, Henriot, to serve the purposes of his party, was raised to the command of the national guard. When the fall of Robespierre was in agitation, he also was denounced, and, after in vain endeavouring to enlist the soldiers in his cause, he took refuge with the rest of the faction at the Hôtel de Ville. The danger of their situation enraged Coffinhal to such a degree, that he threw Henriot out of a window into the street, who, dreadfully bruised by his fall, crept into a common sewer, where he was discovered by some soldiers, who struck him with their bayonets, and thrust out one of his eyes, which hung by the ligaments down his cheek. He was executed the same day with Robespierre and the rest of his associates. He went to the scaffold with no other dress than his under-waistcoat, all over filth from the sewer, and blood from his own wounds. As he was about to ascend the scaffold a bystander snatched out the eye which had been displaced from its socket! Henriot suffered at the age of thirty-five."—*Adolphus*. E.

"Henriot was clerk of the Barriers, but was driven thence for theft. He was then received by the police into the number of its spies, and was again sent to the Bicêtre, which he quitted only to be flogged and branded; at last, passing over the piled corpses of September, where he drank of Madame de Lamballe's blood, he made himself a way to the generalship of the 2d of June, and finally to the scaffold."—*Prudhomme*. E.

† "Coffinhal was born in the year 1746. He it was, who, when Lavoisier requested that his death might be delayed a fortnight, in order that he might finish some important experiments, made answer, that the republic had no need of scholars or chemists."—*Universal Biography*. E.

make the committees unpopular by his secession and by his speeches at the Jacobins, and he then proposed to seize a favourable moment for attacking them openly in the Convention. He continued, notwithstanding his seeming abdication, to direct the tribunal, and to exercise an active police by means of an office which he had established. He thus kept strict watch over his adversaries, and informed himself of all their movements. He now indulged in rather more relaxation than formerly. He was observed to repair to a very handsome country-seat, belonging to a family that was devoted to him, at Maisons-Alfort, three leagues from Paris. Thither all his partisans accompanied him. To this place, too, came Dumas, Coffinhal, Payen, and Fleuriot. Henriot also frequently went thither with all his aides-de-camp; they proceeded along the road five abreast and at full gallop, upsetting all who happened to be in their way, and by their presence spreading terror through the country. The entertainers and the friends of Robespierre, caused him, by their indiscretion, to be suspected of many more plans than he meditated, or had the courage to prepare. In Paris, he was always surrounded by the same persons, and he was followed at certain distances by Jacobins or jurors of the tribunal, men devoted to him, armed with sticks and secret weapons, and ready to hasten to his assistance in any emergency. They were called his life-guards.

Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, seized, on their part, the direction of all affairs, and, in the absence of their rival, they attached to themselves Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. A common interest induced the committee of general safety to join them. For the rest, they maintained the most profound silence. They strove to diminish by degrees the power of their adversary, by reducing the armed force of Paris. There were forty-eight companies of artillery belonging to the forty-eight sections, perfectly organized, and which had given proofs, under all circumstances, of the most revolutionary spirit. From the 10th of August to the 31st of May, they had always ranged themselves on the side of insurrection. A decree directed that half of them at least should remain in Paris, but permitted the other part to be removed. Billaud and Collot had ordered the chief of the commission superintending the movements of the armies to send them off successively to the frontiers, and this order had already begun to be carried into effect. They concealed all their operations as much as possible from Couthon, who, not having withdrawn like Robespierre, watched them attentively, and annoyed them much. During these proceedings, Billaud, gloomy and splenetic, seldom quitted Paris; but the witty and voluptuous Barrère went to Passy with the principal members of the committee of general safety, with old Vadier, Vouland, and Amar. They met at the house of old Dupin, formerly a farmer-general, famous under the late government for his kitchen, and during the Revolution for the report which sent the farmers-general to the scaffold. There they indulged in all sorts of pleasures with beautiful women, and Barrère exercised his wit against the pontiff of the Supreme Being, the chief prophet, the beloved son of the mother of God. After amusing themselves, they quitted the arms of their courtizans to return to Paris into the midst of blood and rivalships.

The old members of the Mountain, who found themselves threatened, met on their part in secret, and sought to come to some arrangement. The generous woman who, at Bordeaux, had attached herself to Tallien,* and

* "The inmarriage of Madame Fontenai with Tallien was not a happy one. On his return from Egypt, a separation took place, and in 1805 she married M. de Caraman, Prince of Chimai."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

snatched from him a multitude of victims, urged him from the recesses of her prison to strike the tyrant. Tallien, Lecointre, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Panis, Barras, Freron, Monestier, were joined by Guffroy, the antagonist of Lebon; Dubois-Crancé, compromised at the siege of Lyons, and detested by Couthon; Fouché of Nantes, who had quarrelled with Robespierre, and who was reproached with having conducted himself in a manner not sufficiently patriotic at Lyons.* Tallien and Lecointre were the most daring and the most impatient. Fouché was particularly feared, on account of his skill in contriving and conducting an intrigue, and it was against him that the triumvirs were most embittered.

On occasion of a petition from the Jacobins of Lyons, in which they complained to the Jacobins of Paris of their existing situation, the whole history of that unfortunate city came again under review. Couthon denounced Dubois-Crancé, as he had done some months before, accused him of having allowed Prey to escape, and obtained his erasure from the list of Jacobins. Robespierre accused Fouché, and imputed to him the intrigues which had caused Gaillard, the patriot, to lay violent hands on himself. At his instigation, it was resolved that Fouché should be summoned before the society to justify his conduct. It was not so much the intrigues of Fouché at Lyons, as his intrigues in Paris, that Robespierre dreaded, and was desirous of punishing. Fouché, aware of the danger, addressed an evasive letter to the Jacobins, and besought them to suspend their judgment till the committee, to whom he had just submitted his conduct, and whom he had furnished with all the documents in his favour, should have pronounced its decision. "It is astonishing," said Robespierre, "that Fouché should today implore the aid of the Convention against the Jacobins. Does he shrink from the eyes and the ears of the people? Is he afraid lest his sorry face should betray guilt? Is he afraid lest the looks of six thousand persons fixed upon him should discover his soul in his eyes, and read his thoughts there in despite of nature which has concealed them? The conduct of Fouché is that of a guilty person: you cannot keep him any longer in your bosom; he must be excluded." Fouché was accordingly excluded, as Dubois-Crancé had been. Thus the storm roared daily more and more vehemently against the threatened Mountaineers, and the horizon on all sides became more overcast with clouds.

Amidst this turmoil, the members of the committees, who feared Robespierre, would rather have courted an explanation and conciliated his ambition, than commenced a dangerous conflict. Robespierre had sent for his young colleague, St. Just, and the latter had immediately returned from the army. It was proposed that a meeting should take place for the purpose of attempting to adjust their differences. It was not till after much entreaty that Robespierre consented to an interview. He did at length comply, and the two committees assembled. Both sides complained of each other with great acrimony. Robespierre spoke of himself with his usual pride, denounced secret meetings, talked of conspirator deputies to be punished, censured all the operations of the government, and condemned everything—administration, war, and finances.

* "The following extract from a letter written by Fouché to Collot-d'Herbois, will show the sort of treatment which this bloodthirsty Jacobin adopted towards the unfortunate citizens of Lyons: 'Let us show ourselves terrible; let us annihilate in our wrath, and at one blow, every conspirator, every traitor, that we may not feel the pain, the long torture, of punishing them as kings would do. We this evening send two hundred and thirteen rebels before the thunder of our cannon! Farewell, my friend; tears of joy stream from my eyes, and overflow my heart!'"—*Moniteur*. E.

St. Just supported Robespierre, pronounced a magnificent panegyric upon him, and said that the last hope of foreigners was to produce dissension in the government. He related what had been said by an officer who had been made prisoner before Maubeuge. The allies were waiting, according to that officer, till a more moderate party should overthrow the revolutionary government, and cause other principles to predominate. St. Just took occasion from this fact to insist on the necessity of conciliation and concord in future proceedings. The antagonists of Robespierre entertained the same sentiments, and they were willing to arrange matters in order to remain masters of the state; but in order to effect such an arrangement they must consent to all that Robespierre desired, and such conditions could not suit them. The members of the committee of general safety complained bitterly that they had been deprived of their functions. Elie Lacoste had the boldness to assert that Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre formed a committee in the committees, and even dared to utter the word *triumvirate*. Some reciprocal concessions were nevertheless agreed upon. Robespierre consented to confine his office of general police to the superintendence of the agents of the committee of public welfare; and his adversaries, in return, agreed to direct St. Just to make a report to the Convention, concerning the interview that had taken place. In this report, as may naturally be supposed, no mention was to be made of the dissensions which had prevailed between the committees; but it was to treat of the commotions which public opinion had of late experienced, and to fix the course which the government proposed to pursue. Billaud and Collot insinuated that too much should not be said in it about the Supreme Being, for they still had Robespierre's pontificate before their eyes. The former, nevertheless, with his gloomy and uncheering look, told Robespierre that he had never been his enemy; and the parties separated without being really reconciled, but apparently somewhat less divided than before. In such a reconciliation there could not be any sincerity, for ambition remains the same; it resembled those attempts at negotiation which all parties make before they come to blows; it was a hollow reconciliation, like the reconciliations proposed between the Constituents and the Girondins, between the Girondins and the Jacobins, between Danton and Robespierre.

If, however, it failed to restore harmony among the members of the committees, it greatly alarmed the Mountaineers. They concluded that their destruction was to be the pledge of peace, and they strove to ascertain what were the conditions of the treaty. The members of the committee of general safety were anxious to dispel their fears. Elie Lacoste, Dubarran, and Moyse Bayle, the best members of the committee, pacified them, and told them that no sacrifice had been agreed upon. This was true enough, and it was one of the reasons which prevented the reconciliation from being complete. Barrère, however, who was particularly desirous that the parties should be on good terms, did not fail to repeat in his daily reports that the members of the government were perfectly united, that they had been unjustly accused of being at variance, and that they were exerting their joint efforts to render the republic everywhere victorious. He affected to sum up all the charges preferred against the triumvirs, and he repelled those charges as culpable calumnies, and common to the two committees. "Amid the shouts of victory," said he, "vague rumours are heard, dark calumnies are circulated, subtle poisons are infused into the journals, mischievous plots are hatched, factitious discontents are preparing, and the government is perpetu-

ally annoyed, impeded in its operations, thwarted in its movements, slandered in its intentions, and threatened in those who compose it. Yet, what has it done?" Here Barrère added the usual enumeration of the labours and services of the government.

While Barrère was doing his best to conceal the discord of the committees, St. Just, notwithstanding the report which he had to present, had returned to the army, where important events were occurring. The movements begun by the two wings had continued. Pichegru had prosecuted his operations on the Lys and the Scheldt; Jourdan had begun his on the Sambre. Profiting by the defensive attitude which Coburg had assumed at Tournay since the battles of Turcoing and Pont-a-Chin, Pichegru had in view to beat Clairfayt separately. He durst not, however, advance as far as Thielt, and resolved to commence the siege of Ypres with the twofold object of drawing Clairfayt towards him and taking that place, which would consolidate the establishment of the French in West Flanders. Clairfayt expected reinforcements, and made no movement. Pichegru then pushed the siege of Ypres, and he pushed it so vigorously that Coburg and Clairfayt deemed it incumbent on them to quit their respective positions, and to proceed to the relief of the threatened fortress. Pichegru, in order to prevent Coburg from prosecuting this movement, caused troops to march from Lille, and to make so serious a demonstration on Orchies that Coburg was detained at Tournay. At the same time he moved forward and hastened to meet Clairfayt, who was advancing towards Rousselaer and Hoogdele. His prompt and well-conceived movements afforded him an occasion of fighting Clairfayt separately. One division having unfortunately mistaken its way, Clairfayt had time to return to his camp at Thielt, after sustaining a slight loss. But, three days afterwards, Clairfayt, reinforced by the detachment for which he was waiting, deployed unawares in face of our columns with thirty thousand men. Our soldiers quickly ran to arms, but the right division, being attacked with great impetuosity, was thrown into confusion, and the left remained uncovered on the *plateau* of Hoogdele. Macdonald commanded this left division, and found means to maintain it against the repeated attacks in front and flank to which it was long exposed. By this courageous resistance he gave Devinthier's brigade time to rejoin him, and then obliged Clairfayt to retire with considerable loss. This was the fifth time that Clairfayt, ill seconded, was beaten by our army of the North. This action, so honourable for Macdonald's division, decided the surrender of the besieged fortress. Four days afterwards, on the 29th of Prairial (June 17), Ypres opened its gates, and a garrison of seven thousand men laid down its arms. Coburg was going to the succour of Ypres and Clairfayt, when he learned that it was too late. The events which were occurring on the Sambre then obliged him to move towards the opposite side of the theatre of war. He left the Duke of York on the Scheldt, and Clairfayt at Thielt, and marched with all the Austrian troops towards Charleroi. It was an absolute separation of the principal powers, England and Austria, which were on very bad terms, and the very different interests of which were on this occasion most distinctly manifested. The English remained in Flanders near the maritime provinces, and the Austrians hastened towards their threatened communications. This separation increased not a little their misunderstanding. The Emperor of Austria had retired to Vienna, disgusted with this unsuccessful warfare; and Mack, seeing his plans frustrated, had once more quitted the Austrian staff.

We have seen Jourdan arriving from the Moselle at Charleroi at the mo-

ment when the French, repulsed for the third time, were recrossing the Sambre in disorder. After a few days' respite had been given to the troops, some of whom were dispirited by their defeats, and others fatigued by their rapid march, some change was made in their organization. With Desjardins' and Charbonnier's divisions, and the divisions which had arrived from the Moselle, a single army was composed, which was called the army of Sambre and Meuse. It amounted to about sixty-six thousand men, and was placed under the command of Jourdan. A division of fifteen thousand men, under Scherer, was left to guard the Sambre between Thuin and Maubeuge.

Jourdan resolved immediately to recross the Sambre and to invest Charleroi. Hatry's division was ordered to attack the place, and the bulk of the army was disposed all around to cover the siege. Charleroi is seated on the Sambre. Beyond it there is a series of positions forming a semicircle, the extremities of which are defended by the Sambre. These positions are scarcely in any respect advantageous, because they form a semicircle ten leagues in extent, are too unconnected, and have a river at their back. Kleber, with the left, extended from the Sambre to Orchies and Trasegnies, guarded the rivulet of Pieton, which ran through the field of battle and fell into the Sambre. At the centre, Morlot guarded Gosselies; Championnet advanced between Hepignies and Wagné; Lefebvre* occupied Wagné, Flenrus, and Lambusart. Lastly, on the right, Marceau extended himself in advance of the wood of Campinaire, and connected our line with the Sambre. Jourdan, sensible of the disadvantage of these positions, determined not to remain there, but to leave them, and to take the initiative of the attack on the morning of the 28th of Prairial (June 16). At this moment Coburg had not yet moved towards that point. He was at Tournay, looking on at the defeat of Clairfayt and the reduction of Ypres. The Prince of Orange, sent towards Charleroi, commanded the army of the allies. He resolved, on his part, to prevent the attack with which he was threatened, and, on the morning of the 28th, he deployed his troops so as to oblige the French to fight on the ground which they occupied. Four columns, directed against our right and our centre, had already penetrated into the wood of Campinaire, where Marceau was, taken Fleurus from Lefebvre, and Hepignies from Championnet, and were driving Morlot from Pont-a-Migneloup upon Gosselies, when Jourdan seasonably arriving with a reserve of cavalry, stopped the fourth column by a successful charge, led Morlot's troops back to their positions, and restored the combat at the centre. On the left, Wartensleben had made a similar progress towards Trasegnies. But Kleber,

* "François Joseph Lefebvre, a native of Rufack, of an humble family, was born in 1755. The Revolution which found him a veteran sergeant, opened to him the higher career of his profession. In 1793 he was raised from the rank of captain to that of adjutant-general; in December of the same year he was general of brigade, and the month after, of division. He fought under Pichegru, Moreau, Hoche, and Jourdan in the Netherlands and in Germany, and on all occasions with distinction. Lefebvre was of great use to Bonaparte in the revolution of Brumaire, and, when raised afterwards to the dignity of marshal, was one of the best supports of the imperial fortunes. In the campaigns of 1805, 6, and 7, he showed equal skill and intrepidity. After the battle of Eylau, having distinguished himself by his conduct at Danzig which he was sent to invest, he was created Duke of Dantzic. In the German campaign of 1809 he maintained the honour of the French arms, and in 1813 and 1814 adhered faithfully to the declining fortunes of his master. Louis XVIII. made him a peer, but notwithstanding this, he supported the Emperor on his return from Elba. In 1816 he was confirmed in his rank of marshal, and three years afterwards was recalled to the upper chamber. Lefebvre died in 1820, leaving no issue."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

making the most prompt and happy dispositions, retook Trasegnies, and then, seizing the favourable moment, turned Wartensleben, drove him beyond the Pieton, and pursued him in two columns. The combat had thus far been maintained with advantage; nay, victory was about to declare for the French, when the Prince of Orange, uniting his first two columns towards Lambusart, on the point which connected the extreme right of the French with the Sambre, threatened their communications. The right and the centre were then obliged to fall back. Kleber, giving up his victorious march, covered the retreat with his troops: it was effected in good order. Such was the first affair of the 28th (June 16). It was the fourth time that the French had been forced to recross the Sambre; but this time it was in a manner much more honourable to their arms. Jourdan was not disheartened. He once more crossed the Sambre, a few days afterwards, resumed the positions which he had occupied on the 16th, again invested Charleroi, and caused the bombardment to be pushed with the utmost vigour.

Coburg, apprized of Jourdan's new operations, at length approached the Sambre. It was of importance to the French that they should take Charleroi before the arrival of the reinforcements which the Austrian army was expecting. Marescot, the engineer, pushed the operations so briskly, that in a week the guns of the fortress were silenced, and every preparation was made for the assault. On the 7th of Messidor (June 25), the commandant sent an officer with a letter to treat. St. Just, who still ruled in our camp, refused to open the letter, and sent back the officer, saying, "It is not a bit of paper, but the fortress that we want." The garrison marched out of the place the same evening, just as Coburg was coming in sight of the French lines. The enemy remained ignorant of the surrender of Charleroi. By the possession of the place, our position was rendered more secure, and the battle that was about to be fought, with a river behind, less dangerous. Hatry's division, being left at liberty, was marched to Ransart, to reinforce the centre, and every preparation was made for a decisive engagement on the following day, the 8th of Messidor (June 26).

Our positions were the same as on the 28th of Prairial (June 16). Kleber commanded on the left, from the Sambre to Trasegnies. Morlot, Championnet, Lefebvre, and Marceau formed the centre and the right, and extended from Gosselies to the Sambre. Intrenchments had been made at Hepignies, to secure our centre. Coburg caused us to be attacked along the whole of this semicircle, instead of directing a concentric effort upon one of our extremities, upon our right, for instance, and taking from us all the passages of the Sambre.

The attack commenced on the morning of the 8th of Messidor. The Prince of Orange and General Latour, who faced Kleber on the left, beat back our columns, and drove them through the wood of Monceaux to Marchienne-au-Pont, on the bank of the Sambre. Kleber, who was fortunately placed on the left for the purpose of directing all the divisions there, immediately hastened to the threatened point, despatched batteries to the heights, enveloped the Austrians in the wood of Monceaux, and attacked them on all sides. The latter, having perceived, as they approached the Sambre, that Charleroi was in possession of the French, began to show some hesitation. Kleber, taking advantage of it, caused them to be attacked with vigour, and obliged them to retire from Marchienne-au-Pont. While Kleber was thus saving one of our extremities, Jourdan was doing no less for the centre and the right. Morlot, who was in advance of Gosselies, had long made head against General Quasdanovich, and attempted several manœuvres

for the purpose of turning him ; but had at length been turned himself, and fallen back upon Gosselies, after the most honourable efforts. Championnet, supported upon the redoubt of Hepignies, resisted with the same vigour ; but the corps of Kaunitz had advanced to turn the redoubt at the very moment of the arrival of false intelligence stating the retreat of Lefebvre on the right. Championnet, deceived by this report, was retiring, and had already abandoned the redoubt, when Jourdan, perceiving the danger, directed part of Harry's division, which were placed in reserve, upon that point, retook Hepignies, and pushed his cavalry into the plain upon the troops of Kaunitz.

While both sides were charging with great fury, the battle was raging still more violently nearer to the Sambre, at Wagné and Lambusart. Beaulieu, ascending along both banks of the Sambre at once for the purpose of attacking our extreme right, repulsed Marceau's division. That division fled in all haste through the woods bordering the Sambre, and even crossed the river in disorder. Marceau then collected some battalions, and, regardless of the rest of the fugitive division, threw himself into Lambusart, to perish there rather than abandon that post contiguous to the Sambre, which was an indispensable support of our extreme right. Lefebvre, who was placed at Wagné, Hepignies, and Lambusart, drew back his advanced posts from Fleurus upon Wagné, and threw troops into Lambusart to support Marceau's effort. This spot became the decisive point of the battle. Beaulieu, perceiving this, directed thither a third column. Jourdan, attentive to the danger, despatched the rest of his reserve to the spot. The combat was kept up around the village of Lambusart with extraordinary obstinacy. So brisk was the firing that the valleys could no longer be distinguished. The corn and the huts of the camp took fire, and the combatants were soon fighting amidst a conflagration. The republicans at last remained masters of Lambusart.

At this moment, the French, at first repulsed, had succeeded in restoring the battle at all points. Kleber had covered the Sambre on the left; Morlot, having fallen back to Gosselies, maintained himself there; Championnet had retaken Hepignies; and a furious combat at Lambusart had insured us that position. Night was now approaching. Beaulieu had just learned, upon the Sambre, what the Prince of Orange already knew, that Charleroi was in the possession of the French. Daring no longer to persist, Coburg then ordered a general retreat.

Such was this decisive engagement, one of the most sanguinary in the whole campaign, fought along a semicircle of ten leagues between two armies of nearly eighty thousand men each. It was called the battle of Fleurus, though that village acted but a secondary part, because the Duke of Luxemburg had already shed a lustre on that name in the time of Louis XIV. Though its results on the spot were inconsiderable, and it was confined to a repulsed attack, it decided the retreat of the Austrians, and thereby produced immense results.* The Austrians could not fight a second battle. To do this they must have formed a junction either with the Duke of York or with Clairfayt, and these two generals were occupied in the North by Pichegru. Being threatened, moreover, upon the Meuse, it was expedient for them to

* The great effect produced on public opinion by the battle of Fleurus has been erroneously attributed to the influence of a faction. Robespierre's faction had, on the contrary, the strongest interest to depreciate at the moment the importance of victories, as we shall presently see. The battle of Fleurus opened to us Brussels and Belgium; and it was this that then gave it celebrity.

fall back, lest they should compromise their communications. From that moment the retreat of the allies became general, and they resolved to concentrate themselves towards Brussels, in order to cover that city.

The campaign was now evidently decided; but, owing to an error of the committee of public welfare, results so prompt and so decisive as there had been reason to hope for were not obtained. Pichegru had formed a plan which was the best of all his military ideas. The Duke of York was on the Scheldt opposite to Tournay; Clairfayt at a great distance, at Thielt, in Flanders. Pichegru, persisting in his plan of destroying Clairfayt separately, proposed to cross the Scheldt at Oudenarde, thus to cut off Clairfayt from the Duke of York, and to fight him once more by himself. He then meant, when the Duke of York, finding that he was left alone, should think of joining Coburg, to fight him in his turn, then to take Coburg in the rear, or to form a junction with Jourdan. This plan which was attended not only with the advantage of attacking Clairfayt and the Duke of York separately, but also with that of collecting all our forces on the Meuse, was thwarted by a very silly idea of the committee of public welfare. Carnot had been persuaded to despatch Admiral Venstable with troops to be landed in the island of Walcheren, to excite insurrection in Holland. To second this plan, Carnot directed Pichegru's army to march along the coast, and to take possession of all the ports of West Flanders; he also ordered Jourdan to detach sixteen thousand men from his army, and to send them towards the sea. This latter order, in particular, was not only most injudicious but likewise most dangerous. The generals demonstrated its absurdity to St. Just, and it was not executed; but Pichegru was nevertheless obliged to move towards the sea, to take Bruges and Ostend, while Moreau was reducing Nieuport.

The movements were continued upon the two wings. Pichegru left Moreau, with part of the army, to lay siege to Nieuport and Sluys, and with the other took possession of Bruges, Ostend, and Ghent. He then advanced towards Brussels. Jourdan, on his side, was also marching thither. We had now only rear-guard battles to fight, and at length, on the 22d of Messidor (July 10), our advanced guard entered the capital of the Netherlands. A few days afterwards, the two armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, effected a junction there. Nothing was of greater importance than this event. One hundred and fifty thousand French, collected in the capital of the Netherlands, were enabled to dash from that point on the armies of Europe, which, beaten on all sides, were seeking, some to regain the sea, others to regain the Rhine. The fortresses of Condé, Landrecies, Valenciennes, and Le Quesnoy, which the allies had taken from us, were immediately invested; and the Convention, pretending that the deliverance of the territory conferred all rights, decreed that, if the garrisons did not immediately surrender, they should be put to the sword. It had passed another decree enacting that no quarter should in future be given to the English, by way of punishing all the misdeeds of Pitt against France.*

* "To this inhuman decree of the Convention, the Duke of York replied, by the following order of the day: 'The National Convention has just passed a decree that their soldiers shall give no quarter to the British or Hanoverian troops. His Royal Highness anticipates the indignation and horror which has naturally arisen in the minds of the brave troops whom he addresses, on receiving this information. He desires however to remind them that mercy to the vanquished is the brightest gem in a soldier's character, and exhorts them not to suffer their resentment to lead them to any precipitate act of cruelty on their part which may sully the reputation they have acquired in the world. The British and Hanoverian troops will not believe that the French nation, even under their present infatuation, can so far forget

Our soldiers would not pay obedience to this decree. A sergeant, having taken some English prisoners, brought them to an officer. "Why hast thou taken them?" asked the officer. "Because it was saving so many shot," replied the sergeant. "'True,'" rejoined the officer, "but the representatives will oblige us to shoot them."—"It is not we," retorted the sergeant, "who will shoot them. Send them to the representatives, and if they are barbarous enough, why then let them e'en kill and eat them, if they like."

Thus our armies, which acted at first upon the enemy's centre, but which was found too strong, had divided themselves into two wings, which had marched, the one along the Lys, the other along the Sambre. Pichegru had first beaten Clairfayt at Moueroen and at Courtray, then Coburg and the Duke of York at Turcoing, and lastly, had defeated Clairfayt again at Hooglede. After several times crossing the Sambre, but being as often driven back, Jourdan, brought by a happy idea of Carnot's upon the Sambre, had decided the successes of our right wing at Fleurus. From that moment the allies, attacked on both wings, had abandoned the Netherlands to us. Such was the campaign. Our astonishing successes were everywhere extolled. The victory of Fleurus, the occupation of Charleroi, Ypres, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, and Brussels, and lastly, the junction of our armies in that capital were vaunted as prodigies. These advantages were anything but gratifying to Robespierre, who saw the reputation of the committee increasing, and that of Carnot in particular, to whom, it must be confessed, the success of the campaign was too much attributed. All the good done by the committee and all the glory gained by them in the absence of Robespierre could not but rise up against him and constitute his condemnation. One defeat, on the contrary, would have revived the revolutionary fury for his benefit, furnished him with an opportunity for accusing the committees of want of energy or treason, justified his secession for the last four decades, excited an extraordinary idea of his foresight, and raised his power to the highest pitch. He had, therefore, placed himself in the most melancholy position, that of wishing for defeats; and every circumstance proved that he did wish for them. It did not become him either to give utterance to this wish or to suffer it to be perceived; but it was manifested in spite of himself in his speeches. He strove, in his addresses to the Jacobins, to diminish the enthusiasm excited by the successes of the republic; he insinuated that the allies were retiring before us as they had done before Dumouriez, only to return very soon; that, in quitting our frontiers for a time, they meant only to consign us to the passions developed by prosperity. He added that, at any rate, "victory over the enemy's armies was not that to which they ought most ardently to aspire. The genuine victory," said he, "is that which the friends of liberty gain over factions; it is this victory that restores to nations peace, justice, and prosperity. A nation does not acquire glory by overthrowing tyrants or subjugating other nations. It was the lot of the Romans and of some other people: our destiny, far more sublime, is to found upon earth the empire of wisdom, justice, and virtue."^{*}

Robespierre had absented himself from the committee ever since the last days of Prairial. It was now the commencement of Thermidor. It was

their character as soldiers, as to pay any attention to a decree as injurious to themselves as it is disgraceful to their government."—*Annual Register*. E.

* Speech at the Jacobins, the 21st of Messidor (July 9).

nearly forty days since he had seceded from his colleagues. It was high time to adopt some resolution. His creatures declared openly that another 31st of May was wanted: the Dumases, the Henriots, the Payens,* urged him to give the signal for it. He had not the same fondness for violent means as they had, and could not share their brutal impatience. Accustomed to accomplish everything by words, and having more respect for the laws, he preferred trying the effect of a speech denouncing the committees and demanding their renewal. If he succeeded by this gentler method, he would become absolute master, without danger and without commotion. If he did not succeed, this pacific course would not exclude violent means: on the contrary it was right that it should precede them. The 31st of May had been preceded by repeated speeches, by respectful applications, and it was not till after soliciting without obtaining their wishes, that people had concluded with demanding them. He resolved, therefore, to employ the same means as on the 31st of May, to cause in the first place a petition to be presented by the Jacobins, to deliver in the next a flaming speech, and lastly, to make St. Just come forward with a report. If all these means proved insufficient, he had with him the Jacobins, the commune, and the armed force of Paris. But he hoped at any rate not to have occasion to renew the scene of the 2d of June. He was not bold enough, and had still too much respect for the Convention to desire it.

For some time he had been preparing a voluminous speech, in which he laboured to expose the abuses of the government and to throw all the evils which were imputed to it upon his colleagues. He wrote to St. Just, desiring him to come back from the army. He detained his brother, who ought to have set out for the frontiers of Italy; he attended daily at the Jacobins, and made every arrangement for the attack. As it always happens in extreme situations, various accidents happened to increase the general agitation. A person, named Magenthies, presented a ridiculous petition praying for the punishment of death against all who should use oaths in which the name of God was introduced. A revolutionary committee ordered some labouring men who had got drunk to be imprisoned as suspected persons. These two circumstances gave rise to many sarcastic observations against Robespierre. It was said that his Supreme Being was likely to prove a greater oppressor than Christ, and that the Inquisition would probably be soon re-established in favour of deism! Sensible of the danger of such accusations, he lost no time in denouncing Magenthies at the Jacobins, as an aristocrat paid by foreigners to throw discredit on the creed adopted by the Convention; he even caused him to be delivered up to the revolutionary tribunal. Setting to work his office of police, he had all the members of the revolutionary committee of the Indivisibilité apprehended.

The crisis approached, and it appears that the members of the committee of public welfare, and Barrère in particular, would have been glad to make peace with their formidable colleague; but he had become so greedy that it

* The following letter, urging him to adopt decisive measures, was written to Robespierre at this period by Payen, his zealous adherent in the municipality of Paris: "Would you strike to the earth the refractory deputies, and obtain great victories in the interior; bring forward a report which may strike at once all the disaffected; pass salutary decrees to restrain the journals; render all the public functionaries responsible to you alone; let them be continually occupied in centralizing public opinion; hitherto your efforts have been confined to the centralizing of the physical government. I repeat it; you require a vast report, which may embrace at once all the conspirators, and blend them all together. Commence the great work."—*History of the Convention*. E.

was impossible to come to any arrangement with him. Barrère, returning home one evening with one of his confidants, threw himself into a chair, saying, "That Robespierre is insatiable. Let him demand Tallien, Bourdon of the Oise, Thuriot, Guffroy, Rovère, Lecointre, Panis, Barras, Fréron, Legendre, Monestier, Dubois-Crancé, Fouché, Cambon, and the whole Dantonist tail—well and good: but Duval, Audouin, Leonard Bourdon, Vadier, Vouland—it is impossible to consent to that." We see that Robespierre required even the sacrifice of some members of the committee of general safety, and thenceforward peace was wholly out of the question. They could not do other than break with him, and run the risks of the struggle. None of Robespierre's adversaries, however, would have dared to strike the first blow; the members of the committee waited to be denounced; the proscribed Mountaineers waited till their heads should be demanded; all meant to suffer themselves to be attacked before they defended themselves—and they acted wisely. It was much better to let Robespierre commence the engagement, and compromise himself in the eyes of the Convention by the demand of new proscriptions. They would then occupy the position of men defending their lives and even those of others; for it was impossible to foresee any end to the immolations if any fresh ones were allowed.

Every preparation was made, and the first movements commenced on the 3rd of Thermidor at the Jacobins. Among the creatures of Robespierre was one named Sijas, assistant to the commission of movement of the armies. A grudge was borne against this commission for having ordered the successive departure of a great number of companies of artillery, and for having thus diminished the armed force of Paris. Still no one had ventured to prefer any direct charge against it. Sijas began by complaining of the secrecy observed by Pyle, the chief of the commission, and all the reproaches which people durst not address either to Carnot or to the committee of public welfare were levelled at this chief of the commission. Sijas pretended that there was but one way left, namely, to address the Convention, and to denounce Pyle. Another Jacobin denounced one of the agents of the committee of general safety. Couthon then spoke, and said that it was necessary to go still farther, and to present to the National Convention an address on all the machinations which again threatened liberty. "I exhort you," said he, "to submit to it your reflections. It is pure; it will not suffer itself to be swayed by four or five villains. For my part, I declare that they shall never control me." Couthon's suggestion was forthwith adopted. The petition was drawn up, approved on the 5th of Thermidor, and presented on the 7th to the Convention.

The style of this petition was, as usual, respectful in manner, but imperious in matter. It said that the Jacobins came to pour forth the anxieties of the people into the bosom of the Convention. It repeated the accustomed declamations against foreigners and their accomplices, against the system of indulgences, against the alarm excited for the purpose of dividing the national representation, against the efforts that were made to render the worship of God ridiculous, &c. It drew no precise conclusions, but said, in a general manner, "You will strike terror into traitors, villains, intriguers; you will cheer the good; you will maintain that union which constitutes your strength; you will preserve in all its purity that sublime religion of which every citizen is the minister, of which virtue is the only practice; and the people, trusting in you, will place its duty and its glory in respecting and defending its representatives to the last extremity." This was saying very plainly, You must do what Robespierre dictates, or you will not be

either respected or defended. While this petition was read, a dead silence prevailed. No answer was given to it. No sooner was it finished than Dubois-Crancé mounted the tribune, and, without alluding to the petition or to the Jacobins, complained of the mortifications to which, for the last six months, he had been subjected, of the injustice with which his services had been repaid, and desired that the committee of public welfare might be directed to make a report on his conduct, though, he said, there were in that committee two of his accusers, and that this report should be presented in three days. The Assembly assented to his demand, without adding a single observation, and maintaining the same silence as before. Barrère succeeded him in the tribune. He came to submit a long report on the comparative state of France in July, 1793, and in July, 1794. It is certain that the difference was immense, and that, if people compared France, torn in pieces at once by the royalists, the federalists, and the foreign enemy, with France, victorious on all the frontiers, and mistress of the Netherlands, they could not refrain from thanksgiving to the government which had effected such a change in one year. This eulogy of the committee was the only way in which Barrère durst attack Robespierre; nay, he even praised him expressly in his report. With reference to the vague agitations which prevailed, and the impudent cries of certain disturbers, who demanded another 31st of May, he said that "a representative who enjoyed a patriotic reputation, earned by five years of toil and by his unshaken principles of independence and liberty, had warmly refuted this counter-revolutionary language." The Convention listened to this report, and broke up in expectation of some important event. Each looked at the other in silence, and durst neither question nor explain.

On the next day, the 8th of Thermidor, Robespierre resolved to deliver his famous speech. All his agents were prepared, and St. Just arrived in the course of the day. The Convention, seeing him in that tribune where he appeared so seldom,* expected a decisive scene. "Citizens," said he, "let others draw flattering pictures for you, I come to tell you useful truths. I come not to realize the ridiculous terrors excited by perfidy; but I wish to extinguish, if possible, the torch of discord by the mere force of truth. I come to defend before you your outraged authority and violated liberty. I shall defend myself: you will not be surprised at that; you are not like the tyrants whom you are combating. The cries of outraged innocence annoy not your ears, neither are you ignorant that this cause is not foreign to you." Robespierre then expatiated on the agitations which had prevailed for some time, the fears which had been propagated, the designs imputed to the committee and to him against the Convention. "We," exclaimed he, "attack the Convention! and what are we without it? Who defended it at the peril of his life? Who devoted himself to rescue it from the hands of the factions?" To these questions Robespierre replied that it was he; and he called his having torn from the bosom of the Convention Brissot, Vergniaud, Gensonné, Pétion, Barbaroux, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, &c., defending it against

* "About this time Robespierre received a deputation from the department of Aisne, which came to him to complain of the operations of government, lamenting also that he had been a stranger to them for upwards of a month, having seldom or never attended the public sittings during that period. 'The Convention,' replied Robespierre, 'gangrened as it is by corruption, has no longer the power to save the republic. Both will perish. The proscription of the patriots is the order of the day. For myself, I have already one foot in the grave; in a few days I shall have the other there. The rest is in the hands of Providence.' He was a little unwell at this time, and he designedly exaggerated his own discouragement and fears, and the danger of the republic, in order to inflame the patriots, and to connect the destiny of the Revolution with his own."—*Mignet*. E.

factions. He expressed his astonishment that, after the proofs of devotedness which he had given, sinister rumours should be circulated concerning him. "Is it true," said he, "that odious lists have been handed about, marking out for victims a certain number of members of the Convention, which lists were alleged to be the work of the committee of public welfare, and afterwards mine? Is it true that people have dared to suppose meetings of the committee, rigorous resolutions which never existed, and arrests equally chimerical? Is it true that pains have been taken to persuade a certain number of irreproachable representatives that their destruction was resolved upon?—all those who, by some error, had paid an inevitable tribute to the fatality of circumstances and to human frailty, that they were doomed to the fate of conspirators? Is it true that imposture has been propagated with such art and audacity, that a great number of members ceased to sleep at their own homes? Yes, the facts are certain, and the proofs of them are before the committee of public welfare!"

He then complained that the accusation preferred *en masse* against the committees came at length to be levelled at him alone. He represented that his name had been given to all the evil that had been done in the government; that, if patriots were imprisoned instead of aristocrats, it was said, *It is Robespierre who desires it*; that if some patriots had fallen, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ordered it*; that if numerous agents of the committee of general safety practised everywhere their extortion and their rapine, it was said, *It is Robespierre who sends them*; that if a new law robbed the stockholders, it was said, *It is Robespierre who ruins them*. He then said that he was represented as the author of all sorts of evils for the purpose of ruining him, that he had been called a tyrant, and that, on the festival in honour of the Supreme Being—that day when the Convention struck to the earth atheism and priestly despotism at one blow, when it attached all generous hearts to the Revolution—that day, in short, of happiness and pure intoxication—the president of the National Convention, while addressing the assembled people, was insulted by guilty men, and that those men were representatives! He had been called a tyrant! and why? because he had acquired some influence by speaking the language of truth. "And what do ye pretend to," he exclaimed, "ye, who wish truth to be powerless in the mouths of the representatives of the French people? Truth assuredly has her power, her anger, her despotism; she has her touching and her terrible accents, which vibrate with force in pure hearts as well as in guilty consciences, and which it is not given to falsehood to imitate, any more than to Salmoneus to imitate the lightning of heaven. But blame the nation for this, blame the people, who feel and who love it.—Who am I—I, who am accused?—a slave of liberty, a living martyr of the republic, the victim as much as the enemy of crime. Every scoundrel abuses me. The most indifferent, the most legitimate actions on the part of others are crimes in me. A man is slandered as soon as it is known that he is acquainted with me: others are forgiven their misdeeds; as for me, my zeal is made a crime. Take from me my conscience, and I am the most miserable of men; I do not even enjoy the rights of citizen; nay, I am not even allowed to fulfil the duties of a representative of the people."

Robespierre thus defended himself by subtle and diffuse declamations, and for the first time he found the Convention sullen, silent, and seemingly weary of the length of his speech. At last he came to the pith of the question—he proceeded to accuse others. Surveying all the departments of the government, he first censured with iniquitous malice the financial system. Author of the law of the 22d of Prairial, he expatiated with profound pity

on the law concerning life annuities; there was nothing even to the *maximum* but what he seemed to condemn, saying that intriguers had hurried the Convention into violent measures. "In whose hands are the finances?" he exclaimed. "In the hands of Feuillans, of known rogues, of the Cambons, the Mallarmés, the Ramels." He then passed to the war department, spoke with disdain of those victories, which had just been described with *academic levity*, as though they had not cost either blood or toil. "Keep an eye," cried he, "keep a vigilant eye on victory; keep a vigilant eye on Belgium. Your enemies are retiring and leaving you to your intestine divisions; think of the end of the campaign. Division has been sown among the generals; the military aristocracy is protected; the faithful generals are persecuted; the military administration wraps itself up in a suspicious authority. 'These truths are certainly as valuable as epigrams.'" He said no more of Carnot and of Barrère, leaving to St. Just* the task of censuring Carnot's plans. We see that this wretched man flung over everything the poison that was consuming him. He next expatiated on the committee of general safety, on the multitude of its agents, on their cruelties, their rapine; he denounced Amar and Jagot as having seized the police, and doing everything to discredit the revolutionary government. He complained of the sneers uttered in the tribune respecting Catharine Theot, and asserted that men encouraged the belief of feigned conspiracies in order to conceal real ones. He described the two committees as addicted to intrigues and engaged, in some measure, in the designs of the anti-national faction. In the whole existing system he found nothing good but the *revolutionary government*, and in that only the principle, not the execution. The principle was his; it was he who caused that government to be instituted, but it was his adversaries who spoiled it.

Such is the substance of Robespierre's voluminous declamations. At length he concluded with this summary: "We assert that there exists a conspiracy against the public liberty; that it owes its strength to a criminal coalition, which intrigues in the very bosom of the Convention; that this coalition has accomplices in the committee of general safety, and in the bureaux of that committee which they govern; that the enemies of the republic have opposed this committee to the committee of public welfare and thus constituted two governments; that members of the committee of public welfare are engaged in this plot; that the coalition thus formed is striving to ruin the patriots and the country. What is the remedy for this evil? To punish the traitors, to renew the bureaux of the committee of general safety, to purify that committee itself and to render it subordinate to the committee of public welfare, to purify even the committee of public welfare, to constitute the government under the supreme authority of the National Convention, which is the centre and the judge, and thus to crush all the factions with the weight of the national authority, in order to raise upon their ruins the power of justice and liberty. Such are the principles. If it is impossible to claim them without passing for an ambitious man, I shall conclude that principles are proscribed and that tyranny reigns among us; but I shall not, on that account, be silent;—for what can be objected to a man who is in the right, and who is ready to die for his country? I am made to combat crime—not to govern it. The time is not yet arrived when good men can serve their country with impunity."

* "St. Just, who had just arrived from the army, was no sooner apprized by Robespierre of the state of affairs, than he perceived that no time was to be lost, and urged Robespierre to act. His maxim was to strike quietly and strongly. 'Dare!' said he, 'that is the secret of revolutions.'"—*Mignet*. E.

In silence Robespierre began his speech, in silence he concluded it.* In all parts of the hall the members continued mute, with their eyes fixed on him. Those deputies, once such warm admirers, were turned to ice. They expressed nothing, and seemed to have the courage to remain cold, since the tyrants, divided among themselves, took them for judges. All faces had become impenetrable. A faint murmur gradually arose in the Assembly, but for some time no one durst speak. Lecointre of Versailles, one of the most energetic of Robespierre's enemies, was the first to address the assembly, but it was to move that his speech should be printed—such was still the hesitation, even of the boldest, to commence the attack. Bourdon of the Oise ventured to oppose the motion for printing, saying that the speech involved questions too serious, and he proposed that it should be referred to the two committees. Barrère, always prudent, supported the motion for printing, alleging that in a free country everything ought to be printed. Couthon rushed to the tribune, indignant at witnessing a discussion instead of a burst of enthusiasm, and insisted that the speech should not only be printed, but be sent to all the communes and all the armies. He could not forbear, he said, to pour forth the feelings of his wounded heart, since, for some time past, the deputies most faithful to the cause of the people had been loaded with abuse; they were accused of shedding blood, and of desiring to shed more; and yet, if he believed that he had contributed to the destruction of one innocent person, he should die of grief. The speech of Couthon awakened all the submission that was left in the Assembly. It voted that the speech should be printed and sent to all the municipalities.

The adversaries of Robespierre seemed likely to have the disadvantage: but Vadier, Cambon, Billaud-Varennes, Panis, Amar, desired to be heard in reply to Robespierre. Courage revived with the danger, and the conflict commenced. All wanted to speak at once. The turn of each was fixed. Vadier was first permitted to explain. He justified the committee of general safety, and maintained that the report concerning Catherine Theot had for its object to reveal a real, a deep conspiracy, and he added, in a significant tone, that he possessed documents proving its importance and its danger. Cambon justified his financial laws and his integrity, which was universally known and admired, in a post which offered such strong temptations. He spoke with his usual impetuosity: he proved that none but stockjobbers could be hurt by his financial measures, and then, throwing off the reserve which had been kept up thus far, "It is high time," he exclaimed, "to tell the whole truth. Is it I who deserve to be accused of having made myself master in any way? The man who had made himself master of everything, the man who paralyzed your will, is the man who has just spoken—is Robespierre!" This vehemence disconcerted Robespierre. As if he had been accused of having played the tyrant in financial matters, he declared that he had never meddled with finances, that of course he could never control the Convention in this matter, and that, at any rate, in attacking Cambon's plans, he meant not to attack his intentions. He had nevertheless called him a rogue. Billaud-Varennes, a no less formidable antagonist,† said

* "The speech which Robespierre addressed to the Convention was as menacing as the first distant rustle of the hurricane, and dark and lurid as the eclipse which announces its approach. The haughty and sullen dictator saw in the open slight which was put upon his measures and opinions, the sure mark of his approaching fall."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "Billaud-Varennes was the most formidable of Robespierre's antagonists. Both were ambitious of reigning over the ruins and the tombs with which they had covered France. But Robespierre had reached the point where his ambition could no longer be concealed

that it was high time to bring forward all truths in evidence. He spoke of the absence of Robespierre from the committees, of the removal of the companies of artillery, only fifteen of which had been sent away, though the law allowed twenty-four to be despatched. He added that he was determined to tear off all masks, and he had rather that his dead body should serve for a footstool to an ambitious man, than authorize his proceedings by his silence. He demanded the report of the decree which ordered the printing of the speech. Panis complained of the continual calumnies of Robespierre, who wished to make him pass for the author of the massacres of September; and he challenged him and Couthon to speak out respecting the five or six deputies, the sacrifice of whom they had been for a month past incessantly demanding at the Jacobins. On all sides this explanation was called for. Robespierre replied with hesitation that he had come to unveil abuses, and had not undertaken to justify or accuse this or the other person. "Name, name the individuals!" was the cry. Robespierre still shuffled and said, that "after he had had the courage to communicate to the Convention counsels which he deemed useful, he did not think—" He was again interrupted. "You who pretend to have the courage of virtue," cried Charlier, "have that of truth. Name, name the individuals!" The confusion increased. The question of printing was resumed. Amar insisted on referring the speech to the committee. Barrère, perceiving the advantage of siding with those who were referring to the committees, made a sort of apology for having proposed a different course. At last the Convention revoked its decision, and declared that Robespierre's speech, instead of being printed, should be referred to the consideration of the two committees.

This sitting was a truly extraordinary event. All the deputies, habitually so submissive, had again taken courage. As for Robespierre, who never had anything but superciliousness without daring, he was surprised, vexed, and dejected. He had need to recruit himself; he hurried to his trusty Jacobins, to meet his friends and to borrow courage from them. They were already apprized of the event. He was impatiently expected. No sooner did he appear than he was greeted with applause. Couthon followed him, and shared the acclamations. He was requested to read the speech. Robespierre took up two full hours in repeating it to them. They interrupted him every moment by frenzied shouts and plaudits. As soon as he had finished, he added a few words of mortification and grief. "This speech which you have just heard," said he, "is my last will and testament. This I perceived to-day. The league of the wicked is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I fall without regret; I leave you my memory; it will be dear to you, and you will defend it." At these words, his friends cried out that it was not time to give way to fear and despair, that on the contrary they would avenge the father of the country on all the wicked united. Henriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, and Payen, surrounded him and declared that they were quite ready to act. Henriot said that he still knew the way to the Convention. "Separate the wicked from the weak," said Robespierre to them, "deliver the Convention from the villains who oppress it: render it the service which it expects of you, as on the 31st of May and the 2d of June. March, and once more save liberty. If, in spite of all these efforts, we must fall, why then

Billaud was still able to dissemble his. The tyrant was as lugubrious as death, which ever attended him in all his steps; such, and perhaps more gloomy still, was Billaud; but he enveloped his projects in deeper obscurity, and prepared his blows with greater art."—*La-cretelle*. E.

my friends you shall see me drink hemlock with composure."—"Robespierre," exclaimed a deputy, "I will drink it with thee!"*

Couthon proposed to the society a new purificatory scrutiny, and insisted on the instant expulsion of the deputies who had voted against Robespierre; he had a list of them which he immediately furnished. His motion was carried amidst frightful uproar. Collot-d'Herbois came forward to make some observations, but was received with yells. He spoke of his services, of his dangers, of the attempt of Admiral. He was sneered at, abused, and driven from the tribune. All the deputies present, and pointed out by Couthon, were expelled, some of them even with blows. Collot escaped from amidst the knives pointed against him. The society was reinforced on that day by all the acting men, who in moments of disturbance gained admission either with false tickets or without any. They added violence to words, and they were even quite ready to add murder. Payen, the national agent, who was a man of execution, proposed a bold plan. He said that all the conspirators were in the two committees, that they were at that moment assembled, and that they ought to go and secure them; the struggle might thus be terminated without combat by a *coup-de-main*. Robespierre opposed this scheme; he disliked such prompt actions; he thought that it would be better to pursue the same course as on the 31st of May. A solemn petition had already been presented; he had made a speech; St. Just, who had lately arrived from the army, was to make a report next morning; he, Robespierre, would again speak, and if they were unsuccessful, the magistrates of the people, meanwhile assembled at the commune and supported by the armed force of the sections, would declare that the people had resumed its sovereignty, and would proceed to deliver the Convention from the villains who misled it.

The plan was thus fixed by precedents. The meeting broke up, promising for the next day, Robespierre to be at the Convention, the Jacobins in their hall, the municipal magistrates at the commune, and Henriot at the head of the sections. They reckoned, moreover, upon the youths in the school of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was devoted to the cause of the commune.

Such were the proceedings on this 8th of Thermidor, the last day of the sanguinary tyranny which had afflicted France; but on that day too the horrible revolutionary machine did not cease acting. The tribunal had sat; victims had been conveyed to the scaffold. In their number were two eminent poets, Roucher, author of *Les Mers*, and André Chenier, who left admirable compositions, and whom France will regret as much as all the young men of genius, orators, writers, generals, devoured by the scaffold and by the war.† These two sons of the Muses cheered one another when in

* "The artist, David, caught Robespierre by the hand as he closed, exclaiming, in rapture at his elocution, 'I will drink the cup with thee!' This distinguished painter has been reproached as having, on the subsequent day, declined the pledge which he seemed so eagerly to embrace. But there were many of his original opinion at the time he expressed it so boldly; and, had Robespierre possessed either military talents or even decided courage, there was nothing to have prevented him from placing himself that very night at the head of a desperate insurrection of the Jacobins and their followers."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "The son of Buffon, the daughter of Vernet, perished without regard to the illustrious names they bore. Roucher, an amiable poet, a few hours before his death, sent his miniature to his children, accompanied by some touching lines. Chenier, a young man, whose eloquent writings pointed him out as the future historian of the Revolution, and Champfort, one of its earliest and able supporters, were executed at the same time. A few weeks longer would have swept off the whole literary talent as well as dignified names of France."—*Alison*. E.

the fatal cart by reciting verses of Racine's. Young André, on mounting the scaffold, uttered the cry of genius stopped short in its career. "To die so young!" he exclaimed, striking his forehead; "there was something there!"*

During the night which followed, there was agitation in all quarters, and every one thought of collecting his strength. The two committees had met, and were deliberating on the important events of the day and on those likely to arise on the morrow. What had passed at the Jacobins proved that the

* "Another celebrated victim of party violence, who fell about this time, though not by the guillotine, was Condorcet. Having attached himself to the party of Brissot he was involved in its ruin. At the period of the arrest of the members of that party, he escaped the search of the victors, and secreted himself. He was received in Paris by a woman who only knew him from reputation, and generously afforded him an asylum. There he remained till the domiciliary visits in 1794, when, in order as it is believed not to expose his hostess to danger, he quitted his retreat, and succeeded in getting out of Paris without a civic card, and with a white cap on his head. He had wandered about for several days in the environs of Clamart and of Fontenay de Roses, and in the woods of Verrière, two or three leagues from Paris. M. Suard, who had been his intimate friend, in whose house he had lodged, but who had ceased to see him after the death of the King, had a house at Fontenay, consisting of two *corps de logis*, one of which was let to M. de Monville, councillor to the parliament. Condorcet knocked one morning at M. de Monville's door, conceiving that it was that of M. Suard. It was opened by the footman. The unfortunate fugitive looked like a pauper, having a long beard, a shabby dress, being lame from a hurt in one foot, and ready to die of hunger after passing several days in the woods. 'Good God, sir!' said the servant, 'how sorry I am to see you in this condition.'—'How do you know who I am?'—'O! sir; I have waited on you many a time at M. Trudaine's.'—'Can you admit me?'—'Alas! no, sir; my master is no friend of yours.'—'Is not this M. Suard's?'—'No, sir; that is his door.' Condorcet accordingly went to the house of Suard and met with him. Suard sent his maid-servant out of the way, and Condorcet acquainted him with his situation. He set bread, cheese, and wine before him. Condorcet told him that in the retreat which he had just left in Paris, he had written an 'Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind,' which he had committed to safe hands, and which was intended for publication. He talked with much feeling of his daughter, and likewise of his wife, but with indifference; and yet he would have given him a sum of 600 livres for her. Suard durst not take it; but he offered to go immediately to Paris and strive to obtain for him an invalid's pass, which might supply the place of a civic ticket; and they agreed that Condorcet should call next day for this sort of safe-conduct. He asked for a Horace and some snuff, of which he had felt very urgent want. Some snuff was put up in a paper for him, but unluckily he went away without it. Suard hastened to Paris, and obtained a sort of old invalid's pass, such as used to be given to soldiers leaving the hospital to enable them to go from one department to another. Suard returned with this informal passport, and waited for Condorcet, who was to be with him at eight o'clock in the evening of the following day; but he did not come, and it was not till the night of the third day that he heard that a man had been apprehended at Clamart, whom he supposed to be Condorcet; and so it actually turned out. On leaving Suard's, taking with him a piece of bread, he had returned to the woods of Verrière, where he had passed the night. Next morning, he had gone to Clamart, and was greedily eating an omelette at a public-house, when his long beard, his squalid appearance, and his restless manner, attracted the notice of one of those voluntary spies who then infested all France. This man inquired who he was, whence he came, whither he was going, and where was his ticket of citizen. Condorcet, at all times embarrassed to speak and give a direct answer, said at first that he was servant to a councillor of the Court of Aids, concerning whom he could give true particulars on account of his intimacy with him. But his answers not appearing sufficient, the spy took him to Bourg la Reine, the seat of the district, where, as he could not give a satisfactory account of himself, he was thrown into prison. Next morning he was found dead; having taken stramonium combined with opium, which he always carried about him. Hence it was that on parting from Suard he had said, 'If I have but one night before me, I do not fear them; but I will not be taken to Paris.' The poison which he took seemed to have operated gently without causing pain or convulsion. The surgeon employed to ascertain the cause of death, declared in the *procès verbal* that this man, whose real name was not known, had died of apoplexy. The blood was still issuing from his nose."—*Memoirs of the Abbé Morellet*. E.

mayor and Henriot were for the triumvirs, and that on the next day they should have to combat the whole force of the communes. To cause these two principal leaders to be apprehended would have been the most prudent course, but the committees still hesitated; they would and they would not; they seemed to feel a sort of regret that they had begun the struggle. They were aware that, if the Convention were strong enough to vanquish Robespierre, it would recover all its powers, and that they should be rescued from the strokes of their rival, but dispossessed of the dictatorship. It would no doubt have been much better to have come to terms with him; but it was now too late for that. Robespierre had taken good care not to go near them, after the sitting at the Jacobins. St. Just, who had arrived from the army a short time before, was watching them. He was silent; he had announced the report which he had been directed to draw up at the time of the last interview. He was asked for it; the committees wished to hear it read; he replied that he had it not with him, but had given it to one of his colleagues to read. He was requested to state the conclusion; he refused that also. At this moment Collot entered, incensed at the treatment which he had experienced at the Jacobins. "What are they doing at the Jacobins?" said St. Just to him. "Canst thou ask?" replied Collot angrily; "art thou not the accomplice of Robespierre? have you not concerted your plans together? I see clearly that you have formed an infamous triumvirate, and that you design to murder us; but if we fall you will not long enjoy the fruit of your crimes." Then, going up to St. Just with vehemence, "Thou intendest," said he, "to denounce us to-morrow morning; thou hast thy pocket full of notes against us—produce them." St. Just emptied his pockets, and assured Collot that he had nothing of the kind. Collot was appeased, and St. Just was desired to come at eleven the following day to communicate his report before he read it to the Assembly. The committees, before they separated, agreed to solicit the Convention to remove Henriot, and to summon the mayor and the national agent to the bar.

St. Just hastened away to prepare his report, which was not yet written, and denounced, with greater brevity and force than Robespierre had done, the conduct of the committees towards their colleagues, their seizure of all affairs, the pride of Billaud-Varennes, and the false manœuvres of Carnot, who had transported Pichegru's army to the coasts of Flanders, and had meant to take sixteen thousand men from Jourdan. This report was as perfidious and as clever, though in a very different way, as that of Robespierre. St. Just resolved to read it to the Convention without communicating it to the committees.

While the conspirators were concerting together, the Mountaineers, who had hitherto gone no further than to communicate their apprehensions to one another, but had formed no plot, ran to each other's houses, and agreed to attack Robespierre in a more formal manner on the following day, and to obtain a decree against him if possible. For this they should need the concurrence of the deputies of the Plain, whom they had frequently threatened, and whom Robespierre, affecting the character of moderator, had formerly defended. They had therefore but slight claims to their favour. They called upon Boissy-d'Anglais, Durand-Maillane, and Palasne-Champeaux, who were all three Constituents, and whose example was likely to decide the others. They told them that they would be accountable for all the blood that Robespierre might yet spill, if they did not agree to vote against him. Repulsed at first, they returned three times to the charge, and at length obtained the desired promise. They ran about the whole of the morning of the

9th; Tallien promised to make the first attack, and only desired that others would have the courage to follow him.

Every one hastened to his post. Fleuriot, the mayor, and Payen, the national agent, were at the commune. Henriot was on horseback with his aides-de-camp, riding through the streets of Paris. The Jacobins had commenced a permanent sitting. The deputies, astir early in the morning, had gone to the Convention before the usual hour. They paced the passages tumultuously, and the Mountaineers addressed them with vehemence to decide them in their favour. It was half-past eleven o'clock. Tallien was speaking to some of his colleagues at one of the doors of the hall, when he saw St. Just enter and ascend the tribune. "This is the moment!" he exclaimed; "let us go in." They followed him; the benches filled; and the Assembly awaited in silence the opening of that scene, one of the grandest in our stormy revolution.

St. Just, who had broken the promise given to his colleagues, and not gone to read his report to them, was in the tribune. The two Robespierres, Lebas, and Couthon, were seated beside one another.* Collot-d'Herbois occupied the chair. St. Just said that he was commissioned by the committees to make a report, and was permitted to speak. He set out with asserting that he was of no faction, and that he belonged only to truth; that the tribune might prove the Tarpeian rock to him as to many others, but that he should nevertheless give his opinion without reserve concerning the dissensions which had broken out. He had scarcely finished these preliminary sentences, when Tallien asked leave to speak on a motion of order, and obtained it. "The republic," said he, "is in the most unfortunate condition, and no good citizen can help shedding tears over it. Yesterday a member of the government separated himself and denounced his colleagues; another is doing the same to-day. This is only aggravating our calamities. I desire that at length the veil may be entirely torn off." Scarcely were these words uttered when applause burst forth. It was prolonged and renewed again and again. This was the premonitory signal of the fall of the triumvirs. Billaud-Varennès, who took possession of the tribune after Tallien, said that the Jacobins had the preceding evening held a seditious sitting, which was attended by hired murderers, who avowed a design of slaughtering the Convention. General indignation was manifested. "I see," added Billaud-Varennès, "I see in the tribunes one of the men who yesterday threatened the faithful deputies. Let him be secured." He was immediately seized and given into the custody of the gendarmes. Billaud then maintained that St. Just had no right to speak in the name of the committees, because he had not communicated his report to them; that this was the moment for the Assembly to be firm, for it must perish if it showed any weakness. "No, no," cried the deputies, waving their hats; "it will not be weak; it shall not perish." Lebas insisted on speaking before Billaud had finished; and made a great noise to carry his point. At the desire of all the deputies, he was called to order. He renewed his demand to be heard. "To the Abbaye with the seditious fellow!" cried several voices of the Mountain. Billaud continued, and, throwing off all reserve, said that Robespierre had always sought to control the committees; that he seceded, when they resisted the law of the 22d of Prairial and the use which he purposed to make of it;

* "When St. Just mounted the tribune, Robespierre took his station on the bench directly opposite, to intimidate his adversaries by his look. His knees trembled; the colour fled from his lips as he ascended to his seat; the hostile appearance of the Assembly already gave him an anticipation of his fate."—*Alison*. E.

that he was for retaining the noble Lavalette, a conspirator at Lille, in the national guard; that he prevented the arrest of Henriot, an accomplice of Hebert's, in order to make him his creature; that he moreover opposed the apprehension of a secretary of the committee, who had embezzled one hundred and fourteen thousand francs; that he had caused the best revolutionary committee of Paris to be closed by means of his office of police; that he always had done just what he pleased, and designed to make himself absolute master. Billaud added that he could adduce many other facts, but it would be sufficient to say that, on the preceding day, Robespierre's agents at the Jacobins, the Dumases and the Cofinhals, promised to decimate the National Convention.

While Billaud was enumerating these grievances, bursts of indignation at times escaped the Assembly. Robespierre, livid with rage, had left his seat and ascended the steps of the tribune. Posted behind Billaud, he demanded of the president with extreme violence permission to speak. He seized the moment when Billaud had finished, to renew his demand with still greater vehemence. "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" was shouted in all parts of the hall. Twice was this accusing cry raised, and it proclaimed that the Assembly dared at length to give him the name which he deserved. While he was persisting, Tallien, who had darted to the tribune, claimed permission to speak, and obtained it before him. "Just now," said he, "I desired that the veil might be entirely torn off; I now perceive that it is. The conspirators are unmasked. I knew that my life was threatened, and hitherto I have kept silence; but yesterday I attended the sitting of the Jacobins, I saw the army of the new Cromwell formed, I trembled for my country, and I armed myself with a dagger, resolved to plunge it into his bosom, if the Convention had not the courage to pass a decree of accusation." As he finished these words, Tallien exhibited his dagger, and the Assembly covered him with applause. He then proposed the arrest of Henriot, the chief of the conspirators. Billaud proposed to add that of Dumas, the president, and of a man named Boulanger, who had been the day before one of the most violent agitators at the Jacobins. The apprehension of those three culprits was immediately decreed.

At this moment Barrère entered to submit to the Assembly the propositions upon which the committee had deliberated in the night, before it broke up. Robespierre, who had not quitted the tribune, took advantage of this interval again to demand leave to speak. His adversaries were determined to refuse it, lest any lurking relic of fear or servility should be awakened by his voice. Placed, all of them, at the summit of the Mountain, they raised fresh clamours, and, while Robespierre was turning first to the president, then to the Assembly, shouted with voices of thunder, "Down! down with the tyrant!" At length Barrère was allowed to speak before Robespierre. It is said that this man, who, out of vanity, was desirous of playing a part, and now trembled from weakness at having given himself one, had two speeches in his pocket, one in favour of Robespierre, the other for the committees.* He developed the proposition adopted the night before, namely, to abolish the post of commandant-general, to re-establish that old law of the Legislative Assembly, by which each chief of a legion commanded in turn the armed force of Paris, and lastly to summon to the bar the mayor and the national

* "Barrère was a sort of Belial in the Convention, the meanest, yet not the least able, amongst those fallen spirits, who, with great adroitness and ingenuity, as well as wit and eloquence, caught opportunities as they arose, and was eminently dexterous in being always strong upon the strongest and safe upon the safest side."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

agent, to answer there for the tranquillity of the capital. This decree was forthwith passed, and a messenger went to communicate it to the commune amidst the greatest dangers.

When the decree proposed by Barrère had been adopted, the enumeration of Robespierre's misdeeds was resumed. Each came in turn to prefer his charge. Vadier, who fancied that he had discovered an important conspiracy in seizing Catherine Theot, stated what he had not done the preceding day, that Dom Gerle* had a certificate of civism signed by Robespierre, and that in Catherine's mattress had been found a letter in which she called Robespierre her beloved son. He then expatiated on the *espionnage* with which the committees were surrounded, with the prolixity of age and a slowness unsuited to the agitation of the moment. Tallien, impatient, reascended the tribune and again addressed the Assembly, saying that the question ought to be brought back to its real drift. A decree had, in fact, been passed against Henriot, Dumas, and Boulanger, and Robespierre had been called a tyrant, but no decisive resolution had been taken. Tallien observed that it was not a few circumstances in the life of that man, called a tyrant, on which they ought to fasten, but that the whole of it ought to be taken together. He then commenced an energetic picture of the conduct of that cowardly, supercilious, and bloodthirsty orator. Robespierre, choked with rage, interrupted him with cries of fury. "Let us put an end to this," said Louchet; "arrest against Robespierre!"—"Accusation against the denunciator!" added Lousseau. "Arrest! Accusation!" shouted a great number of deputies. Louchet rose, and looking around him, asked if he was seconded. "Yes, yes," replied a hundred voices. Robespierre the younger said from his place: "I share the crimes of my brother; let me share his fate." This devotedness was scarcely noticed. "The arrest! The arrest!" was still shouted. At this moment Robespierre, who had not ceased to pass from his place to the bureau and from the bureau to his place, again went up to the president and demanded leave to speak. But Thuriot, who had succeeded Collot-d'Herbois in the chair, answered him only by ringing the bell. Robespierre then turned towards the Mountain, where he observed only cold friends or furious enemies. He next turned his eyes towards the Plain. "To you," said he, "pure men, virtuous men, I address myself, and not to ruffians." They turned away their faces or used threatening gestures. Once more he addressed the president. "For the last time," he exclaimed, "president of assassins, I desire to be heard."† He uttered the concluding words in a

* "Catherine Theot died in the prison of the Conciergerie at the age of seventy; Dom Gerle, who was also imprisoned there, was afterwards liberated, and employed, during the reign of Napoleon, in the office of the home department."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "While the vaults of the hall echoed with exclamations from those who had hitherto been the accomplices, the flatterers, the followers, the timid and overawed assentators to the dethroned demagogue—he himself, breathless, foaming, exhausted, like the hunter of classical antiquity when on the point of being torn to pieces by his own dogs, tried in vain to raise those screeching notes by which the Convention had formerly been terrified and put to silence. We have been told that Robespierre's last audible words, contending against the exclamations of hundreds and the bell which the president was ringing incessantly, and uttered in the highest tones which despair could give to a voice naturally shrill and discordant, dwelt long on the memory, and haunted the dreams, of many who heard him."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Dispirited by so many repulses, Robespierre returned to his place, and sunk back in his seat, exhausted with passion and fatigue. His mouth foamed—his voice grew thick. He was arrested amid shouts of joy, and, as he went out, said, in the hollow accents of despair, 'The republic is lost, the brigands triumph!'"—*Mignet*. E.

faint and stifled voice. "The blood of Danton chokes thee!"* said Garnier of the Aube. Impatient of this struggle, Duval rose and said, "President, is this man to be master of the Convention any longer?"—"Ah!" added Fréron, "how hard a tyrant is to beat down!"—"To the vote! To the vote!" cried Loseau. The arrest so generally called for was put to the vote, and decreed amidst tremendous uproar. No sooner was the decree passed, than the members in all parts of the hall rose, shouting, "Liberty forever! The republic forever! The tyrants are no more!"

A great number of members rose and said, that they meant to vote for the arrest of Robespierre's accomplices, St. Just and Couthon. They were immediately included in the decree. Lebas desired to be associated with them. His wish was granted, as well as that of the younger Robespierre. These men still excited such apprehension, that the ushers of the hall had not dared to come forward to take them to the bar. On seeing them retain their seats, some of the members asked why they did not go down to the place of the accused. The president replied that the ushers had not been able to carry the order into execution. "To the bar! To the bar!" was the general cry. The five accused went down, Robespierre furious, St. Just calm and contemptuous, the others thunderstruck at this humiliation so new to them. They were at length at that place to which they had sent Vergniaud, Brissot, Petion, Camille-Desmoulins, Danton, and so many others of their colleagues, full of virtue, genius, or courage!

It was now five o'clock. The Assembly had declared its sitting permanent. But at that moment, worn out with fatigue, it took the dangerous resolution to suspend the sitting till seven, for the purpose of refreshment. The deputies then separated, leaving to the commune, if it had possessed any boldness, the opportunity of closing the place of its sittings, and seizing the control of Paris. The five accused were conducted to the committee of general safety to be examined by their colleagues before they were conveyed to prison.

While these important events were occurring in the Convention, the commune had remained in suspense. Courvol, the messenger, had gone to communicate to it the decree which placed Henriot under arrest and summoned the mayor and the national agent to the bar. He had been very unfavourably received. He asked for a receipt, but the mayor replied, "On such a day as this we give no receipts. Go to the Convention, say that we shall find means to uphold it: and tell Robespierre not to be afraid, for we are here." The mayor had afterwards expressed himself before the general council in the most mysterious manner respecting the motive of the meeting; he had spoken to it only of the decree ordering the commune to provide for the tranquillity of Paris; he had reminded it of the epochs when that commune had displayed great courage, and had alluded very plainly to the 31st of May. Payen, the national agent, speaking after the mayor, had proposed to send two members of the council to the Place de la Commune, where there was an immense crowd, to harangue the people, and to invite them *to join the magistrates in order to save the country*. An address had been drawn up, in which it was said that villains were oppressing "Robespierre,

* "In the height of the terrible conflict, when Robespierre seemed deprived by rage of the power of articulation, a voice cried out, 'It is Danton's blood that is choking you!' Robespierre, indignant, recovered his voice and his courage to exclaim, 'Danton! Is it then Danton you regret? Cowards! why did not you defend him?' There was spirit, truth, and even dignity in this bitter retort—the last words that Robespierre ever spoke in public."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

that virtuous citizen, who caused the cheering worship of the Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul to be decreed; St. Just, that apostle of virtue, who put an end to treason at the Rhine and in the North; Couthon, that virtuous citizen, whose body and head alone were alive, but burning with patriotism.”* Immediately afterwards, it was resolved that the sections should be convoked; and that the presidents and the commandants of the armed force should be summoned to the commune to receive its orders. A deputation had been sent to the Jacobins, to invite them to come and fraternize with the commune, and to send to the general council the most energetic of their members, and a good number of *citizens and citizenesses of the tribunes*. Without yet mentioning insurrection, the commune took all the requisite steps, and evidently had that object in view. It was not aware of the arrest of the five deputies, and on this account it still maintained some reserve.

Meanwhile Henriot had mounted his horse, and was riding through the streets of Paris. Hearing, by the way, of the arrest of five representatives, he strove to excite the people to rise, crying out that villains were oppressing the faithful deputies, and that they had arrested Couthon, St. Just, and Robespierre. This wretch was half-drunk; he rocked upon his horse, and flourished his sword like a maniac. He first proceeded to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to rouse the working people of that fauxbourg, who scarcely comprehended what he meant, and who had besides begun to pity the victims whom they daily saw passing to the scaffold. By an unlucky chance, Henriot met the carts. These were surrounded as soon as the arrest of Robespierre was known; and, as Robespierre was considered as the author of all the murders, it was conceived that, he being apprehended, the executions would cease. The people would have made them turn back with the condemned. Henriot, who came up at this moment, opposed this intention, and caused this last execution to be consummated. He then returned, still at full gallop to the Luxembourg, and ordered the gendarmerie to assemble in the *Place* of the communal house. Taking with him a detachment, he then went along the quays, intending to proceed to the *Place du Carrousel*, and to deliver the prisoners who were before the committee of general safety. As he was galloping upon the quays with his aids-de-camp, he threw down several persons. A man, who had his wife on his arm, turned towards the gendarmes and cried, “Gendarmes, arrest that ruffian! he is no longer your general.” An aide-de-camp replied by a cut with his sword. Henriot proceeded, dashing through the *Rue St. Honoré*, and, on reaching the *Place* of the *Palais-Egalité* (*Palais-Royal*), perceiving *Merlin of Thionville*, he made up to him shouting, “Arrest that scoundrel! he is one of those who persecute the faithful representatives.” *Merlin* was seized, maltreated, and taken to the nearest guard-house. Henriot continued his course and arrived at the courts of the National Palace. Here he made his companions alight, and endeavoured to penetrate into the building. The grenadiers refused him admittance, and crossed their bayonets. At this moment, a messenger advanced and said, “Gendarmes, arrest that rebel! a decree of the Convention orders you to do so.” Henriot was immediately surrounded and disarmed, together with several of his aids-de-camp: they were pinioned and conducted

* The following was the proclamation issued from the Hotel de Ville: “Brothers and friends, the country is in imminent danger! The wicked have mastered the Convention, where they hold in chains the virtuous Robespierre. To arms! To arms! Let us not lose the fruits of the 18th of August and the 2d of June. Death to the traitors!”—*History of the Convention*. E.

to the hall of the committee of general safety, and placed beside Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and Lebas.

Thus far all went on well for the Convention. Its decrees, boldly passed, were successfully executed; but the commune and the Jacobins, which had not openly proclaimed the insurrection, were now ready to break forth, and to realize their plan for another 2d of June. Fortunately, while the Convention imprudently suspended its sitting, the commune did the same, and thus the time was lost by both sides.

The council did not meet again till six o'clock. At this resumption of the sitting, the arrest of the five deputies and of Henriot was known. The council could no longer abstain from acting, and declared itself in insurrection against the oppressors of the people, who were bent on the destruction of its defenders. It ordered the tocsin to be rung at the Hôtel de Ville and in all the sections. It sent one of its members to each of them, to excite them to insurrection, and to decide them to send their battalions to the commune. It despatched gendarmes to close the barriers, and ordered all the keepers of the prisons not to admit any prisoners who should be brought to them. Lastly, it appointed a commission of twelve members, among whom were Payen and Coffinhal, to direct the insurrection, and to exercise all the sovereign powers of the people. At this moment, some battalions of the sections, several companies of artillery, and great part of the gendarmerie, had already been collected in the Place de la Commune. The oath was begun to be administered to the commandants of the battalions assembled. Coffinhal was then ordered to repair, with a few hundred men, to the Convention, to liberate the prisoners.

Robespierre the elder had already been conveyed to the Luxembourg, his brother to the house of Lazare, Couthon to Port-Libre, St. Just to the Écos-sais, and Lebas to the house of justice of the department. The order issued by the commune to the keepers had been executed, and they refused to admit the prisoners. The administrators of police had taken charge of them and conveyed them in carriages to the *mairie*. When Robespierre appeared,* people embraced him, loaded him with demonstrations of attachment, and swore to die in his defence and that of the faithful deputies. Meanwhile Henriot was left alone at the committee of general safety. Coffinhal, vice-president of the Jacobins, arrived there sword in hand, with some companies of the sections, took possession of the rooms of the committee, expelled the members, and released Henriot and his aids-de-camp. Henriot, as soon as he was liberated, hastened to the Place du Carrousel, where he found his horses still waiting, leaped upon one of them, and with great presence of mind, told the companies of the sections and the artillery about him that the committee had just declared him innocent, and reinstated him in the command. The men rallied around him, and, followed by a considerable force, he began to give orders against the Convention, and to prepare for besieging the hall.

It was now seven o'clock in the evening. The Convention was only just reassembling; and during the interval the commune had gained great advantages. It had, as we have seen, proclaimed the insurrection, collected around it many companies of artillery and gendarmes, and released the prisoners. It might, with boldness, march promptly upon the Convention, and

* "Robespierre now appeared altogether confounded and overwhelmed with what had passed and was passing around him; and not one of all the victims of the Reign of Terror felt its disabling influence so completely as he—the despot—who had so long directed its sway."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. L.

force it to revoke its decrees. It reckoned, moreover, upon the School of Mars, the commandant of which, Labretèche, was wholly devoted to it.

The deputies assembled tumultuously, and communicated to each other with consternation the news of the evening. The members of the committees, alarmed and undecided, had met in a room next the president's bureau. There they were deliberating, undecided what course to pursue. Several deputies successively occupied the tribune, and related what was passing in Paris. It was stated that the prisoners were liberated, that the commune had met at the Jacobins, that it had already a considerable force at its disposal, and that the Convention would soon be besieged. Bourdon proposed to go out in a body and show themselves to the people, in order to bring them over to their side. Legendre strove to infuse confidence into the Assembly saying that it would everywhere find only pure and faithful Mountaineers ready to defend it; and in this danger he displayed a courage which he had not shown against Robespierre. Billaud mounted the tribune, and intimated that Henriot was in the Place du Carrousel, that he had won the artillery, caused the guns to be turned against the hall of the Convention, and was about to commence the attack. Collot-d'Herbois then went up to the chair, which, from the arrangements of the hall, must have received the first balls, and said, as he seated himself in it, "Representatives! the moment is come for dying at our post. Villains have made themselves masters of the National Palace." At these words, all the deputies, some of whom were standing, others strolling about in the hall, took their places, and remained seated in majestic silence. All the citizens of the tribunal fled with a tremendous uproar, leaving behind them a cloud of dust. The Convention, abandoned to itself, felt convinced that it was about to be slaughtered, but it was resolved to perish rather than endure a Cromwell. Who can help admiring on this occasion the influence of circumstances over courage? The very same men, so long submissive to the orator who harangued them, now defied, with a sublime resignation, the cannon which he had caused to be pointed against them. Members of the Assembly were seen constantly going out and returning, bringing tidings of what was passing at the Carrousel. Henriot was still issuing orders there. "Outlaw him! Outlaw the ruffian!" was the cry in the hall. A decree of outlawry was immediately passed, and some of the deputies went to publish it before the National Palace.

At this moment Henriot, who had misled the gunners, and induced them to turn their pieces against the hall, ordered them to fire; but they hesitated to obey him. Some of the deputies cried out, "Gunners! will you disgrace yourselves? that ruffian is outlawed." The gunners then refused to obey Henriot. Abandoned by his men, he had but time to turn his horse's head and to seek refuge at the commune.

The danger over, the Convention outlawed the deputies who had withdrawn themselves from its decrees, and all the members of the commune who were engaged in the insurrection. But this was not enough. If Henriot was no longer in the Place du Carrousel, the insurgents were yet at the commune with all their forces, and they had still the resource of a *coup-de-main*. It was incumbent on the Assembly to obviate this great danger. It deliberated without acting. In the room behind the bureau, where the committees had been joined by many of the representatives, it was proposed to appoint a commandant of the armed force taken from the bosom of the Assembly. "Who shall it be?" was the question. "Barras," replied a voice; "he will have the courage to accept the appointment." Vouland

immediately hurried to the tribune and proposed that Barras, the representative, should be appointed to direct the armed force. The suggestion was adopted; Barras was appointed, and seven other deputies were associated with him to command under his orders: Fréron, Ferrand, Rovère, Delmas, Boleti, Leonard Bourdon, and Bourdon of the Oise. To this proposal a member added another which was not less important, namely, to appoint representatives to go and enlighten the sections, and to demand the assistance of their battalions. This last measure was the most important of all, for it was essential to decide the wavering or misguided sections.

Barras hastened to the battalions already assembled, to acquaint them with his powers, and to post them around the Convention.* The deputies despatched to the sections went to harangue them. At this moment most of them were undecided; very few were in favour of the commune and of Robespierre. Every one had a horror of that atrocious system which was imputed to Robespierre, and desired an event that should deliver France from it. Fear, nevertheless, still paralyzed all the citizens. They durst not decide, nor give belief to the reports that were circulated. The commune, which the sections were accustomed to obey, had summoned them, and some, not daring to resist, had sent commissioners not to adhere to the plan of insurrection, but to inform themselves of what was passing. Paris was in a state of uncertainty and anxiety. The relatives of the prisoners, their friends, and all who were suffering from that cruel system, sallied from their houses, approached nearer and nearer to the places where the uproar prevailed, and strove to gain some intelligence. The unfortunate prisoners, having from their barred windows perceived a great bustle, and heard a great noise, expected that something was about to happen, but trembled lest this new event should only aggravate their lot. The dejection of the gaolers, words whispered to the list-makers, and the consternation which succeeded, had tended, however, to diminish doubts. It was soon known, from expressions which were dropped, that Robespierre was in danger. Relatives had approached, placed themselves under the windows of the prisons, and indicated by signs what was passing; the prisoners had then collected and given way to the wildest joy. The base informers, trembling in their turn, had taken some of the suspected aside, endeavoured to justify themselves, and to convince them that they were not the authors of the lists of proscription. Some of them, admitting the fact, said that they had withdrawn names from them. One had given but forty names instead of two hundred, which were required of him; another had destroyed entire lists. In their fright, these wretches reciprocally accused, and devoted one another to infamy.

The deputies dispersed among the sections had no difficulty in getting the better of the obscure envoys of the commune. Those who had sent off their battalions to the Hôtel de Ville recalled them; the others directed theirs towards the National Palace. That building was already surrounded by a sufficient force. Barras went to apprise the Assembly of this circumstance,

* "Barras did not choose to wait till all his succours should arrive. He would not lose the opportunity of the first onset with men who had always been suffered to begin the attack. As soon as he had formed four or five battalions, 'My friends,' he cried, 'the Convention is disposed to reward your alacrity in coming first.' Applauses ensued—they marched. Barras arrived with his battalions. He had so distributed them as to command every outlet from the seat of the commune. Night concealed their small number. The victory, than which none more essential to nations was ever obtained, was not even disputed. Of so many assassins, not one sought the honour of perishing in battle. Robespierre had not even appeared in the midst of his revolutionary bands."—*Lacretelle*. E.

and then hastened to the plain of Sablons to supersede Labretèche who was dismissed, and to bring the School of Mars to the aid of the Convention.

The national representation was now safe from a *coup-de-main*. This was the moment for marching against the commune and taking the offensive, which it neglected to do. It was immediately resolved to march upon the Hôtel de Ville, and to surround it.* Leonard Bourdon, who was at the head of a great number of battalions, set out for the purpose. When he intimated that he was just starting to attack the rebels, "Go," said Tallien, who occupied the president's chair, "and let the sun, when he rises, find no conspirators alive." Leonard Bourdon debouched by the quays, and arrived at the Place of the Hôtel de Ville. A great number of gendarmes, artillerymen, and armed citizens of the sections, were still there. An agent of the committee of public welfare, named Dulac, had the courage to slip into their ranks, and to read to them the decree of the Convention which outlawed the commune. The respect which people had contracted for that assembly, in whose name everything had been done for two years past, respect for the words law and republic, triumphed. The battalions separated: some returned to their own homes, others joined Leonard Bourdon, and the Place de la Commune was deserted. Those who guarded, and those who came to attack it, drew up in the neighbouring streets, in order to close all the outlets.

People had such an idea of the resolution of the conspirators, and were so astonished to find them almost motionless in the Hôtel de Ville, that they were fearful of approaching. Leonard Bourdon was apprehensive that they had undermined the Hôtel de Ville. This, however was not the case. They were deliberating tumultuously, and proposing to write to the armies and to the provinces, but they knew not in whose name to write, and durst not take any decisive step. Had Robespierre been a man of decision, had he ventured to show himself and to march against the Convention, he would have placed it in a dangerous predicament. But he was a mere talker, and, besides, he perceived, as did all his partisans along with him, that public opinion was forsaking them. The end of that frightful system had arrived. The Convention was everywhere obeyed, and the outlawries produced a magical effect. Had he been endowed with greater energy, he must have been discouraged by these circumstances, superior to any individual force. The decree of outlawry struck all with stupor, when it was communicated from the Place de la Commune to the Hôtel de Ville. Payen, to whom it was delivered, read it aloud, and, with great presence of mind, added to the list of the persons outlawed, *the people in the tribunes*, which was not in the

* "The battalions of the national guards from all quarters now marched towards the Convention, and defiled through the hall in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause. At midnight above three thousand men had arrived. 'The moments are precious,' said Fréron; 'the time for action has come. Let us instantly march against the rebels.' The order was promptly obeyed. The night was dark; a feeble moonlight only shone through the gloom; but the forced illumination of the houses supplied a vivid light, which shone on the troops, who, in profound silence, marched from the Tuileries towards the Place de Grève, the headquarters of the insurgents. There were about two thousand men stationed in the Place de Grève with a powerful train of artillery, when the light of the torches showed the heads of the columns of the national guard appearing in all the avenues which led to the square. The moment was terrible. Ten pieces of the artillery of the Convention were placed in battery, while the cannoneers of the municipality, with their lighted matches in their hands, stood beside their guns on the opposite side. But the authority of the law prevailed. The decree of the legislature was read by torchlight, and the insurgent troops refused to resist it."—*Alison*. E.

decree. Contrary to his expectation, the people in the tribunes hurried off in alarm to avoid sharing in the anathema hurled by the Convention. The greatest dismay then seized the conspirators. Henriot went down to the Place to harangue the gunners, but he found not a single man. "What!" cried he, swearing, "do these rascally gunners, who saved me a few hours since, desert me now?" He then went back furious to carry this new intelligence to the council. Despair overwhelmed the conspirators. They found themselves abandoned by their troops and surrounded on all sides by those of the Convention; and mutually accused each other of being the cause of their unfortunate situation. Coffinhal, an energetic man, who had been ill-seconded, enraged against Henriot, said to him, "It is thy cowardice, villain, that has undone us!" Rushing upon him and seizing him round the waist, he threw him out of a window. The wretched Henriot fell upon a heap of filth, which broke the fall, and prevented it from proving mortal. Lebas put an end to his life with a pistol; the younger Robespierre* threw himself out of a window; St. Just continued calm and immovable, holding a weapon in his hand, but without using it; Robespierre at length decided to terminate his career, and attempted to commit suicide. He clapped a pistol to his head, but, the ball entering above the lip, merely pierced his cheek, and inflicted a wound that was not dangerous.†

At this moment a few bold men, Dulac, Meda the gendarme, and several others, leaving Bourdon with his battalions in the Place de la Commune, went up, armed with swords and pistols, and entered the hall of the council, at the very instant when the two reports of fire-arms were heard. The municipal officers were going to take off their scarfs, but Dulac threatened to plunge his sword into the first who should attempt to divest himself of that distinguishing mark. Every one remained motionless: all the municipal officers, Payen, Fleuriot, Dumas, Coffinhal, &c., were secured; the wounded were carried away on handbarrows; and the prisoners were conducted in triumph to the Convention. It was now three o'clock in the morning. Shouts of victory rang around the hall, and penetrated into it. Cries of "Liberty for ever! The Constitution for ever! Down with the tyrants!" then arose from all parts. "Representatives," said the president, "Robespierre and his accomplices are at the door of your hall: will you have them brought before you?"—"No, no," was replied from all sides; "to execution with the conspirators!"

Robespierre was taken with his partisans to the hall of the committee of public welfare. He was laid upon a table, and some pieces of pasteboard were placed under his head. He had retained his presence of mind, and appeared unconcerned. He had on a blue coat, the same that he wore at the

* "The younger Robespierre had only just returned from the army of Italy, whither he had been sent by the Convention on a mission. He earnestly pressed Bonaparte to accompany him to Paris. 'Had I followed young Robespierre,' said Napoleon, 'how different might have been my career! On what trivial circumstances does human fate depend!'"—*Las Cases*. E.

† "When the national guard rushed into the room where the leaders of the revolt were assembled, they found Robespierre sitting with his elbow on his knees, and his head resting on his hand. St. Just implored Lebas to put an end to his life. 'Coward! follow my example,' said he, and blew out his brains. Couthon was seized under a table, feebly attempting to strike with a knife, which he wanted the courage to plunge in his heart. Robespierre and Couthon being supposed to be dead, were dragged by the heels to the Quai Pelletier, where it was proposed to throw them into the river; but it being discovered that they still breathed, they were stretched on a board, and conveyed to the committee of general safety."—*Alison*. E.

festival of the Supreme Being, nankeen breeches, and white stockings, which, amidst the tumult, had dropped down to his heels. The blood oozed from his wound, and he was stanching it with the sheath of a pistol. Some persons around him handed to him from time to time bits of paper to wipe his face. In this state he remained several hours exposed to the curiosity and the abuse of a crowd of people. When the surgeon came to dress his wound, he raised himself up, got down from the table, and seated himself in an arm-chair. He underwent a painful dressing without a murmur. With the insensibility and sullenness of humbled pride, he made no reply to any observation. He was then conveyed, with St. Just, Couthon, and the others, to the Conciergerie. His brother and Henriot had been picked up, half dead, in the streets close to the Hôtel de Ville.

The outlawry rendered a trial superfluous; it was sufficient to prove the identity. On the morning of the following day, the 10th of Thermidor, the culprits, to the number of twenty-one, were brought before the tribunal to which they had sent so many victims. Fouquier-Tinville produced evidence of identity, and, at four in the afternoon, he caused them to be conveyed to execution. The populace which had long forsaken scenes of this kind, hastened with extreme eagerness to witness the execution on this day.

The scaffold had been erected in the Place de la Révolution. An immense crowd filled the Rue St. Honoré, the Tuileries, and the spacious Place. Numerous relatives of the victims followed the carts, pouring forth imprecations upon them; many went up to them desiring to see Robespierre: the gendarmes pointed him out to them with their swords. When the culprits had reached the scaffold, the executioners showed Robespierre to the populace; they took off the bandage fastened round his jaw, and extorted from him the first cry that he had uttered. He suffered with the insensibility which he had displayed for the last twenty-four hours.* St. Just died with the courage which he had always exhibited. Couthon was dejected; Henriot and the younger Robespierre were nearly dead from the effects of their wounds. Applause accompanied every descent of the fatal blade, and the multitude manifested extraordinary joy. General rejoicing prevailed throughout Paris. The prisons rang with songs; people embraced one another in a species of intoxication, and paid as much as thirty francs for the newspapers containing an account of the events which had just happened. Though the Convention had not declared that it abolished the system of terror, though the victors themselves were either the authors or the apostles

* "When Robespierre ascended the fatal car his head was enveloped in a bloody cloth, his colour was livid, and his eyes sunk. When the procession came opposite his house, it stopped, and a group of women danced round the bier of him whose chariot-wheels they would have dragged the day before over a thousand victims. Robespierre mounted the scaffold last, and the moment his head fell the applause was tremendous. In some cases the event was announced to the prisoners by the waving of handkerchiefs from the tops of houses."—*Hazlitt*. E.

"Robespierre was executed on the spot where Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette had suffered. He shut his eyes, but could not close his ears against the imprecations of the multitude. A woman, breaking from the crowd, exclaimed, 'Murderer of all my kindred! your agony fills me with joy. Descend to hell, covered with the curses of every mother in France!' When he ascended the scaffold, the executioner tore the bandage from his face; the lower jaw fell on his breast, and he uttered a yell which froze every heart with horror. For some minutes the frightful figure was held up to the multitude; he was then placed under the axe. 'Yes, Robespierre, there is a God!' said a poor man, as he approached the lifeless body of one so lately the object of dread."—*Alison*. E.

of that system, it was considered as finished with Robespierre, to such a degree had he assumed to himself all its horrors.*

Such was that happy catastrophe, which terminated the ascending march of the Revolution and commenced its retrograde march. The Revolution had, on the 14th of July, 1789, overthrown the ancient feudal constitution; it had on the 5th and 6th of October snatched the King from his court to make sure of his person; it had then framed a constitution for itself, and had committed it to his keeping in 1791, as if by way of experiment. It soon regretted having made this experiment, and despairing of ever conciliating the court with liberty, it had stormed the Tuileries on the 10th of August, and placed Louis XVI. in confinement. Austria and Prussia advanced to destroy it, when, to use its own terrible language, it threw down, as the gage of battle, the head of a king and the lives of six thousand prisoners; it entered in an irrevocable manner into that struggle, and repulsed the allies by a first effort. Its rage redoubled the number of its enemies; the increase of its enemies and of its danger redoubled its rage and changed it into fury. It dragged forth violently from the temple of the laws sincere republicans, but who, not comprehending these extremities, sought to moderate it. Then it had to combat one half of France, La Vendée, and Europe. By the effect of this continual action and reaction of obstacles upon its will, and of its will upon obstacles, it arrived at the last degree of danger and exasperation. It erected scaffolds and sent a million of men to the frontiers. Then, sublime and atrocious at the same time, it was seen destroying with a blind fury,† and

* "On the very day of Robespierre's arrest, his adherent, Dumas, who was executed with him, had signed the warrant for putting sixty persons to death. In the confusion, no person thought of arresting the guillotine. They all suffered."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† Prudhomme has given the following appalling account of the victims of the Revolution:

	Nobles	1,278	
	Noble women	750	
	Wives of labourers and artisans	1,467	
	Religieuses	350	
	Priests	1,135	
	Common persons, not noble	13,623	
	<hr/>		
	Guillotined by sentence of the Revolutionary tribunal	18,603	18,603
	Women died of premature child-birth		3,400
	In child-birth from grief		348
	Women killed in La Vendée		15,000
	Children killed in La Vendée		22,000
	Men slain in La Vendée		900,000
	Victims under Carrier at Nantes		32,000
	<hr/>		
Of whom were	{ Children shot	500	
	{ Children drowned	1,500	
	{ Women shot	264	
	{ Women drowned	500	
	{ Priests shot	300	
	{ Priests drowned	460	
	{ Nobles drowned	1,400	
	{ Artisans drowned	5,300	
	<hr/>		
	Victims at Lyons		31,000
	<hr/>		
	Total		1,022,351

In this enumeration are not comprehended the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmelites, or other prisons, on September 2d, the victims of the Glaciere of Avignon, those shot at Toulon and Marseilles, or the persons slain in the little town of Bedoin, the whole population of which perished. E.

directing the national energies with promptness and profound prudence. Changed by the necessity for energetic action from a turbulent democracy to an absolute dictatorship, it became regular, silent, and formidable. During the whole latter part of 1793, till the beginning of 1794, it moved onward united by the imminence of the danger which surrounded it. But when victory had crowned its efforts, at the end of 1793, a disagreement arose; for strong and generous hearts, calmed by success, cried, "Merely to the vanquished!" But all hearts were not yet calmed; the salvation of the Revolution was not evident to all; the pity of some excited the fury of others, and there were extravagant spirits who wished to supersede all government by a tribunal of death. The dictatorship struck down the two new parties which impeded its march. Hebert, Ronsin, and Vincent, perished with Danton and Camille-Desmoulins. The Revolution thus continued its career, covered itself with glory from the commencement of 1794, vanquished all Europe, and overwhelmed it with confusion. The moment had at length arrived when pity was to triumph over rage. But then happened what always happens in such cases: out of the incident of a day the heads of the government wanted to form a system. They had systematized violence and cruelty, and when the dangers and excitements were past, they still wished to continue the work of slaughter. But public horror was everywhere roused. To this opposition they would have replied by the accustomed expedient—death. One and the same cry then arose from their rivals in power and from their threatened colleagues, and this cry was the signal for a general insurrection. It required a few moments to shake off the stupor of fear; the effort soon proved successful, and the system of terror was overthrown.

It may be asked what would have happened if Robespierre had been victorious. The forsaken condition in which he found himself proves that this was impossible.* But had he been conqueror, he must either have yielded to the general sentiment, or have fallen. Like usurpers, he would have been forced to adopt a calm and mild system instead of the horrors of factions. But it was not given to him to be that usurper. Our Revolution was too vast for the same man, deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1789, to be proclaimed emperor or protector in 1804 in the church of Notre-Dame. In a country less advanced and less extensive as England was, where the same person might be tribune and general, and combine the two functions, a Cromwell might be both a party man at the beginning, and a usurping soldier at the conclusion. But in a revolution so extensive as ours, in which the war was so terrible and so predominant, in which the same individual could not occupy at one and the same time the tribune and the camp, party men first destroyed one another; after them came the military men; and a soldier was finally left master.

Robespierre then could not perform among us the part of a usurper. Why was it his fate to survive all those famous revolutionists, who were so superior to him in genius and in energy—Danton, for example? Robespierre

* "In my opinion Robespierre's destruction was inevitable. He had no organized force; his partisans, although numerous, were not enlisted and incorporated; he possessed only the great power derived from public opinion and the principle of terror; so that, not being able to surprise his enemies by violence like Cromwell, he endeavoured to frighten them. Fear not succeeding, he tried insurrection. But as the support of the committees gave courage to the Convention, so the sections, relying for support on the strength of the Convention, naturally declared themselves against the insurgents. By attacking the government Robespierre roused the Assembly, by rousing the Assembly he let loose the people: and this coalition necessarily ruined him."—*Mignet*. E.

was a man of integrity, and a good reputation is requisite for captivating the crowd. He was without pity, which ruins those who have it in revolutions. He had an obstinate and persevering pride, and this is the only means of keeping oneself constantly present to people's minds. It was this that caused him to survive all his rivals. But he was of the worst species of men. A devotee without passions, without the vices to which they lead, but yet without the courage, the greatness, and the sensibility which usually accompany them—a devotee living only by his pride and his creed, hiding himself in the day of danger, coming forth to claim adoration after the victory won by others—is one of the most odious beings that ever ruled over men, and one would say the very vilest, if he had not possessed a strong conviction and acknowledged integrity.*

* “Napoleon was of opinion that Robespierre had neither talent, force, nor system; that he was the true emissary of the Revolution, who was sacrificed the moment he attempted to arrest its course—the fate of all those who had before himself engaged in the attempt; but that he was by no means the monster that was commonly believed. ‘Robespierre,’ said he, ‘was at last desirous to stop the public executions. Cambacérés, who is to be regarded as an authority for that epoch, said to me, in relation to the condemnation of Robespierre—Sire, that was a case in which judgment was pronounced without hearing the accused.—You may add to that, that his intentions were different from what is generally supposed. His plan was, after having overturned the furious factions which it was requisite for him to combat, to return to a system of order and moderation.’”—*Las Cases*. E.

“The dictator, Robespierre, perished just at the very moment when he was preparing to return to a system of justice and humanity.”—*Levasseur de la Sarthe*. E.

“Robespierre had been a studious youth and a respectable man, and his character contributed not a little to the ascendancy which he obtained over his rivals. In the year 1785 he wrote an essay against the Punishment of Death, which gained the prize awarded by the royal society of Metz!”—*Quarterly Review*. E.

M. Dumont in his “Recollections of Mirabeau” gives the following interesting account of the first public speech delivered by Robespierre in the year 1789: “The clergy, for the purpose of surprising the *tiers-état* into an union of the Orders, sent a deputation to invite the *tiers* to a conference on the distresses of the poor. The *tiers* saw through the design, and, not wishing to acknowledge the clergy as a separate body, yet afraid to reject so popular a proposition, knew not what answer to make, when one of the deputies rose, and thus addressed the ecclesiastical deputation: ‘Go, tell your colleagues, if they are so anxious to relieve the people, to hasten and unite themselves in this hall with the friends of the people. Tell them no longer to try to carry their point by such stratagems as this. Rather let them, as ministers of religion, renounce the splendour which surrounds them, sell their gaudy equipages, and convert their superfluities into food for the poor.’ At this speech, which expressed so well the passions of the moment, there arose a loud murmur of approbation. Every one asked, who was the speaker; he was not known; but in a few minutes his name passed from mouth to mouth; it was one which afterwards made all France tremble—it was Robespierre.”—E.

“When Robespierre first appeared in the world he prefixed the aristocratical particle *de* to his name. He was entered at college as *de* Robespierre; he was elected to the States-general as *de* Robespierre; but, after the abolition of all feudal distinctions, he rejected the *de*, and called himself Robespierre.”—*Quarterly Review*. E.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE NINTH OF THERMIDOR—RELEASE OF THE SUSPECTED—MODIFICATIONS MADE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT — MOUNTAINEERS AND THERMIDORIANS — GENERAL STATE OF THE FINANCES, AGRICULTURE, AND COMMERCE, AFTER THE REIGN OF TERROR.

THE events of the 9th and 10th of Thermidor had produced a joy which continued undiminished for several days. The excitement was universal. A great number of persons who had left the country to conceal themselves in Paris hurried to the public vehicles, to carry to their homes the tidings of the general deliverance. People stopped them in all the places through which they passed, to learn the particulars. As soon as they were apprized of the happy events, some returned to their dwellings which they had long since quitted; others, buried in subterraneous hiding-places, ventured forth again into the light of day. The inmates of the numerous prisons in France began to hope for liberty, or at least they ceased to dread the scaffold.*

People did not yet investigate the nature of the Revolution which had just taken place; they did not inquire how far the surviving members of the committee of public welfare were disposed to persist in the revolutionary system, or how far the Convention was disposed to enter into their views: they saw, they comprehended only one thing—the death of Robespierre. It was he who had been the head of the government. It was he to whom were imputed the imprisonments, the executions, indeed all the acts of the late tyranny. It seemed that with Robespierre's death everything must be changed, and take a new direction.†

* "One day, while I was standing with Madame d'Aiguillon at the prison window, I perceived a poor woman who knew us, and was making a number of signs, which at first I could not understand. She constantly held up her gown (*robe*), and, seeing that she had some object in view, I called out '*Robe*,' to which she answered, 'Yes.' She then lifted up a stone and put it in her lap, which she lifted up a second time. I then called out '*Pierre*,' whereupon she evinced the greatest joy at perceiving that her signs were understood. Joining then the stone to her robe, she eagerly imitated the motion of cutting off the head, and immediately began to dance and evince the most extraordinary joy. This singular pantomime awakened in our minds a vague hope that possibly Robespierre might be no more. At this moment, while we were fluttering with hope and fear, we heard a great noise in the corridor, and the terrible voice of our gaoler, who said to his dog, giving him at the same time a kick, 'Get on, you cursed Robespierre.' That coarse phrase at once taught us that we had nothing to fear, and that France was saved."—*Memoirs of Josephine*. E.

† "Men looked hopelessly towards the Convention, rather like the corpse of a legislative assembly, actuated, during its apparent activity, like the supposed vampire, by an infernal spirit not its own, which urged it to go forth and drink blood, but which, deserted by the animating demon, must sink to the ground in helpless incapacity. But, in spite of these discouraging circumstances, the feelings of humanity and a spirit of self-protection, dictating

After any important event, the public expectation eagerly demands to be satisfied as to its results. After two days spent in receiving congratulations; in listening to addresses, in each of which were repeated the words, *Catiline is no more,* the Republic is saved*; in rewarding acts of courage; in voting monuments to perpetuate the memory of the great events of the 9th—the Convention at length directed its attention to the measures which its situation required.

The popular commissions instituted for the trial of prisoners, the revolutionary tribunal composed by Robespierre, the bar of Fouquier-Tinville, still retained their functions, and needed but a sign of encouragement to continue their terrible operations. In the very sitting of the 11th, the purification of the popular commissions was proposed and decreed. Elie Lacoste called the attention to the revolutionary tribunal, and proposed its suspension until it should be reorganized upon different principles, and composed of other persons. Lacoste's suggestion was adopted, and, in order not to delay the trial of Robespierre's accomplices, it was agreed to appoint, before the Assembly broke up, a temporary commission to supersede the revolutionary tribunal. In the evening sitting, Barrère, who continued to officiate as reporter, communicated another victory, the entrance of the French into Liege, and he then addressed the Assembly on the subject of the committees which had been mutilated on several different occasions, and reduced by the scaffold or by missions to a small number of members. Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon had expired on the preceding day. Herault-Sechelles had shared the fate of Danton. Jean-Bon-St.-André and Prieur of La Marne were absent on missions. There remained only Carnot who was wholly occupied with the war department, Prieur of the Côte d'Or with the furnishing arms and ammunition, Robert Lindet with supplies of provision and commerce, Billaud-Varennes, and Collot-d'Herbois with the correspondence and the administrative bodies; lastly, Barrère with the reports. Thus there were only six out of twelve. The committee of general welfare was more complete, and it was quite adequate to the business that it had to transact. Barrère proposed to appoint three members in the place of those three who had expired on the preceding day on the scaffold, until the general renewal of the committees, which was fixed for the 20th of every month, but which had been discontinued ever since the tacit consent given to the dictatorship. This was starting important questions. Were they to change not only men but things, to modify the form of the committees, to take precautions against their too great influence, to limit their powers—in short, to operate a complete revolution in the administration? Such were the questions raised by Barrère's proposition. In the first place, fault was found with that hasty and

a determined resistance to the renovation of the horrid system under which the country had so long suffered, began to show itself both within the Convention, and without doors."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

* We find the following anecdote of this modern Catiline in the "Annual Register" of 1794. It is of so atrocious a character that we can with difficulty bring ourselves to give credence to it: "A lady of the name of St. Amarante, thinking to secure the safety of her family by polite attentions to Robespierre, invited him to dine with her and some friends. Robespierre accepted the invitation, and was accompanied by one of his greatest intimates. Next day, his friend told him that he (Robespierre), having drunk more freely than ordinary at dinner, had let drop some things which it would have been better to conceal. Having paused a little, Robespierre required a list of the names of all who were of the company, and also of the servants who waited at table. A list was immediately sent to him. In four-and-twenty hours Madame St. Amarante, her family, friends, and domestics, all perished on the scaffold!" E.

dictatorial mode of proceeding which consisted in proposing and appointing the members of the committees in the same sitting. A motion was made for the printing of the list and the adjournment of the nomination. Dubois-Crancé went still farther, and inveighed against the prolonged absence of the members of the committees. If, he argued, they had appointed a successor to Hérault-Séchelles, and had not suffered Prieur of La Marne and Jean-Bon-St.-André to be continually absent on missions, they would have been more certain of having a majority, and not have hesitated so long about attacking the triumvirs. He then asserted that men became wearied out by power, and contracted dangerous tastes from the possession of it. He proposed, in consequence, to decree that thenceforward no member of the committees should be authorized to go on mission, and that one-fourth of the members of each committee should be renewed every month. Cambon, carrying the discussion still farther, said that the entire government ought to be reorganized. The committee of public welfare had, in his opinion, usurped everything; the consequence was that its members, were they even to labour night and day, could not perform their task, and that the committees of finance, of legislation, and of general safety, were reduced to mere ciphers. It was necessary to make a new distribution of powers, so as to prevent the committee of public welfare from being overloaded, and the others from being annulled.

The discussion being once commenced, a disposition was manifested to lay hands on all the departments of the revolutionary government. Bourdon of the Oise, whose opposition to Robespierre's system was well known, since he was to have been one of its first victims, checked this inconsiderate movement. He said that they had hitherto been an able and vigorous government; that they were indebted to it for the salvation of France and for glorious victories; that they ought to hesitate before they laid imprudent hands on its organization; that all the hopes of the aristocrats were likely to revive; and that, while guarding against a new tyranny, they ought to modify, but with caution, an institution to which they owed such important results. Tallien, the hero of the 9th, was nevertheless desirous that certain questions at least should be taken up, and perceived no danger in deciding them immediately. Wherefore, for instance, not decree at the moment that one-fourth of the committees should be renewed every month? This proposition of Dubois-Crancé's, supported by Tallien, was received with enthusiasm, and adopted amidst shouts of *The Republic forever!* To this measure Delmas was desirous of adding another. "You have just dried up the source of ambition," said he to the assembly: "to complete your decree, I propose that you decide that no member shall be eligible to serve in a committee, till he has been out of it a month." This proposition, which was received with the same favour as the other, was immediately adopted. These principles being admitted, it was agreed that a commission should present a new plan for the organization of the committees of government.

On the following day, six members were chosen to fill the places of the dead or absent members of the committee of public welfare. On this occasion, the presentation made by Tallien was not confirmed. The Assembly nominated Tallien to reward him for his courage, Bréard, Thuriot, Treilhard, members of the first committee of public welfare, lastly, the two deputies Laloi and Eclasserianx senior, the latter of whom was well versed in matters of finance and political economy. The committee of general safety also underwent changes. Severe censures were thrown out in all quarters against David, who was said to be a creature of Robespierre's, and against

Jagot and Lavicomterie, who were accused of having been atrocious inquisitors. A great number of voices demanded their removal. It was decreed. Several of the champions who had distinguished themselves on the 9th were appointed to succeed to them, and, to complete the committee of general safety, Legendre, Merlin of Thionville, Goupilleau of Fontenai, André Dumont,* Jean Dëbry, and Bernard of Saintes. The law of the 22d of Prairial was then unanimously repealed. Members inveighed with indignation against the decree which permitted a deputy to be imprisoned before he had been first heard by the Convention—a pernicious decree which had consigned to death illustrious victims present to the recollection of all, Danton, Camille-Desmoulins, Herault-Sechelles, &c. The decree was repealed. It was not sufficient to change things only: there were men whom the public resentment could not forgive. “All Paris,” exclaimed Legendre, “demands of you the justly merited punishment of Fouquier-Tinville.”† This suggestion was instantly followed, and Fouquier-Tinville was placed under accusation. “It is impossible to sit any longer beside Lebon,” cried another voice; and all eyes were fixed on the proconsul who had drenched the city of Arras with blood, and whose excesses had provoked complaints even in the time of Robespierre.‡ Lebon was immediately decreed to be under arrest. The Assembly resumed the consideration of the case of David, whom it had at first merely excluded from the committee of general safety, and he too was put under arrest. The same measure was adopted in regard to Heron, the principal agent of the police instituted by Robespierre; to General Rossignol, already well known; and to Hermann, president of the revolutionary tribunal before Dumas, and who had become, through Robespierre’s influence, the chief of the commission of the tribunals.

Thus the revolutionary tribunal was suspended, the law of the 22d of Prairial was repealed, the committees of public welfare and general safety were in part recomposed, and the principal agents of the late dictatorship were arrested and prosecuted. The character of the late revolution was pronounced. Scope was given to hopes and to complaints of all kinds. The persons under confinement, who filled the prisons, and their families, fondly imagined that they were at length about to enjoy the results of the event of the 9th. Before that happy moment, the relatives of the suspected durst not remonstrate even for the purpose of urging the most legitimate reasons, either for fear of awakening the attention of Fouquier-Tinville, or from apprehension of being imprisoned themselves for having solicited in behalf of aristo-

* “André Dumont, deputy to the Convention, voted for the King’s death without appeal. He persecuted the Girondins with the utmost severity. Being sent to the department of the Somme, he caused two hundred persons, sixty-four of whom were priests, to be thrown into the river. In 1794 he declared violently against Robespierre, and was afterwards president of the Convention, and member of the committee of public safety. In the December of 1794, he proposed that the punishment of death should no longer be inflicted, except on royalists. In the year 1796 he was elected to the council of Five Hundred, and, after the 18th of Brumaire, was appointed sub-prefect of Abbeville.”—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† “At this so-dreaded name a general murmur burst from the Assembly. Fréron, making himself the organ of the common indignation, exclaimed, ‘I demand that the earth may be at length freed from this monster, and that Fouquier, now drunk with the blood which he has spilled, may be sent to hell, to sleep himself sober.’”—*Mignet*. E.

‡ “Lebon was accused before the Convention by a deputation from Cambray. On his trial, the monster acknowledged that, an aristocrat being condemned to the guillotine, he had kept him lying in the usual posture on his back, with his eyes turned up to the axe, which was suspended above his throat—in short, in all the agonies which can agitate the human mind—until he had read to him at length the *Gazette*, which had just arrived, giving an account of a victory gained by the republican armies.”—*Scott’s Life of Napoleon*. E.

crats. The Reign of Terror was past. People again met in the sections. Abandoned before to *sans-culottes*, who were paid forty sous per day, they were immediately filled by persons who had just made their appearance again in public, by relatives of the prisoners, by fathers, brothers, or sons, of victims sacrificed by the revolutionary tribunal. A desire to deliver their kinsmen animated some, revenge actuated others. In all the sections, the liberation of the prisoners was demanded, and deputations repaired to the Convention to obtain it from that assembly. These demands were referred to the committee of general safety, which was directed to verify the application of the law relative to suspected persons. Though it still comprehended the greater number of the individuals who had signed the orders of arrest, yet the force of circumstances and the junction of new members could not fail to incline it to clemency. It began, in fact, with pronouncing a multitude of liberations. Some of its members, Legendre, Merlin, and others, went through the prisons, to receive petitions, and diffused joy there by their presence and their words; others, sitting night and day, received the petitions of relatives who thronged to apply for releases. The committee was directed to inquire whether the persons called suspected had been imprisoned on the motives of the law of the 17th of September, and if those motives were specified in the warrants of arrest. This was only returning to a more precise execution of the law of the 17th of September;* still it was sufficient to empty the prisons almost entirely. Such, in fact, had been the precipitation of the revolutionary agents that they had arrested without stating motives, and without demanding the communication of them to the prisoners. These were released, as they had been confined, that is, *en masse*. Joy, less turbulent, then became more real: it was diffused among families, which recovered a father, a brother, or a son, of whom they had long been deprived, and whom they had even regarded as doomed to the scaffold. Men whose lukewarmness or whose connexions had rendered them suspected by a jealous authority, and those for whose opposition even an attested patriotism could not obtain forgiveness, were seen coming forth from the prisons. That youthful general, who, uniting the two armies of the Moselle and the Rhine on one of the sides of the Vosges, had raised the blockade of Landau by a movement worthy of the greatest commanders—Hoche—imprisoned for his resistance to the committee of public welfare, was liberated and restored to his family and to the army, which he was destined to lead again to victory. Kilmaine, who had saved the army of the North by breaking up from Cæsar's Camp in August, 1793, who had been thrown into confinement for that admirable retreat, was also set at liberty. That young and beautiful female, who had acquired such empire over Tallien, and who, from the recesses of her prison, had not ceased to stimulate his courage, was delivered by him, and became his wife. Though releases were multiplied every day, still applications poured in upon the committee in undiminished numbers. "Victory," said Barrère, "has just marked an epoch when the country can be indulgent without danger, and consider uncivic faults as atoned for by an imprisonment for some time. The committees are incessantly engaged in deciding upon the releases demanded; they are continually engaged in repairing individual errors or acts of injustice. Very soon all traces of private revenge will be effaced from the soil of the republic; but the concourse of persons of both sexes about the doors of the committee of general safety only

* "In the space of eight or ten days after the fall of Robespierre, out of ten thousand suspected persons, not one remained in the prisons of Paris."—*Lacretelle*. E.

serves to retard labours so beneficial to the citizens. We make due allowance for the very natural anxiety of families ; but why retard, by solicitations reflecting upon the legislators, and by too numerous assemblages, the rapid march which national justice ought to take at this period ?”

The committee of general safety was, in fact, beset with solicitations of all kinds. The women, in particular, exerted their influence to obtain acts of clemency, even in behalf of known enemies of the revolution. More than one deception was practised upon the committee. The dukes of Aumont and Valentinois were liberated under fictitious names, and a great many others escaped by means of the same subterfuge. In this there was but little harm ; for, as Barrère had observed, victory had marked the epoch when the republic could become mild and indulgent. But the rumour which was circulated that the committee was setting at liberty a great number of aristocrats was likely to revive revolutionary distrust, and to break the sort of unanimity with which measures of clemency and peace were welcomed.

The sections were agitated, and became tumultuous. It was not possible, in fact, that the relatives of prisoners or of victims, that the suspected persons recently liberated, that all those, in short, to whom freedom of speech was restored, should limit their demands to the reparation of old severities, and that they should not demand vengeance also. Almost all were furious against the revolutionary committees, and complained loudly of them. They were for recomposing, nay, even for suppressing them, and these discussions produced some disturbances in Paris. The section of Montreuil came to denounce the arbitrary acts of its revolutionary committee ; that of the French Pantheon declared that its committee had lost its confidence ; that of the Social Contract likewise took severe measures in regard to its committee, and appointed a commission to examine its registers.

This was only a natural reaction of the moderate class, long reduced to silence and to terror by the inquisitors of the revolutionary committees. These movements could not fail to strike the attention of the Mountain.

That terrible Mountain had not perished with Robespierre. It had survived him. Some of its members had remained convinced of the uprightness, of the integrity of Robespierre's intentions, and did not believe that he ever meant to usurp. They looked upon him as the victim of Danton's friends, and of the corrupt party whose remains he had not been able to destroy ; but it was a very small number who held this opinion. The great majority of the Mountaineers, stanch, enthusiastic republicans, regarding with horror every scheme of usurpation, had lent their assistance to the 9th of Thermidor, not so much with a view to overthrow a sanguinary system as to strike a nascent Cromwell. No doubt they looked upon revolutionary justice, such as Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Fouquier, and Dumas had made it, as iniquitous ; but they had no intention to diminish in the least the energy of the government, or to give any quarter to what were called the aristocrats. They were mostly known to be pure and rigid men, who had no hand in the dictatorship and its acts, and were in no way interested in supporting it ; but, at the same time, jealous revolutionists, who would not suffer the 9th of Thermidor to be converted into a reaction, and turned to the advantage of a party. Among those of their colleagues who had united to overthrow the dictatorship, they saw with distrust men who had the character of rogues, of speculators, friends of Chabot's and Fabre-d'Eglantine's, members, in short, of the rapacious, stockjobbing, and corrupt party. They had seconded them against Robespierre, but they were ready to combat them, if they perceived in them any tendency either to enervate the revolutionary energy, or to turn

the late events to the advantage of any faction whatever. Danton had been accused of corruption, of federalism, of Orleanism, and of royalism. It is not surprising that suspicions of the like nature should spring up against his victorious friends. No attack was yet made; but the numerous releases, and the general excitement against the revolutionary system, began to awaken apprehensions.

The real authors of the 9th of Thermidor, to the number of fifteen or twenty, the principal of whom were Legendre, Fréron, Tallien, Merlin of Thionville, Barras, Thuriot, Bourdon of the Oise, Dubois-Crancé, and Lecointre of Versailles, were not more favourably disposed than their colleagues to royalism and counter-revolution; but, excited by danger and by the struggle, they spoke out more decidedly against the revolutionary laws. They had, moreover, much of that tendency to leniency which had ruined their friends, Danton and Desmoulins. Surrounded, applauded, and solicited, they were hurried away more than their colleagues of the Mountain into the system of clemency. Many of them possibly sacrificed their own opinions to their new position. To render services to distressed families, to receive testimonies of the warmest gratitude, to efface the remembrance of old severities, was a part which could not fail to tempt them. Already those who distrusted their complaisance, as well as those who confided in it, gave them a particular application: they called them the *Thermidorians*.

Warm discussions frequently took place on the subject of the release of prisoners. On the recommendation of a deputy, who said that he knew one of them, an individual of his department, the committee ordered his liberation. Another deputy of the same department immediately complained of this release, and declared that an aristocrat had been set at liberty. These disputes, and the appearance of a multitude of well-known enemies of the revolution, who boldly showed their joyous faces, provoked a measure which was adopted, but to which no great importance was at first attached. It was decided that a list of all the persons released by order of the committee of general safety should be printed, and that beside the name of each individual so released should be printed the names of the persons who had petitioned in his behalf and who answered for his principles.

This measure produced a most unpleasant sensation. Suffering from the recent oppression which they had undergone, many of the citizens were afraid to see their names entered in a list which might be employed for the exercise of fresh severities, if the system of terror should ever be re-established. Many of those who had already solicited and obtained releases were sorry for it, and many others would not apply for more. Bitter complaints were made in the sections of this return to measures which disturbed the public joy and confidence, and their repeal was demanded.

On the 26th of Thermidor the attention of the Assembly was occupied by the agitation prevailing in the sections of Paris. The section of Montreuil had come to denounce its revolutionary committee. It had been answered that it ought to address itself to the committee of general safety. Duhem, deputy of Lille, who had no hand in the acts of the late dictatorship, but was a friend of Billaud's, sharing all his opinions, and convinced that it was not expedient for the revolutionary authority to relax its severity, violently inveighed against the aristocracy and moderatism, which, he said, already lifted their audacious heads, and imagined that the 9th of Thermidor had been brought about for their benefit. Baudot and Taillefer, who had shown a courageous opposition under the rule of Robespierre, but who were as stanch Mountaineers as Duhem, and Vadier, a distinguished member of

the old committee of general safety, asserted also that the aristocracy was stirring, and that although the government ought certainly to be just, it ought at the same time to be inflexible. Granet, deputy of Marseilles, who sat with the Mountain, made a proposition which increased the agitation of the Assembly. He insisted that the prisoners already released, if the persons who answered for them did not come forward to give their names, should be immediately re-incarcerated. This proposition excited a great tumult. Bourdon, Lecointre, and Merlin of Thionville, opposed it with all their might. The discussion, as it almost always happens on such occasions, extended from the lists to the political state of the country, and the parties briskly attacked one another on account of the intentions already imputed by each to the other. "It is high time," exclaimed Merlin of Thionville, "that all the factions should renounce the use of the steps of Robespierre's throne. Nothing ought to be done by halves, and it must be confessed that, in the affair of the 9th of Thermidor, the Convention has done many things by halves. If it has left tyrants here, they ought at least to hold their tongues." General applause succeeded these words of Merlin's, addressed particularly to Vadier, one of those who had spoken against the movements of the sections. Legendre spoke after Merlin. "The committee," said he, "is well aware that it has been tricked into the release of some aristocrats; but their number is not great, and they will soon be imprisoned again. Why should we accuse one another, why look upon each other as enemies, when our intentions are the same? Let us calm our passions, if we would insure and accelerate the success of the Revolution. Citizens, I demand of you the repeal of the law of the 23d, which orders the printing of the lists of the citizens who have been set at liberty. That law has dispelled the public joy and frozen all hearts." Tallien followed Legendre, and was listened to with the greatest attention, as the principal of the Thermidorians. "For some days past," said he, "all good citizens have seen with pain that attempts are making to divide you, and to revive those animosities which ought to be buried in the grave of Robespierre. On entering this place a note was put into my hands, which intimates that several members were to be attacked in this sitting. No doubt it is by the enemies of the republic that such rumours are circulated: let us beware of seconding them by our divisions." Plaudits interrupted Tallien; he resumed: "Ye who would play the part of Robespierre," he exclaimed, "hope not for success: the Convention is determined to perish, rather than endure a new tyranny. The Convention wills an inflexible but a just government. It is possible that some patriots have been mistaken respecting certain prisoners; we are no believers in the infallibility of men. But let the persons improperly released be denounced, and they shall be again incarcerated. For my own part, I can sincerely declare that I had rather see twenty aristocrats released to-day, who may again be apprehended to-morrow, than a single patriot left in confinement. What! can the republic, with its twelve hundred thousand armed citizens, be afraid of a few aristocrats! No; it is too great; it will find means to discover and to chastise its enemies!"

Tallien, although frequently interrupted by applause in the course of his speech, was still more tumultuously cheered on concluding it. After these general explanations, the Assembly returned to the consideration of the law of the 23d, and to the new clause which Granet wished to add to it. The partisans of the law maintained that the people ought not to be afraid of showing themselves while performing a patriotic act, such as that of claiming the release of a citizen unjustly detained. Its adversaries replied that

nothing could be more dangerous than the lists; that those of the twenty thousand and of the eight thousand had been the cause of continual disturbance; that those whose names were inscribed in them had lived in dread; and that, were there no longer any tyranny to fear, the persons included in the new lists would have no more rest. At length a compromise took place. Bourdon proposed to print the names of the prisoners released, without adding the names of those who answered for them and solicited their liberation. This suggestion was favourably received, and it was decided that the names of the released persons only should be printed. Tallien, who was not pleased with this middle course, immediately ascended the tribune. "Since you have decreed," said he, "to print the list of the citizens restored to liberty, you cannot refuse to publish that of the citizens at whose instigation they were imprisoned. It is but just that the public should know those who denounced and caused good patriots to be incarcerated." The Assembly, taken by surprise, at first deemed Tallien's proposition just, and forthwith decreed it. Scarcely had it come to this decision, before several members of the Assembly changed their opinion. "Here is a list," said one, "which will be opposed to the preceding: *it is civil war*." This expression was soon repeated throughout the hall, and several voices exclaimed: *It is civil war!*—"Yes," rejoined Tallien, who had again mounted the tribune, "yes, *it is civil war*. I am of your opinion. Your two decrees will array against one another two classes of men who never can forgive each other. But, in proposing the second decree, I wished to make you sensible of the inconveniences of the first. Now I propose to you to repeal both." There was a cry from all quarters of "Yes, yes, the repeal of the two decrees!" Amar himself joined in it, and the two decrees were repealed. The printing of any list was therefore set aside, thanks to the clever and bold surprise which Tallien had practised upon the Assembly.

This sitting restored a feeling of security to a great number of persons who began to lose it, but it proved that all excitement was not extinguished—that all struggles were not yet terminated. The parties had all been struck in their turn: the royalists on several occasions, the Girondins on the 31st of May, the Dantonists in Germinal; the ultra-Mountaineers on the 9th of Thermidor. But, if the most illustrious leaders had perished, their parties survived, for parties are not cut off at a single blow, and their remains bestir themselves long afterwards. These parties were again about to dispute by turns the direction of the Revolution, and to recommence an arduous and bloodstained career. It was, in fact, expedient that minds which had arrived through the excitement of the danger at the highest degree of exasperation, should return progressively to the point from which they had started. During this return, power was destined to pass from hand to hand, and the same conflicts of passions, systems, and authority, were to take place.

After having thus bestowed its first attention on the ameliorating of many severities, the Convention had to return to the organization of the committees and of the provisional government, which was, as we know, to rule France till the general peace. A first discussion had arisen, as we have just seen, concerning the committee of public welfare, and the question had been referred to a commission charged to present a new plan. It was of urgent necessity to attend to this matter; and the Assembly did so very early in Fructidor. It was placed between two opposite systems and rocks; the fear of weakening the authority charged with the salvation of the Revolution, and the fear of reconstituting tyranny. It is usual among men to be afraid of dangers when they are past, and to take precautions against what cannot occur again.

The tyranny of the late committee of public welfare had originated in the necessity for duly performing an extraordinary task, amidst obstacles of all kinds. A few men had stepped forward to do what an assembly could not—durst not—do itself; and, amidst the prodigious toils to which they had submitted for fifteen months, they had not been able either to explain the motives of their operations, or to render an account of them to the Assembly, unless in a very general manner. They had not even time to deliberate together, but each performed, as absolute master, the duty that had devolved upon him. They had thus become so many compulsory dictators, whom circumstances, rather than ambition, had rendered all-powerful. Now that the task was almost finished, that the extreme dangers which they had had to encounter were past, such a power was no longer to be dreaded, because there was no further occasion for its existence. It was puerile to take such precautions against a danger which had become impossible; nay, this prudence was even attended with a serious inconvenience, that of enervating authority and of robbing it of all its energy. Twelve hundred thousand men had been raised, fed, armed, and sent to the frontiers; but it was necessary to provide for their maintenance, for their direction, and this was again a task that required great application, extraordinary capacity, and very extensive powers.

The principal of renewal at the rate of one-fourth every month had been already decreed; and it had been moreover decided that the members going out could not obtain readmission before the expiration of a month. These two conditions, while they prevented a new dictatorship, prevented also any good administration. It was impossible that there could be any sequence, any constant application, any secrecy, in a ministry thus continually renewed. No sooner had a member gained an insight into business than he was forced to leave it; and if a decided capacity was manifested, like that of Carnot for war,* of Prieur of the Côte-d'Or and Robert Lindet for administration, and of Cambon for the finances, it could not be secured for the state, and its services would be lost at the appointed term. An absence, even compulsory, of a month, rendered the advantages of the ulterior re-election absolutely null.

But a reaction was not to be avoided. An extreme concentration of power was to be succeeded by a dissemination equally extreme and dangerous, but in a different way. The old committee, invested with the supreme power in regard to everything that concerned the welfare of the state, had a right to summon the other committees and to require an account of their operations; it had thus taken into its own hands all that was essential in the duties of each of them. To prevent in future such inconveniences, the new organization separated the functions of the committees, and rendered them independent of one another. There were established sixteen:

1. The Committee of public welfare;
2. The Committee of general safety;

* "For Carnot I feel great respect. In some points he is the greatest man of this century. When he invents a new system of tactics to oppose the old armies of Europe, hastens to the army, teaches how to be victorious with them, and returns to Paris, he appears great indeed. However I differ from his political views, there is a republican greatness about him which commands respect. Had I nothing in the wide world but a piece of bread left, I should be proud of sharing it with Carnot. Carnot invented new tactics; he had an innate capacity for war, and showed how to fight and conquer. While he was engaged in making giant plans for the five armies, he wrote a mathematical work of the highest character, and composed at the same time some very agreeable little poems. He was a mighty genius indeed." —Niebuhr. E.

3. The Committee of finances ;
4. The Committee of legislation ;
5. The Committee of public instruction ;
6. The Committee of agriculture and the arts ;
7. The Committee of commerce and provisions ;
8. The Committee of public works ;
9. The Committee of conveyance by post ;
10. The Military Committee ;
11. The Committee of the navy and the colonies ;
12. The Committee of public succour ;
13. The Committee of division ;
14. The Committee of minutes and archives ;
15. The Committee of petitions, correspondence, and despatches ;
16. The Committee of the inspectors of the National Palace.

The Committee of public welfare was composed of twelve members ; it had still the direction of the military and diplomatic operations ; it was charged with the levy and equipment of armies, the selection of generals, the plans of campaign, &c., but it was limited to these duties. The committee of general safety, composed of sixteen members, had the direction of the police ; that of the finances, composed of forty-eight members, had the superintendence of the revenue, the exchequer, the mint, the assignats, &c. The committees were authorized to meet frequently, for the consideration of such matters as concerned them generally. Thus the absolute authority of the former committee of public welfare was divided among a number of rival authorities, liable to embarrass and to jostle one another in their progress.

Such was the new organization of the government. There were other reforms which were deemed not less urgent. The revolutionary committees established in the smallest villages, and empowered to exercise inquisition there, were the most vexatious and the most abhorred of the creations attributed to Robespierre's party. To render their action less extensive and less annoying, their number was reduced to one for each district. There was, however, to be one in every commune of eight thousand souls, whether the chief town of a district or not. In Paris, the number was reduced from forty-eight to twelve. These committees were to be composed of twelve members ; it was required that three of these members, at least, should sign a summons to appear, and that seven should sign a warrant of arrest. Like the committees of government, they were to be renewed by one-fourth every month. To all these arrangements the Convention added others not less important, by deciding that the sections should in future meet but once in each decade, on the Decadi days, and that the citizens present should cease to be paid forty sous for each meeting. To render the popular assemblies less frequent, and above all to cease paying the lower classes for attending them, was confining the demagogue spirit within narrow limits. It was also cutting off an abuse which had been carried to excess in Paris. In each section, twelve hundred members were paid as present, though scarcely three hundred actually attended. The present answered for the absent, and they alternately rendered each other this service. Thus this operative soldiery, so devoted to Robespierre, was dismissed, and sent back to its proper occupations.

The most important measure adopted by the Convention was the purification of all the local authorities, revolutionary committees, municipalities, &c. It was into these bodies that, as we have observed, the most hot-headed revolutionists had insinuated themselves. They had become in each locality

what Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon were in Paris, and they had exercised their powers with all the brutality of inferior authorities. The decree of the revolutionary government, in suspending the constitution till the peace, had prohibited elections of all kinds, in order to obviate disturbances and to concentrate authority in the same hands. The Convention, from absolutely similar motives, namely, to prevent conflicts between the Jacobins and the aristocrats, maintained the provisions of the decree, and committed to the representatives on mission the task of purifying the institutions throughout all France. This was the right way to secure to itself the choice and the direction of the local authorities, and to prevent collisions of the two factions. Lastly, the revolutionary tribunal, recently suspended, was again put in activity. The judges and juries were not yet all appointed: those which had already met were to enter upon their functions immediately, and to try agreeably to the laws existing before that of the 22d of Prairial. These laws were still very rigorous; but the persons selected to administer them, and the docility with which extraordinary courts follow the direction of the government which institutes them, were a guarantee against fresh cruelties.

All these reforms were carried into effect between the 1st and the 15th of Fructidor. One more important institution still remained to be re-established, namely, the liberty of the press.* No law marked its boundaries; it was even sanctioned in an unlimited manner in the declaration of rights; but it had nevertheless been proscribed, in fact, under the system of terror. When a single imprudent word was sufficient to compromise the lives of citizens, how could they have dared to write? The fate of the unfortunate Camille-Desmoulins had clearly proved the state of the press at that period. Durand-Maillane, an ex-constituent, and one of those timid spirits who had become mere ciphers during the storms of the Convention, desired that the liberty of the press should be formally guaranteed anew. "We have never been able," said that excellent man to his colleagues, "to express our sentiments in this place, without rendering ourselves liable to insults and threats. If you wish for our opinion in the discussions that shall in future arise, if you wish us to contribute by our intelligence to the general work, you must give new securities to those who may feel disposed either to speak or to write."

Some days afterwards, Fréron, who had been the friend and colleague of Barras in his mission to Toulon, the associate of Danton and Camille-Desmoulins, and since their death the most vehement enemy of the committee of public welfare, joining his voice to that of Durand-Maillane, demanded the unshackled liberty of the press. Those who had lived in constraint during the late dictatorship, and who now wished to give their opinions on all subjects with freedom, those who felt disposed resolutely to promote a reaction against the Revolution, demanded a formal declaration guaranteeing the liberty of speech and writing. The Mountaineers, who anticipated the use that was intended to be made of this liberty, who saw a torrent of accusations preparing against all who had exercised any functions during the reign of terror, nay even many who, without entertaining any personal fear,

* "The restrictions of the press were now removed, and men of talent and literature, silenced during the reign of Robespierre, were once more admitted to exercise their natural influence in favour of civil order and religion. Marmontel, Laharpe, and others, who in their youth had been enrolled in the list of Voltaire's disciples, and among the infidels of the *Encyclopédie*, now made amends for their youthful errors, by exerting themselves in the cause of good morals and of a regulated government."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

appreciated the dangerous instrument that would thus be put into the hands of the counter-revolutionists, who were already swarming everywhere, opposed an express declaration. They assigned as a reason that the declaration of rights established the liberty of the press, that to sanction it anew was superfluous, since it was only proclaiming an already acknowledged right, and that, if any one proposed to render it unlimited, he committed an imprudence. "You would then," said Bourdon of the Oise, and Cambon, "permit royalism to lift its head and to print whatever it pleases against the institution of the republic." All these propositions were referred to the competent committees, to examine if it were expedient to make a new declaration.

Thus the provisional government destined to direct the Revolution till the peace, was entirely modified, agreeably to the new dispositions of clemency and generosity which manifested themselves since the 9th of Thermidor. Committees of government, the revolutionary tribunal, local administrations, were reorganized and purified; the liberty of the press was declared, and every arrangement was made for a new career.

The effects which these reforms could not fail to produce were soon felt. Hitherto, the party of the violent revolutionists had occupied a place in the government itself; it composed the committees and ruled the Convention; it predominated at the Jacobins; it filled the municipal institutions and the revolutionary committees with which all France was covered: now, being displaced, it found itself out of the government, and was about to form a hostile party against it.

The assembling of the Jacobins had been suspended on the night between the 9th and 10th of Thermidor. Legendre had locked up their hall, and laid the keys of it on the bureau of the Convention. The keys were returned, and the society was permitted to reassemble, on condition of purifying itself. Fifteen of the oldest members were chosen to investigate the conduct of all the others during the night between the 9th and 10th. They were to admit such only as on that memorable night had been at their posts as citizens, instead of repairing to the commune to conspire against the Convention. During this scrutiny, the old members were admitted into the hall as provisional members. The investigation commenced. An inquiry concerning each of them would have been difficult. It was deemed sufficient to question them, and they were judged by their answers. It is easy to conceive how indulgent such an examination must have been, since it was the Jacobins sitting in judgment on themselves. In a few days, more than six hundred members were reinstalled, on the mere declaration that during the memorable night they had been at the post assigned to them by their duties. The society was soon recomposed as it had been before, and comprehended all those who had been devoted to Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, and who regretted them as martyrs of liberty and victims of counter-revolution. Besides the parent society, there still existed that notorious electoral club, to which those retired who had proposals to make that could not be entertained at the Jacobins, and where all the great events of the revolution were planned. It still met at the Evêché, and was composed of old Cordeliers, the most determined Jacobins, and men most compromised during the system of terror. The Jacobins and this club might naturally be expected to become the asylum of those placemen whom the new purification was about to drive from their posts. What was thus foreseen actually happened. The judges and juries of the revolutionary tribunal, the members of the forty-eight revolutionary committees of Paris, amounting to about four hundred,

the agents of the secret police of St. Just and Robespierre, the messengers of the committees who formed the band of the notorious Heron, the clerks of the different administrations, in short all who had held employments of any kind, and been removed from them, joined the Jacobins and the electoral club, as being already members of them, or obtaining admission for the first time. There they vented their complaints and their resentment. They were alarmed for their safety, and dreaded the vengeance of those whom they had persecuted. They regretted, moreover, the lucrative offices which they had lost, especially such of them as, being members of the revolutionary committees, had opportunities of adding peculations of all kinds to their salaries. These could not fail to compose a violent and an obstinate party, to the natural impetuosity of whose opinions was now added the irritation of injured interest. The same thing that happened in Paris was occurring throughout all France. The members of the municipalities, of the revolutionary committees, of the directories of districts, met in the affiliated societies attached to the parent society, and deposited in their bosom their apprehensions and their animosities. They had on their side the populace, also divested of its functions, since it was no longer paid forty sous for attending the sectional assemblies.

Out of hatred to this party, and for the purpose of opposing it, another was formed, or properly speaking, revived. It comprised all those who had suffered or kept silence during the rule of terror, and who thought that the moment had arrived for rousing themselves and for directing in their turn the march of the Revolution. We have seen that, in consequence of the liberation of suspected persons, the relatives of the detained persons or of the victims again made their appearance in the sections, and bestirred themselves, either to cause the prisons to be thrown open, or to denounce and punish the revolutionary committees. The new march of the Convention, those reforms already begun, increased the hopes and the courage of these first opponents. They belonged to all those classes that had suffered, whatever might be their rank, but particularly to commerce, to the *bourgeoisie*, to that industrious, opulent, and moderate third estate, which, monarchic and constitutional with the Constituents, and republican with the Girondins, had been swept away since the 31st of May, and exposed to persecutions of all sorts. In its ranks were concealed the now very rare relics of the nobility which durst not yet complain of its abasement, but which complained of the rights of humanity violated as respected its order, and some partisans of royalty, creatures or agents of the old court, who had not ceased to raise obstacles to the Revolution, by engaging in all the nascent oppositions, whatever might be their system and character. It was, as usual, the young men of these different classes who spoke out with the greatest warmth and energy, for youth is always the first to rise against an oppressive rule.* A

* "Those who composed this new and irregular militia belonged chiefly to the middle and wealthy classes of society, and adopted a singular costume. Instead of the short jacket of the Jacobins, they wore a square and open-breasted coat; their shoes were very low in the instep, and their hair hanging down on each side, was bound up behind in tresses; they were armed with short sticks leaded like bludgeons. A portion of these young people and of the sectionists, were royalists; the rest followed the impulse of the moment which was anti-revolutionary. The latter acted without design and without ambition, and declared for the strongest party, especially when that party, by its triumph, promised the return of order, the desire for which was very general. The former contended under the Thermidorians against the old committees, as the Thermidorians had contended in the old committees against Robespierre; it waited for the moment to act on its own account, and an opportunity occurred after the complete fall of the revolutionary party."—*Mignet*. E.

multitude of them filled the sections, the Palais Royal, the public places, and expressed their opinion against the Terrorists, as they were called, in the most emphatic manner. They alleged the noblest motives. Some of them had seen their families persecuted, others were afraid lest they should some day see their own persecuted, if the Reign of Terror were re-established, and they swore to oppose it with all their might. But the secret of the opposition of many of them was the military requisition. Some had escaped it by concealing themselves; others had left the armies on hearing of the 9th of Thermidor. These were reinforced by the writers, who were persecuted of late, and were always as prompt as the young to join in any opposition; they already filled the newspapers and pamphlets with violent diatribes against the system of terror.

The two parties spoke out in the warmest and most hostile manner, on the subject of the modifications introduced by the Convention into the revolutionary system. The Jacobins and the clubbists raised an outcry against the aristocracy. They complained of the committee of general safety which released the counter-revolutionists,* and of the Press of which a cruel use was already made against those who had saved France. The measure which offended them most was the general purification of all the authorities. They could not precisely find fault with the renewal of the persons composing those authorities, for that would have been avowing motives too personal, but they inveighed against the mode of re-election. They asserted that the people ought to be reinstated in the right of electing its magistrates, that to authorize the deputies on mission to nominate the members of the municipalities, of the districts, of the revolutionary committees, was a usurpation; that to reduce the sections to one sitting per decade was a violation of the right of the citizens to assemble for the purpose of deliberating on public affairs. These complaints were in contradiction to the principle of the revolutionary government, which forbade any elections till the peace; but parties care not about contradictions when their interest is at stake; the revolutionists knew that a popular election would have brought them back to their posts.

The tradesmen in the sections, the young men at the Palais Royal and in the public places, and the writers in the newspapers, loudly demanded the unlimited freedom of the press, complained of still observing in the existing committees and in the administration too many agents of the late dictatorship; they ventured already to present petitions against the representatives who had fulfilled certain missions; they depreciated all the services which had been rendered, and began to abuse the Convention itself. Tallien, who, in his quality of principal Thermidorian, considered himself as peculiarly responsible for the new direction given to affairs, wished their march to be vigorous and steady, without swerving to one side or to the other. In a speech full of subtle distinctions between the rule of terror and the revolu-

* "The Jacobins raised great complaints against the liberation of the prisoners, whom they styled aristocrats and counter-revolutionists. The dreadful details of the massacres, however, which were transmitted to the Convention from all parts of France, bore down their opposition. Among the rest, one fact related by Merlin excited particular attention. It was an order signed by a wretch named Lefevre, an adjutant-general, addressed to, and executed by a Captain Macé, to drown at Paimbœuf forty-one persons, of whom one was an old blind man; twelve women of different ages; twelve girls under twenty years; fifteen children, and five still at the breast. The order was expressed in these terms, and rigidly executed: 'It is ordered to Peter Macé, captain of the brig *Destiny*, to put ashore the woman Bidet; and the remainder of the preceding list shall be taken off *Pierre Noire*, and thrown into the sea as rebels to the law.'—*History of the Convention*. E.

tionary government, the drift of which was to assert that without employing systematic cruelty it was nevertheless necessary to retain sufficient energy—Tallien proposed to declare that the revolutionary government was maintained, that consequently the primary assemblies ought not to be convoked for the purpose of new elections; he also proposed that all the means of terror were proscribed, and that proceedings directed against such writers as had freely expressed their opinions should be considered as means of terror.

These propositions which involved no precise measure, and which were merely a profession of faith of the Thermidorians, made with a view to place themselves between the two parties without favouring either, were referred to the three committees of public welfare, general safety, and legislation, to which everything that bore upon those questions was referred.

These means, however, were not sufficient to calm the irritation of the parties. They continued to inveigh against one another with the same violence; and what especially contributed to increase the general uneasiness, and to multiply the subjects of complaint and accusation, was the financial situation of France, which was more deplorable perhaps than it had ever yet been at the most calamitous epochs of the Revolution.

In spite of the victories of the republic, the assignats had experienced a rapid fall, and were not worth in commerce more than a sixth or an eighth of their nominal value; which produced a frightful confusion in all kinds of business, and rendered the *maximum* more impracticable and more vexatious than ever. It was evidently no longer the want of confidence that depreciated the assignats, for no apprehensions could now be felt for the existence of the republic; but it was their excessive issue, which kept regularly increasing in proportion to their fall. The taxes, collected with difficulty and paid in paper, furnished scarcely a fourth or a fifth of what the republic required monthly for the extraordinary expenses of the war, and the government was obliged to supply the deficiency by fresh issues. Thus, since the preceding year, the quantity of assignats in circulation, the reduction of which by various combinations to the extent of two thousand millions had been hoped, had risen to four thousand six hundred millions.

With this excessive accumulation of paper money, and its consequent depreciation, were combined all the calamities resulting either from the war, or from the unprecedented measures which had become necessary in consequence. The reader will recollect that, in order to establish a forced relation between the nominal value of the assignats and merchandise, the law of the *maximum* had been devised; that this law fixed the prices of all commodities, and did not allow the dealers to raise them in proportion to the depreciation of the paper; he will recollect that to these measures had been joined *requisitions*, which empowered the representatives of the agents of the administration to demand all the commodities necessary for the armies and for the great communes, and to pay for them in assignats at the rate fixed by the *maximum*. These measures had saved France, but had introduced extraordinary confusion into business and the circulation.

We have already seen what were the principal inconveniences resulting from the *maximum*—two markets, the one public, in which the dealers exposed only their worst goods and in the least possible quantity; the other clandestine, in which they sold all their best commodities for money and at a free price; a general hoarding of goods, which the farmers contrived to withdraw notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the agents authorized to make requisitions; lastly, derangement and stagnation in manufactures, because the makers were not indemnified by the price fixed upon their pro-

ductions for the mere cost of fabrication. All these inconveniences of a double commerce, of the hoarding of articles of subsistence, of the stagnation of manufactures, had kept constantly increasing. In every trade two sorts of traffic were established; the one public and insufficient, the other secret and usurious. There were two qualities of bread, two qualities of meat, two qualities of everything; one for the rich, who could pay in money or afford a higher price than the *maximum*; the other for the poor, the artisan, and the annuitant, who could only give the nominal value of the assignat. The farmers had become daily more and more ingenious in saving their commodities. They made false declarations; they did not thrash their corn, alleging the want of hands, a want that was really felt, for the war had absorbed more than fifteen hundred thousand men;* they insisted on the shortness of the harvest, which had not turned out so favourable as it had been expected to prove in the early part of the year, when, at the festival of the Supreme Being, thanks had been offered up to Heaven, for the victories of the republic and the abundance of the crops. As for the manufacturers, they had entirely suspended their operations. We have seen that, in the preceding year, the law, to avoid being unjust to the shopkeepers, had been obliged to go back to the makers, and to fix the prices of goods on the spot where they were manufactured, adding to these prices the cost of carriage. But this law had in its turn become unjust. The raw material and workmanship having risen like everything else, the manufacturers could no longer find means to defray their expenses, and had suspended their business. The merchants had done the same. The freight of India goods, for example, had risen from 150 to 400 francs per ton; insurances from 5 and 6 per cent. to 50 and 60; of course, they could no longer sell commodities brought into the ports at the price fixed by the *maximum*, and they declined importing together. As we have had occasion to remark elsewhere, if one price was forced, all ought to have been forced, and that was impossible.

Time had disclosed other inconveniences peculiar to the *maximum*. The price of corn had been fixed in a uniform manner throughout all France. But, the production of corn, being unequally costly and abundant in the different provinces, the rate bore no proportion to the localities. The power left to the municipalities to fix the prices of all merchandise produced another kind of disorder. When commodities were scarce in one commune, the authorities raised their prices; goods were then brought thither to the prejudice of the neighbouring communes, so that there was sometimes a glut in one place and dearth in another, at the pleasure of the regulator of the tariff; and the movements of commerce, instead of being regular and natural were capricious, unequal, and convulsive.

The results of the requisitions were still more mischievous. Requisitions were resorted to for the purpose of subsisting the armies, of furnishing the great manufactories of arms and the arsenals with what they needed, of provisioning the great communes, and sometimes of supplying manufacturers with such materials as they were in want of. It was the representatives, the commissioners to the armies, the agents of the commission of commerce and provisions, who were empowered to make requisitions. In the pressing moment of danger, requisitions were made with precipitation and confusion.

* "The republic maintained fourteen different armies. The troops paid were estimated at upwards of fifteen hundred thousand men; but there was no regularity either in the military or in any of the financial departments. The National Convention, in the midst of the revolutionary whirlwind, had no system of finance, and could not possibly have any."—*Ramel's History of the Finances*.

It was frequently the case that persons received more than one requisition for the same objects, and knew not which to comply with. The requisitions were almost always unlimited. Sometimes the whole of a commodity in a commune or a department was laid under requisition. In this case, the farmers or the dealers could not sell to any but the agents of the republic. Commerce was interrupted, the article required lay for a long time without being taken away or paid for, and the circulation was stopped. In the confusion resulting from the emergency, the agents took no account of distances, and laid requisitions upon departments the most remote from the commune or the army which they meant to supply. In this manner, transports had been multiplied. Many rivers and canals were deprived of water by an extraordinary drought. Wheel carriages were the only means of conveyance left, and agriculture was robbed of its horses to draw them. This extraordinary employment, together with a forced levy of forty-five thousand horses for the army, had made them very scarce, and almost exhausted the means of transport. In consequence of these ill-calculated and frequently useless movements, enormous quantities of articles of subsistence or other commodities were accumulated in the public magazines, heaped together without care, and exposed to all sorts of peculation. The cattle obtained for the republic were badly fed; they arrived in a lean state at the slaughter-houses, and hence arose a scarcity of fatty substances, suet, tallow, &c. To useless transports were therefore added waste, and frequently the most culpable abuses. Unfaithful agents secretly sold at the highest rates commodities which they had obtained at the *maximum* by means of requisitions. When it was not unfaithful agents who committed this fraud, it was dealers or manufacturers, who had solicited an order of requisition for the purpose of supplying themselves, and who secretly sold at the current price what they had obtained at the *maximum*.

These causes, added to the continental and maritime war, had reduced commerce to a deplorable state. There was no longer any communication with the colonies, which were rendered nearly inaccessible by the English cruisers, and almost all of them ravaged by war. The principal, St. Domingo, was devastated with fire and blood by the different parties who disputed the possession of it. Besides this almost utter impossibility of external communications, another measure had contributed to interdict them entirely. This was the sequestration directed against the property of foreigners with whom France was at war. It will be recollected that the Convention, in ordering this sequestration, had meant to stop the jobbing in foreign paper, and to prevent capital from abandoning the assignats, and being converted into bills of exchange on Frankfort, Amsterdam, London, and other places. In seizing the paper drawn by the Spaniards, the Germans, the Dutch, and the English, upon France, the government of the latter had provoked a similar measure, and all circulation of bills between France and Europe had ceased. It had no intercourse but with the neutral countries, the Levant, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States; but these communications with neutral countries the commission of commerce and supplies had exclusively appropriated to itself, for the purpose of procuring corn, iron, and various articles necessary for the navy. To this end, it had put all the paper under requisition; it gave the French bankers the amount in assignats, and made use of it in Switzerland, in Sweden, in Denmark, and in America, to pay for the corn and the other commodities which it purchased.

The whole commerce of France was therefore reduced to the supplies

which the government obtained in foreign countries by means of paper forcibly required from the French bankers. Scarcely any merchandise brought by free trade reached the French ports; and, when it did, it was immediately laid under requisition, which, as we have just seen, utterly discouraged the merchants, who had paid at an enormous rate for freight and insurance, and were obliged to sell at the *maximum*. The only goods that were at all plentiful in the ports were those taken in prizes from the enemy. But some were withdrawn from circulation by requisitions, others by the prohibitions issued against the productions of hostile nations. Nantes and Bordeaux already ravaged by civil war, were reduced by this state of commerce to absolute inactivity and to extreme distress. Marseilles, which formerly subsisted by its intercourse with the Levant, saw its port blockaded by the English, its principal merchants dispersed by the system of terror, its soap-manufacture destroyed or transferred to Italy; so that all its trade now consisted in a few disadvantageous exchanges with the Genoese. The cities in the interior were in a no less deplorable state. The manufacture of Nîmes had ceased to produce its silks, which it formerly exported to the amount of twenty millions. The opulent city of Lyons, demolished by bombs and mines now lay in ruins, and no longer furnished those rich stuffs with which it formerly supplied commerce to the amount of more than sixty millions. A decree, which stopped goods destined for the rebel communes, had detained around Lyons a quantity of merchandise, which was either to remain in that city, or only to pass through it on its way to the numerous points to which the southern road leads. The towns of Châlons, Maçon, and Valence had availed themselves of this decree to stop the goods travelling along that much frequented road. The manufacture of Sedan had been obliged to give up the fabrication of fine cloths, and to employ itself in making cloth for the troops; and its principal manufacturers were moreover prosecuted as accomplices of the movement planned by Lafayette after the 10th of August. The departments of the North, Pas-de-Calais, the Somme, and the Aisne, so rich by the cultivation of flax and hemp, had been entirely ravaged by the war. Towards the west, in the unfortunate La Vendée, more than six hundred square leagues had been wholly laid waste with fire and sword.* The lands were partly forsaken, and numbers of cattle roved about at random, without pasture, and without shelter. Lastly, wherever particular disasters had not aggravated the general calamities, the war had exceedingly thinned the number of hands, while a considerable quantity of industrious citizens had been withdrawn from or disgusted with labour, some by terror, and others by political pursuits. To their workshops and their fields they greatly preferred the clubs, the municipal councils, the sections, where they received forty sous for making a stir and a commotion.

Thus disorder in all the markets; scarcity of articles of subsistence; interruption in manufactures, owing to the *maximum*, injudicious removals, useless accumulations, and waste of commodities; exhaustion of the means of conveyance, owing to the requisitions; interruption of communication

* "It is my plan to carry off from that accursed country, La Vendée, all manner of subsistence or provisions for man or beast: all forage,—in a word, everything—give all the buildings to the flames, and exterminate the inhabitants. Oppose their being relieved by a single grain of corn for their subsistence. I give you the most positive—the most imperious orders. You are answerable for the execution from this moment. In a word, leave nothing in that proscribed country—let the means of subsistence, provisions, forage, everything—positively everything, be removed to Nantes."—*Extract from Carrier's Letter to General Haxo.* E.

with all the neighbouring nations, in consequence of the war, the maritime blockade, and the sequestration; devastation of manufacturing towns and of several agricultural districts by civil war; want of hands, occasioned by the requisition; idleness owing to the liking contracted for political life—such is the picture presented by France, saved from the sword of foreigners, but exhausted for a moment by the unprecedented efforts that had been required of her.*

Let the reader figure to himself two parties arrayed against each other after the 9th of Thermidor: one clinging to revolutionary means, as indispensable, and endeavouring to prolong what could be but temporary; the other irritated at the inevitable evils of an extraordinary organization, forgetting the services rendered by that organization, and striving to abolish it as atrocious;—let him figure to himself two parties of this nature arrayed against each other, and he will readily conceive how many subjects of reciprocal accusation they would find in the state of France. The Jacobins complained that all the laws were relaxed; that the *maximum* was continually violated by the farmers, the shopkeepers, and the rich merchants; that the laws against stockjobbing were not enforced; and that the depreciation of the assignats had resumed its course; they therefore renewed the outcry of the Hebertists against the rich, the forestallers, and the stockjobbers. Their adversaries, on the contrary, venturing for the first time to attack the revolutionary measures, inveighed against the excessive issue of assignats, against the injustice of the *maximum*, against the tyranny of the requisitions, against the disasters of Lyons, Sedan, Nantes, Bordeaux, and lastly, against the prohibitions and shackles of all kinds which paralyzed and ruined commerce. These were, together with the liberty of the press and the mode of nomination of the public functionaries, the usual subjects of the petitions of the clubs or of the sections. All remonstrances of this nature were referred to the committees of public welfare, of finances, and of commerce, to report and present their ideas upon them.

Two parties were thus opposed to each other, seeking and finding in what had been done, and in what was yet doing, continual subjects of attack and recrimination. All that had taken place, whether good or evil, was imputed to the members of the old committees, and they were the butt of all the attacks of the authors of the reaction. Though they had contributed to overthrow Robespierre, it was alleged that they had quarrelled with him only from ambition, and for the sake of a share in the tyranny, but that at bottom they held the same opinions, the same principles, and meant to continue the same system for their own advantage. Among the Thermidorians was Lecointre of Versailles, a man of violent and indiscreet spirit, who expressed himself with an imprudence that was disapproved by his colleagues. He had formed the design of denouncing Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, of the old committee of public welfare; and David, Vadier, Amar, and Vouland, of the committee of general safety, as accomplices and *con-*

* "It is impossible not to be struck with the novel and imposing spectacle which France exhibited during the sway of the Convention—of a country ruled by ephemeral governments, each struggling to maintain itself by every art which fraud could suggest to violence; convulsed to the centre by profligate factions; deluged with native blood; with every atom of society out of its proper place; in a state of absolute bankruptcy; with no regular system of finance; with a paper currency incalculable in amount, and at the last ebb of depreciation; yet still maintaining, with unexampled success, a war which cost more blood and treasure than any ever known in modern times, and finally triumphing over all her continental neighbours."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

tinuators of Robespierre. He could not, and durst, prefer the same charge against Carnot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, and Robert Lindet, whom public opinion separated entirely from their colleagues, and who had the reputation of being exclusively occupied in labours to which France owed her salvation. Neither durst he attack all the members of the committee of general safety, because they were not all accused alike by the public opinion. He communicated his design to Tallien and Legendre, who dissuaded him from it. He nevertheless persisted in executing it, and, in the sitting of the 12th of Fructidor (August 29th), he presented twenty-six articles of accusation against the members of the former committees. The purport of these twenty-six articles was to accuse them of being accomplices in the system of terror with which Robespierre had oppressed the Convention and France; of having contributed to the arbitrary acts of the two committees; of having signed the orders of proscription; of having turned a deaf ear to all the remonstrances of citizens unjustly prosecuted; of having greatly contributed to the death of Danton; of having defended the law of the 22d of Prairial; of having left the Convention in ignorance that this law was not the work of the committee; of not having denounced Robespierre when he seceded from the committee of public welfare; lastly, of not having done anything on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of Thermidor, to screen the Convention from the designs of the conspirators.

As soon as Lecointre had finished reading these twenty-six articles, Goujon, deputy of the Ain, a young, sincere, fervent republican, and a disinterested Mountaineer, for he had taken no part in the acts for which the late government was reproached—rose and addressed the Assembly with all the appearance of profound grief. “I am deeply afflicted,” said he, “when I see with what cold tranquillity men come hither to sow the seeds of dissension, and to propose the ruin of the country. Sometimes you are solicited to brand, by the appellation of the system of terror, all that has been done for a year past; at others it is proposed to you to accuse men who have rendered great services to the Revolution. They may be guilty for aught I know. I was with the armies, and therefore I am incapable of judging; but if I had possessed documents criminating members of the Convention, I would not have produced them, or I should not have brought them forward here without deep pain. With what coolness, on the contrary, some can plunge the dagger into the bosom of men valuable to the country for their important services! Observe, too, that the Convention itself is involved in the charges preferred against them. Yes, it is the Convention that is accused. It is the French people who are brought to trial, since both submitted to the tyranny of the infamous Robespierre. Jean Debry told you just now that it is the aristocrats who bring forward or suggest all these propositions.”—“And the robbers,” added some voices. “I move,” resumed Goujon, “that the discussion instantly cease.” Many deputies opposed this motion. Billaud-Varennes hastened to the tribune, and urgently insisted that the discussion should be continued. “Most assuredly,” said he, “if the facts alleged be proved, we are great culprits, and our heads ought to fall. But we defy Lecointre to prove them.*” Since the fall of the tyrant

* “‘If the crimes with which Lecointre reproaches us,’ said Billaud-Varennes, ‘were as real as they are absurd and chimerical, there is not one of us, doubtless, here present, whose blood ought not to stain the scaffold. What do they want, those men who call us the successors of Robespierre? I will tell you, citizens. They want to sacrifice—I repeat it, to sacrifice liberty on the tomb of the tyrant.’”—*Mignet*. E.

we are exposed to the attacks of all the intriguers, and we declare that life is of no value to us, if they are to get the better." Billaud proceeded, and stated that they had long contemplated the 9th of Thermidor; that, if they deferred it, they were obliged by circumstances to do so; that they were the first to denounce Robespierre, and to tear from him the mask with which he covered himself; that, if the death of Danton was to be imputed to them as a crime, he would charge himself first and foremost with the guilt of it; that Danton was an accomplice of Robespierre's, the rallying-point of all the counter-revolutionists, and, if he had continued to live, liberty would have been undone. For some time past," exclaimed Billaud, "we have seen intriguers bestirring themselves, robbers . . ."—"The word is uttered," cried Bourdon, interrupting him; "it remains to be proved."—"I undertake to prove it for one," said Duhem. "We will prove it for others," added several voices of the Mountain. This was the charge which the Mountaineers were always ready to prefer against the friends of Danton, who had almost all become Thermidorians. Billaud, who, amidst this tumult and these interruptions had not left the tribune, demanded the institution of proceedings, that the guilty might be known. Cambon succeeded him, and said that the Convention ought to avoid the snare laid for it; that the aristocrats wished to force it to dishonour itself by dishonouring some of its members; that if the committees were guilty, it was guilty too; "And the whole nation along with it," added Bourdon of the Oise. Amidst this tumult, Vadier appeared in the tribune with a pistol in his hand, saying that he would not survive the calumny, if he were not allowed to justify himself. Several members surrounded him, and obliged him to descend. Thuriot, the president, declared that he would break up the sitting if the tumult were not appeased. Duhem and Amar wished the discussion to be continued, because it was due to the inculpated members. Thuriot, who had been one of the warmest Thermidorians, but who was a stanch Mountaineer, saw with concern that such questions were agitated. He addressed the Assembly from his chair. "On one hand," said he, "the public interest requires that such a discussion should finish immediately; on the other, the interest of the inculpated persons requires that it should continue. Let us conciliate the two by passing to the order of the day on Lecointre's proposition, and declaring that the Assembly has received it with profound indignation." The Assembly eagerly adopted the suggestion of Thuriot, and passed to the order of the day, at the same time marking Lecointre's proposition with censure.

All the men sincerely attached to their country had witnessed this discussion with the deepest concern. How, in fact, was it possible to revert to the past, to distinguish the evil from the good, and to discern to whom belonged the tyranny which they had undergone? How ascertain the part of Robespierre and of the committees who had shared the supreme power, that of the Convention which had endured them, and, lastly, that of the nation, which had endured both the Convention, and the committees, and Robespierre? How, besides, was that tyranny to be estimated? Was it a crime of ambition, or the energetic and inconsiderate action of men bent on saving their cause at any price, and shutting their eyes to the means which they employed? How distinguish, in this confused action, the share of cruelty, of ambition, of mistaken zeal, of sincere and energetic patriotism? To enlighten so many obscurities, to judge so many human hearts, was impossible. It was necessary to forget the past, to receive France as she was, saved from the hands of those who had just been excluded from power, to

regulate disorderly movements, to soften too cruel laws, and to consider that in politics it behoves men to repair evils and never to revenge them.

Such were the sentiments of discreet men. The enemies of the Revolution exulted in the procedure of Lecointre, and, when they saw the discussion closed, they reported that the Convention was afraid, and durst not grapple with questions too dangerous to itself. The Jacobins, on the contrary, and the Mountaineers, still full of their fanaticism, being in no wise disposed to disavow the system of terror, did not shrink from the discussion, and were enraged at its being closed. The very next day, the 13th of Fructidor, a great number of the Mountaineers rose, saying that the president had, on the preceding day, taken the Assembly by surprise when instigating it to close the discussion; that he had expressed his sentiments without quitting the chair; that, as president, he had no right to give an opinion; that the closing of the discussion was an injustice; that it was a duty owing to the inculpated members, to the Convention itself, and to the Revolution, to give full scope to a discussion which the patriots had no reason to dread. To no purpose did the Thermidorians, Legendre, Tallien, and others, who were accused of having prompted Lecointre, strive to prevent the discussion. The Assembly, which was not yet weaned from the habit of fearing and giving way to the Mountain, consented to rescind its decision of the preceding day and to begin afresh. Lecointre was called to the tribune to read his twenty-six articles, and to support them by documents.

Lecointre had not been able to collect documents in support of this singular procedure, for it would have been necessary to procure evidence of what had passed in the committees, to judge how far the accused members had participated in what was called the tyranny of Robespierre. On each article Lecointre could only appeal to public notoriety, to speeches delivered at the Jacobins or in the Assembly, to the originals of some orders of arrest, which proved nothing. At every new charge the furious Mountaineers cried, *The documents! the documents!* and they were unwilling to let him speak without producing written proofs. Lecointre, in most cases unable to produce any, appealed to the recollection of the Assembly, asking if it had not always deemed Billaud, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, to have acted in unison with Robespierre. But this proof, the only possible one, showed the impossibility of such a trial. With such proofs it would have been demonstrated that the Convention was the accomplice of the committee, and France of the Convention. The Mountaineers would not suffer Lecointre to finish. "Thou art a calumniator," said they, and they obliged him to proceed to another charge. Scarcely had he read the next before they again cried, *The documents! the documents!* and, as Lecointre had none to produce, they shouted, *To another!* In this manner he came to the twenty-sixth, without being able to prove what he advanced. He had but one reason to urge, namely, that the trial was a political one, and did not admit of the ordinary form of discussion; to which it might fairly have been replied, that it was impolitic to enter upon such a trial. After a long and stormy sitting, the Convention declared his accusation false and calumnious, and thus justified the old committees.

This scene had given to the Mountain all its former energy, and to the Convention some of its former deference for the Mountain. Billaud-Varennes and Collot-d'Herbois, however, gave in their resignations as members of the committee of public welfare. Barrère went out by lot. Tallien, on his part, voluntarily resigned; and the four were succeeded by Delmas, Merlin of Douai, Cochon, and Fourcroy. Thus the only old members of the

great committee of public welfare left, were Carnot, Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, and Robert Lindet. One-fourth of the committee of general safety was also renewed. Elie Lacoste, Vouland, Vadier, and Moïse Bayle, went out. David, Jagot, and Lavicomterie, had been previously excluded by a decision of the Assembly. These seven members were succeeded by Bourdon of the Oise, Colombelle, Méaulle, Clauzel,* Mathieu, Mon-Mayan, and Lesage-Senault.

An unforeseen and purely accidental event increased the agitation which prevailed. The powder-mills of Grenelle took fire and blew up. This sudden and frightful explosion filled Paris with consternation, and it was believed to be the effect of a new conspiracy. The aristocrats were immediately accused, and the aristocrats accused the Jacobins. New attacks took place in the tribune between the two parties, without leading to any result. This event was followed by another. In the evening of the 23d of Fructidor (September 9th), Tallien was returning home, when a man, muffled up in a great-coat, rushed upon him, saying, "I was waiting for thee—thou shalt not escape me!" At the same moment, being close to him, he fired a pistol, and wounded him in the shoulder. Next day, there was a fresh uproar in Paris: it was said that people could no longer hope for quiet; that two parties, inveterately hostile to each other, had sworn to annoy the republic forever. Some attributed the attempt on the life of Tallien to the Jacobins, others to the aristocrats; while others again went so far as to say that Tallien, following the example of Grange-Neuve before the 10th of August, had got himself wounded in the shoulder that he might accuse the Jacobins of it, and have occasion to demand their dissolution. Legendre, Merlin of Thionville, and other friends of Tallien's rushed with vehemence to the tribune, and maintained that the crime of the preceding night was the work of the Jacobins. "Tallien," said they, "has not deserted the cause of the Revolution, and yet furious men allege that he has gone over to the moderates and to the aristocrats. Of course, it is not these who could have any idea of assassinating him; it can be none but the furious wretches who accuse him, that is to say the Jacobins." Merlin denounced their last sitting, and repeated this expression of Duhem's: "The toads of the Marais are raising their heads; so much the better—they will be the easier to cut off." Merlin demanded, with his accustomed boldness, the dissolution of that celebrated society, which, he said, had rendered the greatest services, which had powerfully contributed to overturn the throne, but which, having no longer any throne to overturn, now wanted to overturn the Convention itself. Merlin's conclusions were not admitted, but, as usual, the facts were referred to the competent committees for them to report upon. References of this kind had already been made upon all the questions which divided the two parties. Reports had been required on the question of the press, on the assignats, on the *maximum*, on the requisitions, on the obstructions of commerce, and, in short, on everything that had become a subject of controversy and of division. It was then desired that all these reports should be blended into one, and the committee of public welfare was directed to present a general report on the state of the

* "Clauzel, the younger, mayor of Velanet, was deputy to the National Convention where he voted for the King's death. In 1794 he became one of the committee of public safety, and laid various crimes to the charge of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère. In the same year he was appointed president, and argued against the suppression of all the revolutionary committees. In 1796 he was elected secretary to the council of Ancients; and afterwards declared warmly in favour of the Directory. He died in the year 1804."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

republic. The drawing up of this report was committed to Robert Lindet, the member best acquainted with the state of things, because he belonged to the old committees, and the most disinterested in those questions, because he had been exclusively engaged in serving his country by undertaking the laborious department of supplies and transport. The fourth sans-culottide of the year II (September 20, 1794) was the day fixed for its being read.

People waited with impatience for his report and the decrees which were to result from it, and kept themselves meanwhile in agitation. The young men coalesced against the Jacobins were accustomed to collect in the garden of the Palais-Royal. There they read the newspapers and pamphlets which appeared in great number against the late revolutionary system, which were sold by the booksellers in the galleries. They frequently formed groups there, and thence they started to disturb the sittings of the Jacobins. On the second sans-culottide, one of these groups had formed: It was composed of those young men who, to distinguish themselves from the Jacobins, dressed well, wore high cravats, and were on that account called *Muscadins*. In one of these groups a person said that, if anything happened, they ought to rally round the Convention, and that the Jacobins were intriguers and villains. A Jacobin would have replied. A quarrel ensued. One party shouted, *The Convention forever! Down with the Jacobins! Down with Robespierre's tail! Down with the aristocrats and the Muscadins!* cried the other. *The Convention and the Jacobins forever!* The tumult soon increased. The Jacobin who attempted to speak, and the small number of those who supported him, were severely handled: the guard hastened to the spot, dispersed the assemblage, which was already very considerable, and prevented a general battle.*

On the day after the next, being that fixed for the presentation of the report of the three committees of public welfare, legislation, and general safety, it was read by Robert Lindet. The picture which he had to draw of France was melancholy. Having traced the successive career of the factions and the progress of Robespierre's power till his fall, he exhibited two parties, the one composed of ardent patriots, apprehensive for the Revolution and for themselves; and the other of disconsolate families, whose relatives had been sacrificed or still languished in prison. "Restless spirits," said Lindet, "imagine that the government is likely to be deficient in energy; they employ all possible means to propagate their opinion and their alarm. They send deputations and addresses to the Convention. These fears are chimerical. In your hands the government will retain all its strength. Can the patriots, can the public functionaries, be afraid lest the services that they have rendered should be forgotten? What courage must they not have possessed, to accept and to perform dangerous duties! But now France recalls them to their labours and their professions, which they have too long forsaken. They know that their functions were temporary; that power retained too long by the same hands becomes a subject of uneasiness; and they ought not to be afraid that France will abandon them to resentment and revenge."

Then, proceeding to consider the situation of the party of those who had

* "These quarrels became every day more animated, and Paris was transformed into a field of battle, on which the fate of parties was abandoned to the decision of arms. This state of disorder and of warfare could not last long; and as those parties had not the discretion to come to an understanding, one of them necessarily obtained a victory over the other. The Thermidorians were making great progress daily, and victory belonged to them."

—Mignet. E.

suffered, Lindet thus continued: "Set at liberty those whom animosities, passions, the mistakes of public functionaries, and the fury of the late conspirators, have caused to be thrown *en masse* into the places of confinement: set at liberty the labourers, the mercantile men, the relatives of the young heroes who are defending the country. The arts have been persecuted; yet it is by them that you have been taught to forge the thunderbolt; it is by them that the art of the Montgolfiers* has served to discover the march of armies; it is by them that the metals are prepared and purified, that hides are tanned and rendered fit for use in a week. Protect them, succour them. Many useful men are still inmates of prisons."

Robert Lindet then drew a sketch of the agricultural and commercial state of France. He exhibited the calamities resulting from the assignats, from the *maximum*, from the requisitions, from the interruption of the communications with foreign countries.† "Labour," said he, "has lost much of its activity, in the first place, because fifteen hundred thousand men have been sent to the frontiers, while a multitude of others have devoted themselves to civil war; and in the next, because the minds of men distracted by political passions, have been diverted from their habitual occupations. There are new lands brought into cultivation, but many also neglected. The corn is not thrashed, the wool is not spun, the cultivators of flax and hemp neither steep the one, nor peel the other. Let us endeavour to repair evils so numerous and so various. Let us restore peace to the great maritime and manufacturing cities. Put an end to the demolition of Lyons. With peace, prudence, and oblivion of what is past, the people of Nantes, of Bordeaux, of Marseilles, of Lyons, will resume their occupations. Let us repeal the laws destructive to commerce; let us restore circulation to merchandise; let us permit exportation, that such commodities as we need may be brought to us. Let the cities, the departments, cease to complain of the government which they say has exhausted their resources in articles of subsistence, which has not observed very accurate proportions, but imposed the burden of requisitions in an unequal manner. O that those who thus complain could cast their eyes on the descriptions, the declarations, the addresses, of their fellow-citizens of other districts! They would there see the same complaints, the same declarations, the same energy, inspired by the feeling of the same wants. Let us recall peace of mind and labour to the country: let us bring back the artisans to their workshops, the cultivators to their fields. But, above all, let us strive to bring back union and confidence among us. Let us cease to reproach one another with our calamities and our faults. Have we always been, could we always be, what we wished to be

* "Jaques Etienne Montgolfier, the inventor of the balloon, was born in 1745, and with his elder brother, who was born in 1740, and died in 1810, devoted himself to the study of mathematics, mechanics, physics, and chemistry. They carried on the manufactory of their father together, and were the first who invented vellum-paper. The elder brother was the inventor of the water-ram which raises water to the height of six hundred feet. Jaques died in the year 1799."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

† "Since France had become republican, every species of evil had accumulated on its devoted head. There were famine, a total cessation of commerce, justice interrupted, the communication with foreign countries cut off, property spoliated, confiscation rendered the order of the day, the scaffold permanently erected, and calumnious denunciations held in high repute. Nothing was wanting to the general desolation; debauchery was encouraged, arbitrary arrests were universally established, revolutionary armies spread over the country like a devouring flame, and disunion was brought into the bosom of domestic families. Never had a country descended so low; never had a people fallen into a similar state of chaos!"—*History of the Convention*. E.

in reality? We have all been launched into the same career: some have fought with courage—with judgment; others have dashed themselves, in their headlong ardour, against all the obstacles which they purposed to destroy and overthrow. Who would think of questioning us, and calling us to account for those movements which it is impossible to foresee and to direct! The Revolution is accomplished. It is the work of all. What generals, what soldiers, have never done more in war than what it was right for them to do, and have known how to stop where cool and calm reason would have desired them to stop? Were we not in a state of war with numerous and most formidable enemies? Have not some reverses inflamed our courage—roused our indignation? What has happened to us is but what happens to all men thrown to an infinite distance from the ordinary track of life."

This report, so judicious, so impartial, and so complete, was received with applause. All approved of the sentiments which it contained, and it had been well if all had been capable of sharing them. Lindet then proposed a series of decrees, which were not less favourably received than his report, and immediately adopted.

By the first decree, the committee of general safety and the representatives on mission were empowered to examine the petitions of traders, labourers, artists, fathers and mothers of citizens in the armies, who were themselves, or had relatives, in prison. By a second, the municipalities and the committees of sections were required to assign the motives of their refusal, when they withheld certificates of civism. This was a satisfaction given to those who were incessantly complaining of the system of terror, and dreading lest they should see it revive. A third decree directed the drawing up of moral instructions, tending to encourage a love of industry and of the laws, and to enlighten the citizens relative to the principal events of the Revolution, and destined to be read to the people on the decadary festivals. A fourth decree ordered the plan of a normal school for training young professors with a view to the diffusion of education and knowledge throughout France.

To these decrees were added several others, enjoining the committees of finances and of commerce to investigate without delay:

1. The advantages of the free exportation of articles of luxury, on condition of importing into France a like value in merchandise of all kinds;

2. The advantages or disadvantages of the free exportation of the surplus commodities of the first necessity, upon the condition of a return and of various formalities;

3. The most advantageous means of throwing into circulation the commodities destined for communes in rebellion, and detained under seal;

4. Lastly, the remonstrances of the merchants who, by virtue of the law of sequestration, were obliged to deposit in the district chests the sums which they owed to the foreigners with whom France was at war.

We see that these decrees were intended to give satisfaction to those who complained of having been persecuted, and that they comprehended some of the measures capable of improving the state of commerce. The Jacobin party alone had not a decree to itself, but there was not any decree to pass for its benefit. It had not been either persecuted or imprisoned; it had merely been deprived of power; there was no reparation to grant to it. All that could be done, was to give it confidence in the intentions of the government, and it was for this special object that Lindet's report was framed and

written. Accordingly, the effect of this report and of the decrees which accompanied it was most favourable upon all the parties.

The public mind appeared to be somewhat calmed. On the following day, the last of the year, and the fifth sans-culottide of the year II (September 21, 1794), the festival which had long been ordered for placing Marat in the Pantheon and excluding Mirabeau from it was celebrated. Already it was no longer in unison with the state of public opinion. Marat was no longer so holy, neither was Mirabeau so guilty, as that so many honours should be decreed to the sanguinary apostle of terror, and so much ignominy inflicted on the greatest orator of the Revolution; but, in order not to alarm the Mountain, and to avoid the appearance of too speedy a reaction, the festival was not countermanded. On the appointed day, the remains of Marat were conveyed with pomp to the Pantheon, and those of Mirabeau were ignominiously carried out at a side door.

Thus power, withdrawn from the Jacobins and the Mountaineers, was now held by the partisans of Danton and of Camille-Desmoulins, in short, by the *indulgents*, who had become Thermidorians. These latter, however, while they strove to repair the evils produced by the Revolution, while they released the suspected and endeavoured to restore some liberty and some security to commerce, still paid great respect to the Mountain which they had ousted, and decreed to Marat the place which they took from Mirabeau.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

RENEWAL OF MILITARY OPERATIONS—SURRENDER OF CONDÉ, VALENCIENNES, LANDRECIES, AND LE QUESNOI—PASSAGE OF THE MEUSE—BATTLE OF THE OURTHE AND OF THE ROER—OCCUPATION OF THE WHOLE LINE OF THE RHINE—SITUATION OF THE ARMIES AT THE ALPS AND AT THE PYRENEES—STATE OF LA VENDÉE—PUISAYE IN BRETAGNE—CORRESPONDENCE OF THE ROYALIST PARTY WITH THE FRENCH PRINCES.

The activity of military operations was somewhat relaxed about the middle of the summer. The two great French armies of the North and of the Sambre and Meuse, which had entered Brussels in Thermidor (July), and then proceeded, the one upon Antwerp, the other towards the Meuse, had enjoyed a long rest, waiting for the reduction of the fortresses of Landrecies, Le Quesnoi, Valenciennes, and Condé, which had been lost during the preceding campaign. On the Rhine, General Michaud was engaged in recomposing his army, in order to repair the check of Kaiserslautern, and awaited a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men drawn from La Vendée. The armies of the Alps and of Italy, having made themselves masters of the great chain, encamped on the heights of the Alps, while waiting for the approval of a plan of invasion proposed, it was said, by the young officer

who had decided the taking of Toulon and of the lines of Saorgio.* At the eastern Pyrenees, Dugommier, after his success at the Boulou, had stopped for a considerable time to reduce Collioure, and was now blockading Bellegarde. The army of the western Pyrenees was still organizing itself. This long inactivity, which marked the middle of the campaign, and which must be imputed to the important events in the interior and to bad combinations, might have been a drawback upon our successes, had the enemy known how to profit by the occasion. But such indecision prevailed among the allies that our fault was of no benefit to them, and only served to defer a little the extraordinary tide of our successes.

Nothing was worse calculated than our inactivity in Belgium in the environs of Antwerp, and on the banks of the Meuse. The surest means of accelerating the reduction of the four lost fortresses would have been to remove further and further from them the large armies which could have relieved them. By taking advantage of the disorder into which the victory of Fleurus and the retreat consequent upon it had thrown the allies, it would have been easy soon to reach the Rhine. Unfortunately, people were yet ignorant of the art of making the most of victory, the most important and the rarest of all arts, because it presupposes that victory is not the fruit of a successful attack, but the result of vast combinations. To hasten the surrender of the four fortresses, the Convention had issued a formidable decree, in the same spirit as all those which followed one another from Prairial to Thermidor. Arguing that the allies occupied four French fortresses, and that everything is allowable to clear one's own territory of an enemy, it decreed that, if the enemy's garrisons had not surrendered within twenty-four hours after they were summoned, they should be put to the sword. The garrison of Landrecies alone surrendered. The commandant of Condé returned this admirable answer, that *one nation has not a right to decree the dishonour of another*. Le Quesnoi and Valenciennes continued to hold out. The committee, sensible of the injustice of such a decree, resorted to a subtlety for the purpose of evading its execution, and at the same time of sparing the Convention the necessity to rescind it.† It assumed that the decree, not having been notified to the commandants of the three fortresses, was yet unknown to them. Before it was formally signified to them, the committee ordered General Scherer to push the works with sufficient activity to give weight to the summons and to furnish the hostile garrisons with a legitimate excuse for capitulation. Valenciennes accordingly surrendered‡ on the 12th of Fructidor (August 29th); Condé and Le Quesnoi a few days afterwards. These fortresses, which had cost the allies so much during the preceding campaign, were thus recovered by us without any great efforts, and the enemy retained not a single point of our territory in the Netherlands.

* "The councils of the republican leaders on the frontiers of Nice were directed by General Bonaparte, whose extraordinary military abilities had already given him an ascendancy far beyond his rank."—*Alison*. E.

† "The committee of public safety under Carnot's direction, feeling the iniquity of this decree, took advantage of fictitious delays to allow the garrison to capitulate on the usual terms."—*Alison*. E.

‡ "The stores, provisions, and magazines of every species found in Valenciennes were immense, to say nothing of the military chest containing more than six millions of German florins in specie. All these amounted to a heavy loss to the Emperor of Austria, at a time when his revenues were insufficient for his expenses, and the treasures he had accumulated were exhausted by this unpropitious war. A circumstance that rendered the surrender of Valenciennes to France still more vexatious was, that at least a thousand French emigrants fell into the hands of their enraged countrymen."—*Annual Register*. E.

On the other hand we were masters of all Belgium as far as Antwerp and the Meuse.

Moreau had just taken Sluys and returned into line. Scherer had sent Osten's brigade to Pichegru, and rejoined Jourdan with his division. Owing to this junction, the army of the North, under Pichegru, amounted to more than seventy thousand men present under arms, and that of the Meuse, under Jourdan, to one hundred and sixteen thousand. The administration, exhausted by the efforts which it had made for the sudden equipment of these armies, was able to provide but very imperfectly for their supply. amends were made for the deficiency by requisitions, by foraging parties conducted with moderation, and by the highest military virtues. The soldiers contrived to dispense with the most necessary articles. They no longer encamped under tents, but bivouacked beneath branches of trees. The officers, without appointments or paid with assignats, lived like the common soldier, ate the same bread, marched on foot like him, and with the knapsack at their back. Republican enthusiasm and victory supported these armies, the most discreet and the bravest that France ever had.

The allies were in singular disorder. The Dutch, ill-supported by the English, were dismayed. They formed a cordon before their fortresses, that they might have time to put them in a state of defence—an operation which ought to have been long before finished. The Duke of York, as presumptuous as he was ignorant, knew not how to employ his English troops, and took no decisive part. He retired towards the Lower Meuse and the Rhine, extending his wings sometimes towards the Dutch, at others towards the Imperialists. By joining the Dutch, he might nevertheless have still had fifty thousand men at his disposal, and have attempted, on one or other of the armies of the North or of the Meuse, one of those bold movements which General Clairfayt, in the following year, and the Archduke Charles, in 1796, executed so seasonably and with such honour, and of which a great captain has since given so many memorable examples. The Austrians, intrenched along the Meuse, from the mouth of the Roer to that of the Ourthe, were disheartened by their reverses, and in want of necessary supplies. The Prince of Coburg, whose reputation was ruined by his campaign, had given up his command to Clairfayt, of all the Austrian generals the most worthy to hold it. It was not yet too late to draw nearer to the Duke of York, and to act *en masse* against one of the two French armies; but the Austrians thought of nothing but guarding the Meuse. The cabinet of London, alarmed at the course of events, had sent envoys after envoys to kindle the zeal of Prussia, to claim from her the execution of the treaty of the Hague, and to induce Austria by promises of succour to defend with vigour the line which her troops yet occupied. A meeting of English, Dutch, and Austrian ministers and generals took place at Maestricht, and it was agreed upon to defend the banks of the Meuse.

At length, in the middle of Fructidor (very early in September), the French armies were again in motion. Pichegru advanced from Antwerp towards the mouth of the rivers. The Dutch committed the fault of separating themselves from the English. To the number of twenty thousand men they ranged themselves along Bergen-op-Zoom, Breda, and Gertruydenberg, backing upon the sea and useless to the fortresses which they meant to cover. The Duke of York, with his English and Hanoverians, retired upon Bois-le-Duc, connecting himself with the Dutch by a chain of posts, which the French army could take the moment it appeared. At Boxtel, on the bank of the Bommel, Pichegru overtook the rear-guard of the Duke of York,

surrounded two battalions, and cut them off. Next day, on the banks of the Aa, he fell in with General Abercromby,* took some prisoners from him also, and continued to push the Duke of York, who hastened to cross the Meuse at Grave, under the guns of the place. In this march, Pichegru had taken fifteen hundred prisoners: he arrived on the banks of the Meuse on the second sans-culottide (the 18th of September).

Meanwhile Jourdan was advancing on his part, and preparing to cross the Meuse. The Meuse has two principal tributaries, the Ourthe, which falls into it near Liege, and the Roer, which joins it near Ruremonde. These streams form two lines, which divide the country between the Meuse and the Rhine, and which must be successively carried in order to reach the latter river. The French, masters of Liege, had crossed the Meuse, and already ranged themselves facing the Ourthe; they bordered the Meuse from Liege to Maestricht, and the Ourthe from Liege to Comblain-au-Pont, thus forming an angle of which Liege was the apex. Clairfayt had ranged his left behind the Ourthe, on the heights of Sprimont. These heights are bordered on one side by the Ourthe, on the other by the Aywaille, which falls into the Ourthe. General Latour commanded the Austrians there. Jourdan ordered Scherer to attack the position of Sprimont on the side next to the Aywaille, while General Bonnet was to march upon it, after crossing the Ourthe. On the second sans-culottide (September 18), Scherer divided his corps into three columns, commanded by Generals Marceau, Mayer, and Hacquin, and proceeded to the banks of the Aywaille, which flows in a deep bed between steep banks. The generals themselves set the example, plunged into the water, and led their soldiers to the opposite bank, in spite of a formidable fire of artillery. Latour had continued motionless on the heights of Sprimont, preparing to fall upon the French columns as soon as they should have crossed the river. But no sooner had they climbed the steep bank than they fell upon the position without giving Latour time to anticipate them. They attacked him briskly, while General Hacquin was advancing upon his left flank, and General Bonnet, having crossed the Ourthe, was marching upon his rear. Latour was then obliged to decamp and to fall back upon the imperial army.

This attack, well-conceived and executed with spirit, was equally honourable to the general-in-chief and to his army. It gained us thirty-six pieces of cannon and one hundred baggage-wagons; it occasioned the enemy a loss of fifteen hundred men, killed and wounded, and decided Clairfayt to abandon the line of the Ourthe. That general, on seeing his left beaten, was in fact apprehensive lest his retreat upon Cologne should be cut off. In consequence, he quitted the banks of the Meuse and the Ourthe, and fell back upon Aix-la-Chapelle.

The Austrians had nothing left but the line of the Roer, to prevent their being driven back upon the Rhine. They occupied that river from Dueren

* "Sir Ralph Abercromby, a distinguished British general officer, was born in 1738, in Clackmannanshire. His first commission was that of cornet in the dragoon-guards, in the year 1756, and he became a major-general in 1787. On the commencement of the revolutionary war with France, he was employed in Flanders and Holland, with the local rank of lieutenant-general. In 1795 he received the order of the Bath, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. On his return he was made commander-in-chief in Ireland, but was soon afterwards appointed to the corresponding command in Scotland. He next acted under the Duke of York in the attempt upon Holland in 1799. His concluding service was in the expedition to Egypt, of which he was commander-in-chief. He landed, after a severe contest at Aboukir, in 1801, and fought the triumphant battle of Alexandria, in which he was killed."—*Encyclopædia Americana*.

and Juliers to the influx of the Roer into the Meuse, that is, to Ruremonde. They had relinquished all that part of the course of the Meuse which is comprised between the Ourthe and the Roer, between Liege and Ruremonde; they had left only that portion between Ruremonde and Grave, the point by which they were connected with the Duke of York.

The Roer was the line which it behoved them to defend stoutly, if they would not lose the left bank of the Rhine. Clairfayt concentrated all his forces on the banks of the Roer, between Dueren, Juliers, and Linnich. He had some time since ordered considerable works to secure his line; he had advanced corps beyond the Roer, on the *plateau* of Aldenhoven, where intrenchments were thrown up; he had then the line of the Roer and its steep banks, and he was placed behind this line with his army and a formidable train of artillery.

On the 10th of Vendemiaire, year III (October 1, 1794), Jourdan was in presence of the enemy with all his forces. He ordered General Scherer, who commanded the right wing, to proceed upon Dueren, crossing the Roer at all the fordable points; General Hatry to cross nearly in the centre of the position at Altorp; Championnet's and Morlot's divisions, supported by cavalry, to take the *plateau* of Aldenhoven, situated in advance of the Roer, to scour the plain, to cross the river, and to mask Juliers, in order to prevent the Austrians from debouching from it; General Lefebvre to make himself master of Linnich, and to cross at all the fords in that neighbourhood; lastly, Kleber, who was near the mouth of the Roer, to ascend the river to Ratem, and to pass it at that ill-defended point, for the purpose of covering the battle on the side towards Ruremonde.

Next day, the 11th of Vendemiaire, the French set themselves in motion along the whole line. One hundred thousand young republicans marched at once with an order and a precision worthy of older troops. They had not yet been seen in such number on the same field of battle. They advanced towards the Roer, the goal of their efforts. Unfortunately, they were still far from that goal, and it was not till near midday that they reached it. The general, in the opinion of military men, had committed but one fault, that of taking a point of departure too distant from the point of attack, and not employing another day in approaching nearer to the enemy's line. General Scherer, commanding the right, directed his brigades upon the different points of the Roer, and ordered General Hacquin to cross just above, at the fort of Winden, with a view to turn the left flank of the enemy. It was eleven o'clock when he made these arrangements. It took Hacquin a long time to make the circuit marked out for him. Scherer waited for him to reach the point indicated before he threw his divisions into the Roer; and thus gave Clairfayt time to prepare all his means along the heights on the opposite bank. It was now three o'clock. Scherer would not wait any longer, and set his divisions in motion. Marceau plunged into the water, with his troops, and crossed at the ford of Mirveiller; Lorges did the same, proceeded upon Dueren, and drove the enemy from that place after a sanguinary combat. The Austrians abandoned Dueren for a moment; but, after falling back, they returned in more considerable force. Marceau immediately threw himself into Dueren, to support Lorges's brigade. Mayer, who had crossed the Roer a little above, at Niederau, and had been received by a galling fire of artillery, fell back also upon Dueren. There all the efforts of both sides were concentrated. The enemy, who as yet brought only his advanced guard into action, was formed in rear of that place, upon the heights, with sixty pieces of cannon. He immediately opened a fire, and

poured a shower of grape and balls upon the French. Our young soldiers, supported by the generals, stood firm. Hacquin did not yet make his appearance on the left flank of the enemy, a manœuvre which was expected to ensure a victory.

At the same moment, there was fighting at the centre on the advanced *plateau* of Aldenhoven. The French had pushed on thither at the point of the bayonet. Their cavalry had deployed there, and received and withstood several charges. The Austrians, seeing the Roer crossed above and below Aldenhoven, had abandoned that *plateau* and retired to Juliers, on the other side of the Roer. Championnet, who had pursued them to the very glacis, cannonaded and was in return cannonaded by the artillery of the place. At Linnich, Lefebvre had repulsed the Austrians and reached the Roer, but had found the bridge burned and was engaged in rebuilding it. At Ratem, Kleber had met with sweeping batteries, and answered them by a brisk fire of artillery.

The decisive action, therefore, was on the right about Dueren, where Marceau, Lorges, and Mayer were crowded together awaiting Hacquin's movements. Jourdan had ordered Hatry, instead of crossing at Altorp, to fall back upon Dueren: but the distance was too great for this column to be of any service at the decisive point. At length, at five in the evening, Hacquin appeared on Latour's left flank. The Austrians, seeing themselves threatened on their left by Hacquin, and having Lorges, Marceau, and Mayer in front, decided upon retreating, and drew back their left wing, which had been engaged at Sprimont. On their extreme right, Kleber threatened them by a bold movement. The bridge, which he had attempted to throw across, being too short, the soldiers had demanded permission to plunge into the river. Kleber, to keep up their ardour, collected all his artillery, and played upon the enemy on the opposite bank. The imperialists were then obliged to retire at this point, and they determined to retire at all the others. They abandoned the Roer, leaving eight hundred prisoners and three thousand men *hors de combat*.

Next day, the French found Juliers evacuated, and they were able to pass the Roer at all points. Such was the important battle that won us the definitive conquest of the left bank of the Rhine.* It is one of those by which General Jourdan best merited the gratitude of his country and the esteem of military men. Critics have, nevertheless, censured him for not having taken a point of departure nearer to the point of attack, and for not directing the bulk of his force upon Mirveiller and Dueren.

Clairfayt took the high road to Cologne. Jourdan pursued him, and took

* "In this important battle which was continued till the 3rd of October, the slaughter on both sides was dreadful and nearly equal. But superiority of numbers and perseverance gave the victory to the French. The principal difficulty they had to overcome was a mountain well fortified, and covered with batteries of heavy metal. It was assaulted four times by the most intrepid of the French troops before it was carried. On the morning of the fifth day of this destructive conflict, a fog arose, which enabled General Clairfayt to conceal the motions which he was now under the necessity of making to mark his retreat. Upwards of ten thousand of his men had fallen; and the remainder of his army was unequal to any further contest. He was followed however so closely by the victors, that no less than three thousand more were added to the slaughter of the day. This was truly an important, a decisive battle. It was considered in that light by all parties; and all hopes of repairing for a long time the losses of the campaign were extinguished. It appeared even more decisive than the battle of Fleurus, which had commenced the ruin of the Austrian armies in the Low Countries, whence they were now totally expelled, without any prospect of a return."—*Annual Register*. E.

possession of Cologne on the 15th of Vendemiaire (October 6), and of Bonn, on the 29th (October 20). Kleber proceeded with Marescot to besiege Maestricht.

While Jourdan was so valiantly performing his duty, and taking possession of the important line of the Rhine, Pichegru on his part was preparing to cross the Meuse, intending then to proceed towards the mouth of the Wahl, the principal branch of the Rhine. As we have already stated, the Duke of York had crossed the Meuse at Grave, leaving Bois-le-Duc to his own forces. Pichegru, before he attempted the passage of the Meuse, would have to take Bois-le-Duc, which was no easy task, in the state of the season and with an insufficient artillery for a siege. However, the audacity of the French and the discouragement of the enemy rendered everything possible. Fort Crève-cœur, near the Meuse, threatened by a battery seasonably placed on a point where it was not thought possible to establish one, surrendered. The artillery found there served to forward the siege of Bois-le-Duc. Five consecutive attacks daunted the governor, who surrendered the place on the 19th of Vendemiaire. This unhopèd-for success gave the French a solid base and considerable stores for pushing their operations beyond the Meuse and to the bank of the Wahl.

Moreau, who formed the right, had since the victories of the Ourthe and the Roer advanced to Venloo. The Duke of York, alarmed at this movement, had withdrawn all his troops to the other side of the Wahl, and evacuated the whole space between the Meuse and the Wahl, on the Rhine. Seeing, however, that Grave on the Meuse would be left without communications and without support, he recrossed the Wahl, and undertook to defend the space comprised between the two rivers. The ground, as is always the case near the mouths of great rivers, was lower than the bed of the streams. It presented extensive pastures, intersected by canals and causeways, and inundated in certain places. General Hammerstein, placed intermediately between the Meuse and the Wahl, had increased the difficulty of access, by covering the dykes with artillery, and throwing over the canals bridges which his army was to destroy as it retired. The Duke of York, whose advanced guard he formed, was placed in rear, on the banks of the Wahl, in the camp of Nimeguen.

On the 27th and 28th of Vendemiaire (October 18 and 19), Pichegru made two of his divisions cross the Meuse by a bridge of boats. The English, who were under the cannon of Nimeguen, and Hammerstein's advanced guard along the canals and dykes, were too far off to prevent this passage. The rest of the army landed on the other bank, under the protection of these two divisions. On the 28th, Pichegru decided on attacking the works that covered the intermediate space between the Meuse and the Wahl. He pushed forward four columns, forming a mass superior to the enemy, into those pastures overflowed and intersected by canals. The French defied with extraordinary courage the fire of the artillery, then threw themselves into the ditches up to their shoulders in water, while the sharpshooters, from the margins of the ditches, fired over their heads. The enemy, daunted by their hardihood, retired, without thinking of anything but saving his artillery. He sought refuge in the camp of Nimeguen on the banks of the Wahl,* whither the French soon followed and defied him every day.

* "The French now resolved to strike a decisive blow against the Duke of York, and compel him to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. With this view, they crossed the Meuse with thirty thousand men, which were to attack the British posts on the right, while another body of no less strength was advancing to reach them on the left. On the

Thus, towards Holland, as well as towards Luxemburg, the French had at length reached that formidable line of the Rhine, which nature seems to have assigned as a boundary to their fine country, and which they have always felt ambitious to give it for a frontier. Pichegru, indeed, stopped by Nimeguen, was not yet master of the course of the Wahl; and if he thought of conquering Holland, he saw before him numerous streams, fortified places, inundations, and a most unpropitious season; but he was very near the so ardently desired limit, and with another daring act he might enter Nimeguen or the isle of Bommel, and establish himself solidly upon the Wahl. Moreau, called the general of sieges, had by an act of boldness just entered Venloo; Jourdan was strongly established on the Rhine. Along the Moselle and Alsace, the armies had also just reached that great river.

Since the check of Kaiserslautern, the armies of the Moselle and of the Upper Rhine, commanded by Michaud, had been occupied in obtaining reinforcements of detachments from the Alps and from La Vendée. On the 14th of Messidor (July 2), an attack had been attempted along the whole line from the Rhine to the Moselle, on the two slopes of the Vosges. This attack was not successful because it was too divided. A second attempt, planned on better principles, had been made on the 25th of Messidor (July 13). The principal effort had been directed on the centre of the Vosges, with a view to gain possession of the passes, and had caused, as it always did, a general retreat of the allied armies beyond Frankenthal. The committee had then ordered a diversion upon Treves, of which the French took possession, to punish the elector. By this movement, a principal corps was placed *en flèche* between the Imperial armies of the Lower Rhine and the Prussian army of the Vosges; but the enemy never thought of taking advantage of this situation. The Prussians, however, profiting at length by a diminution of our forces towards Kaiserslautern, had attacked us unawares and driven us back beyond the place. Luckily, Jourdan had just been victorious on the Roer, and Clairfayt had recrossed the Rhine at Cologne. The allies had not then the courage to remain in the Vosges; they retired, leaving the whole Palatinate to us, and throwing a strong garrison into Mayence. Luxemburg and Mayence were consequently the only places that they retained on the left bank. The committee immediately ordered them to be blockaded. Kleber was called from Belgium to Mayence, to direct the siege of that place, which he had assisted to defend in 1793, and where he had laid the foundation of his glory. Thus our conquests were extended on all points, and everywhere carried as far as the Rhine.

At the Alps, the former inactivity continued, and the great chain was still ours. The plan of invasion, ably devised by General Bonaparte, and communicated to the committee by the younger Robespierre, who was on a mission to the army of Italy, had been adopted. It consisted in uniting the two armies of the Alps and of Italy in the valley of Sturia, for the purpose of overrunning Piedmont. Orders had been given for marching when news of the 9th of Thermidor arrived. The execution of the plan was then suspended. The commandants of the fortresses, who had been obliged to give

morning of the 19th of October, the several divisions of the Duke's army on the right were assailed by the French, who forcing a post occupied by a body of cavalry, a corps of infantry which was stationed near it was thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat along the dyke on the banks of the Wahl. Unfortunately, they were followed by a body of the enemy's cavalry, which they mistook for their own; nor did they discover their mistake till the enemy came up and attacked them before they could assume a posture of defence. The whole of that body of infantry was either killed, or made prisoners."—*Annual Register*. E.

up part of their garrisons, the representatives, the municipalities, and all the partisans of reaction, alleged that this plan had for its object to ruin the army, by throwing it into Piedmont, to open Toulon again to the English, and to serve the secret designs of Robespierre. Jean-Bon-St.-André, who had been sent to Toulon to superintend the repairs of the ships of war there, and who cherished schemes of his own relative to the Mediterranean, proved himself one of the greatest enemies to this plan. Young Bonaparte was even accused of being an accomplice of the Robespierres, on account of the confidence with which his talents and his projects had inspired the younger of the two brothers.* The army was brought back in disorder to the great chain, where it resumed its positions. The campaign finished, however, with a brilliant advantage. The Austrians, conjointly with the English, determined to make an attempt on Savona, for the purpose of cutting off the communication with Genoa, which, by its neutrality, rendered great service to the commerce in articles of subsistence. General Colloredo advanced with a corps of from eight to ten thousand men, made no great haste in his march, and gave the French time to prepare themselves. Being attacked amid the mountains by the French, whose movements were directed by General Bonaparte, he lost eight hundred men, and retreated disgracefully, accusing the English, who in their turn accused him. The communication with Genoa was re-established, and the army consolidated in all its positions.

At the Pyrenees, a new series of successes opened upon us. Dugommier was still besieging Bellegarde, with the intention of making himself master of that place, before he descended into Catalonia. La Union made a general attack on the French line for the purpose of proceeding to the succour of the besieged; but, being repulsed at all points, he had withdrawn, and the fortress, more discouraged than ever by this rout of the Spanish army, had surrendered on the 6th of Vendémiaire. Dugommier, having no danger whatever to dread on his rear, prepared to advance into Catalonia. At the western Pyrenees, the French, being roused at length from their torpor, overran the valley of Bastan, took Fontarabia and St. Sebastian, and, favoured by the climate, prepared, as at the eastern Pyrenees, to push their successes in spite of the approach of winter.

In La Vendée the war had continued. It was not brisk and dangerous, but slow and devastating. Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, had at length shared the command among them. Since the death of Laroche-Jacquelein, Stofflet had succeeded him in Anjou and Upper Poitou; Sapinaud had still retained the little division of the centre; Charette, who had distinguished himself by the campaign of the last winter, when, with forces almost destroyed, he had always contrived to elude the pursuit of the republicans, had the command in Lower Vendée; but he aspired to the general command. The chiefs had met at Jallais, and had entered into a treaty dictated by the Abbé Bernier, *cure* of St. Laud, the councillor and friend of Stofflet, and governing the country in his name. This abbé was as ambitious as Charette, and desired to see a combination effected that should furnish him with the

* "Bonaparte set off for Genoa, and fulfilled his mission. The ninth of Thermidor arrived, and the deputies called Terrorists were superseded by Albitte and Salicetti. In the disorder which then prevailed, they were either ignorant of the orders given to General Bonaparte, or persons, envious of the rising glory of the young general of artillery, inspired Albitte and Salicetti with suspicions prejudicial to him. They accordingly drew up a resolution ordering that he should be arrested, and he continued nearly a fortnight under arrest."—*Bourrienne*. E.

means of exercising over all the chiefs that influence which he possessed over Stofflet. They agreed to form a supreme council, by the orders of which everything was to be done in future. Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, reciprocally confirmed to each other their respective commands of Anjou, the centre, and Lower Vendée. M. de Marigny, who had survived the great Vendean expedition to Granville, having infringed one of the orders of this council, was seized. Stofflet had the cruelty to order him to be shot upon a report of Charette's.* This act, which was attributed to jealousy, produced a most unfavourable impression on all the royalists.

The war, without any possible result, was now merely a war of devastation. The republicans had formed fourteen intrenched camps, which enclosed the whole insurgent country. From these camps issued incendiary columns, which, under the chief command of General Turreau, executed the formidable decree of the Convention. They burned the woods, the hedges, the corpses, frequently the villages themselves, seized the crops and the cattle, and, acting upon the decree which ordered every inhabitant who had not taken part in the rebellion to retire to the distance of twenty leagues from the insurgent country, treated all whom they met with as enemies. The Vendéans, who, to procure the means of subsistence, had not ceased to cultivate their lands amidst these horrid scenes, resisted this kind of warfare in such a way as to render it everlasting. On a signal from their chiefs, they formed sudden assemblages, fell upon the rear of the camps and stormed them, or, allowing the columns to advance, they rushed upon them when they had got into the heart of the country, and, if they succeeded in breaking them, they put to death all, to the very last man. They then secured the arms and ammunition, which were in great request with them; and without having done anything to weaken a very superior enemy, they had merely procured the means of prosecuting this atrocious warfare.

Such was the state of things on the left bank of the Loire. On the right bank, in that part of Bretagne which is situated between the Loire and the Vilaine, a new assemblage had been formed, and composed in a great part of the remains of the Vendean column destroyed at Savenay, and of the peasants inhabiting those plains. M. de Scépeaux was its chief. This corps was nearly of the same force as M. de Sapinaud's and connected La Vendée with Bretagne.

Bretagne had become the theatre of a war very different from that of La Vendée, but not less deplorable. The Chouans, to whom we have already adverted, were smugglers, whom the abolition of the barriers had left without occupation, young men who had refused to comply with the requisition, and some Vendéans, who, like the followers of M. de Scépeaux had escaped from the rout of Savenay. They followed the trade of plunder among the rocks and spacious woods of Bretagne, particularly in the great forest of Pertre. They did not form, like the Vendéans, numerous bodies eapa-

* "Charette and Stofflet, jealous of the power of Marigny, convoked a council of war on some frivolous pretext, and condemned him to death for contumacy. His army felt the utmost resentment at this iniquitous sentence, and swore they would defend their general against all his enemies. For himself, he heard of his condemnation with composure. Soon after it was decreed, Stofflet gave orders to some Germans to go and shoot Marigny. The wretches obeyed. The general had only his domestics with him; he could not believe that so infamous an act was intended. When he saw, however, that his death was resolved on, he asked for a confessor, which was rudely denied. On this, passing into his garden, he said to the soldiers, 'It is for me to command you. To your ranks, chasseurs!' He then called out 'Present—fire,' and fell dead."—*Memoirs of the Marchionness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

ble of keeping the field, but marched in bands of from thirty to fifty; stopped couriers and the public conveyances; and murdered the justices of peace, the mayors, the republican functionaries, and, above all, the purchasers of national property. As for those who were not purchasers but farmers of such property, they called on them, and obliged them to pay the rent to them. In general, they were particularly careful to destroy bridges, to break up roads, and to cut off the shafts of carts, to prevent the carriage of articles of consumption to the towns. They addressed terrible threats to those who carried their produce to the markets, and they executed those threats by plundering and burning their property. As they could not occupy the country like a regular military force, their object evidently was to distract it by preventing the citizens from accepting any office under the republic, by punishing the acquisition of national property, and by starving the towns. Less united, and less strong, than the Vendéans, they were nevertheless more formidable, and truly deserved the appellation of banditti.

They had a secret chief, whom we have already mentioned, M. de Puisaye, a member of the Constituent Assembly. He had retired after the 10th of August to Normandy, had engaged, as we have seen, in the federalist insurrection, and, after the defeat of Vernon, had fled to Bretagne, to conceal himself, and to collect there the remains of La Rouarie's conspiracy. With great intelligence, and extraordinary skill in uniting the elements of a party, he combined extreme activity of body and mind, and vast ambition. Puisaye, struck by the peninsular position of Bretagne, with the great extent of its coast, with the peculiar configuration of its soil, covered with forests, mountains, and impenetrable retreats; struck, above all, by the barbarism of its inhabitants, speaking a foreign language, deprived, consequently, of all communication with the other inhabitants of France, completely under the influence of the priests, and three or four times as numerous as the Vendéans—Puisaye conceived that he should be able to excite in Bretagne an insurrection much more formidable than that which had for its chiefs a Cathelineau, a d'Elbée, a Bonchamp, and a Lesenre. The vicinity, moreover, of England, and the convenient intermediate situation of the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, suggested to him the plan of inducing the cabinet of London to concur in his designs. It was not his wish, therefore, that the energy of the country should be wasted in useless pillage, and he laboured to organize it in such a manner as that he might be able to hold it entirely under his sway. Assisted by the priests, he had caused all the men capable of bearing arms to be enrolled in registers opened in the parishes. Each parish formed a company, each canton a division; the united divisions formed four principal divisions, those of Morbihan, Finistère, Côtes-du-Nord, and Ile-et-Vilaine, all four dependent on a central committee, which represented the supreme authority of the country. Puisaye, as general-in-chief, was president of the central committee, and, by means of this ramification, he circulated his orders throughout the whole province. He recommended to his followers, until his vast projects should be ripe for execution, to commit as few hostilities as possible, that they might not draw too many troops into Bretagne, and to content themselves with collecting warlike stores, and preventing the carriage of provisions to the towns. But the Chouans, by no means calculated for the kind of general war which he meditated, addicted themselves individually to pillage, which was more profitable to them, and more to their taste. Puisaye therefore hastened to put the finishing hand to his work, and purposed, as soon as he should have com-

pleted the organization of his party, to go to London, in order to open a negotiation with the English cabinet and the French princes.

As we have already seen, in the account of the preceding campaign, the Vendéans had not yet had any communication with foreigners. M. de Tinténac had, indeed, been sent to them to inquire who they were, and what was their number and what was their object, and to offer them arms and assistance if they would make themselves masters of a seaport. It was this offer that had induced them to march to Granville, and to make that attempt, the failure of which we are acquainted with. The squadron of Lord Moira, after cruising to no purpose, had carried to Holland the succours destined for La Vendée. Puisaye hoped to provoke a similar expedition, and to conclude an arrangement with the French princes, who had not yet expressed any gratitude or given any encouragement to, the insurgent royalists in the interior.

The princes, on their side, having little hopes of support from foreign powers, began to cast back their eyes on their partisans in the interior of France. But none of those about them were disposed to turn to account the devotedness of the brave men who were ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause of royalty. Some aged gentlemen, some old friends, had followed Monsieur, who had become regent, and fixed his residence at Verona, since the country near the Rhine was no longer habitable except for military men. The Prince of Condé, a brave man, but of little capacity, continued to collect on the Upper Rhine all who were desirous of attaching themselves to the profession of arms. A number of young nobility followed the Count d'Artois in his travels, and had accompanied him to St. Petersburg. Catherine had given the prince a magnificent reception; she had presented him with a frigate, a million of money, a sword, and the brave Count de Vauban, to induce him to make good use of it.* She had, moreover, promised effective succours, as soon as the prince should have landed in La Vendée. This landing, however, was not attempted: the Count d'Artois had returned to Holland, where he was at the head-quarters of the Duke of York.

The situation of the three French princes was neither brilliant nor prosperous. Austria, Prussia, and England had refused to recognise the regent; for to recognise any other sovereign of France than the one who governed it *de facto*, was to intermeddle with domestic affairs, which none of the powers wished to appear to do. Now, in particular, when they were beaten, all of them affected to say that they had taken up arms merely for the sake of their own security. To recognise the regent would have subjected them to another inconvenience. It would have been equivalent to pledging themselves not to make peace till after the destruction of the republic, an event on which they began to give up reckoning. Meanwhile the powers tolerated the agents of the princes, but did not acknowledge them under any public character. The Duke d'Harcourt in London, the Duke d'Havré at Madrid, the Duke de Polignac at Vienna, transmitted notes that were scarcely read

* "Catherine behaved with marked cordiality to the emigrant French princes, and was one of the most strenuous opponents of the Revolution. The Jacobin emissaries, it seems, were making some progress among the lower orders of the people in St. Petersburg; on which, says Sir John Carr, Catherine had them all seized one evening, and carried to the lunatic asylum, where they were properly shaved, blistered, starved, and physicked. After fourteen days of this wholesome regimen, they were restored to the public view, and universally shunned as insane. Had this harmless experiment failed, she had another mode of treatment in store, and prepared for its adoption by quickly building a state-prison."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

and seldom listened to, and were rather the intermediate dispensers of the very scanty succours granted to the emigrants, than the organs of an avowed power. Hence great dissatisfaction with the foreign powers prevailed in the three courts where the emigrants resided. They began to discover that the generous zeal of the coalition for royalty had been merely a disguise of the most violent enmity to France. Austria, by hoisting her flag at Valenciennes and Condé, had, in the opinion of the emigrants, provoked the outburst of French patriotism. Prussia, of whose pacific dispositions they were already aware, had, they said, failed in all her engagements. Pitt, who was the most positive and the most supercilious towards them, was also the most hateful to them. They called him by no other name than the treacherous Englishman, and said that they ought to take his money and cheat him afterwards, if they could. They pretended that Spain alone could be relied on; she alone was a faithful kinswoman, a sincere ally, and towards her they ought to turn their hopes.

The three petty fugitive courts, so far from harmonizing with the powers on whom they had placed their hopes, were not on better terms with one another. The Court of Verona, indisposed to take an active part, giving to the emigrants orders that were ill-obeyed, making communications to the cabinets that were little heeded, by agents who were not recognised, was filled with distrust of the two others, felt jealous of the active part performed by the Prince of Condé on the Rhine, and of the kind of consideration which his unenlightened but energetic courage gained him with the cabinets, and envied even the travels of the Count d'Artois in Europe. The Prince of Condé, on his part, as brave as he was deficient in intelligence, would not engage in any plan, and cared but little about the two courts that would not fight. Lastly, the little court collected at Arnheim, shunning both the life that was led on the Rhine and the superior authority to which it was obliged to submit at Verona, tarried at the English head-quarters, under the pretext of various designs upon the coasts of France.

Cruel experience having taught the French princes that they could not depend upon the enemies of their country for the re-establishment of their throne, they were fond of observing that they must thenceforward rely only on their partisans in the interior and on La Vendée. Since terror had ceased to reign in France, the violent agitators had unfortunately begun to breathe, as well as honest men. The correspondence of the emigrants with the interior was renewed. The court of Verona, through the medium of Count d'Entraigues, corresponded with one Lemaitre, an intriguer, who had been successively advocate, secretary to the council, pamphleteer, and prisoner in the Bastille, and who finished with the profession of agent of the princes. With him were associated a man named Laville-Heurnois, formerly *maître des requêtes*, and a creature of Calonne's, and an Abbé Brothier, preceptor of the nephews of the Abbé Maury. Application was made to these intriguers for particulars concerning the situation of France, the state of parties, and their dispositions, and for plans of conspiracy. In reply, they transmitted intelligence most of which was false. They boasted of intercourse which they had not with the heads of the Government, and strove to the utmost of their power to persuade the French princes that everything was to be expected from a movement in the interior. They were directed to correspond with La Vendée, and especially with Charette,* who,

* "During this horrible war, the royalist hero, Charette, acquired immortal glory. The boldness of his measures, his fertility of resources, and his constancy, never subdued in the most desperate situations, mark him as a really great man. Wounded, pursued from place

from his long resistance, was the hero of the royalists, but with whom they had not yet been able to open any negotiation.

Such was then the situation of the royalist party in and out of France. It waged in La Vendée a war less alarming for its dangers than afflicting for its ravages. It formed in Bretagne extensive but yet distant projects, subject moreover to a very difficult condition—the union and the concert of a multitude of persons. Out of France it was divided, held in little consideration, and scantily supported. Convinced at length, of the futility of all hope of foreign succour, it kept up a puerile correspondence with the royalists of the interior.

The republic had therefore little to fear from the efforts of Europe and of royalty. Setting aside the subject of pain which it found in the ravages of La Vendée, it had cause to congratulate itself on its splendid triumphs. It had been saved in the preceding year from invasion, this year it had revenged itself by its conquests. Belgium, Dutch Brabant, the countries of Luxemburg, Liege, and Juliers, the electorate of Treves, the Palatinate, Savoy, Nice, a fortress in Catalonia, and the valley of Bastan, had been won, thus threatening Holland, Piedmont, and Spain at the same time. Such were the results of the prodigious efforts of the celebrated committee of public welfare.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

WINTER OF THE YEAR III—SALOONS AND CHANGE IN MANNERS—
DECREE CONCERNING POPULAR SOCIETIES—MODIFICATIONS IN THE
MAXIMUM AND REQUISITIONS—TRIAL OF CARRIER—THE JACOBIN
CLUB SHUT UP—RETURN OF THE SEVENTY-THREE—COMMENCE-
MENT OF PROCEEDINGS AGAINST BILLAUD-VARENNES COLLOT-
D'HERBOIS, AND BARRÈRE.

WHILE these events were occurring on the frontiers, the Convention continued its reforms. The representatives commissioned to renew the administrations travelled through France, everywhere reducing the number of the revolutionary committees, composing them of other individuals, causing those to be apprehended as accomplices of Robespierre whose too atrocious excesses did not permit them to be left unpunished, appointing fresh municipal functionaries, reorganizing the popular societies, and purging them of the most violent and the most dangerous men. This operation was not always executed without impediment. At Dijon, the revolutionary organization was found more compact than anywhere else. The same persons, members at one and the same time of the revolutionary committee, of the municipality, and of the popular society, made all in that city tremble. They imprisoned arbitrarily both travellers and inhabitants, entered in the list of

to place, with scarcely twelve companions left, this famous royalist chief was still such an object of dread to the republicans, as to induce them to offer him a million of livres and a free passage to England; but he refused, choosing to persevere in the unequal struggle, till he was taken and put to death."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

emigrants all whom they were pleased to place there, and prevented them from obtaining certificates of residence by intimidating the sections. They had formed themselves into regiments under the title of a revolutionary army, and obliged the commune to allow them pay. They did nothing, attended the meetings of the club, themselves and their wives, and spent in orgies, where it was not allowed to drink out of anything but goblets, the double produce of their appointments and their rapine. They corresponded with the Jacobins of Lyons and Marseilles, and served them as a medium for communicating with those of Paris. Calès, the representative, had the greatest difficulty in dissolving this coalition. He dismissed all the revolutionary authorities, selected twenty or thirty of the most moderate members of the club, and committed to them the task of its purification.

When driven from the municipalities, the revolutionists did as in Paris, and usually retired to the Jacobin club. If the club had been purified, they forced themselves into it again after the departure of the representatives, or formed another. There they made more violent speeches than ever, and gave way to all the frenzy of rage and fear, for they beheld vengeance everywhere. The Jacobins of Dijon sent an inflammatory address to those of Paris. At Lyons, they formed a no less dangerous body; and, as the city was still under the weight of the terrible decrees of the Convention, the representatives found it very difficult to repress their fury. At Marseilles they were more audacious. Adding the excitement of their party to the warmth of local character, they formed a considerable assemblage, beset a room where the two representatives, Auguies and Serres, were at table, and sent deputies to them who, sword and pistol in hand, demanded the release of the imprisoned patriots. The two representatives displayed the greatest firmness, but, being ill-supported by the gendarmerie, who had invariably seconded the cruelties of the late system, till at length they began to think themselves accomplices of and responsible for it, they narrowly escaped being murdered. However, several Parisian battalions, which were at that moment at Marseilles, came to the relief of the two representatives, disengaged them from the mob, and dispersed the assemblage. At Toulouse, also, the Jacobins excited commotions. In that city four persons, a director of the posts, a district secretary, and two actors, had set themselves up for chiefs of the revolutionary party. They had formed a committee of *surveillance* for the whole of the South, and extended their tyranny far beyond Toulouse. They opposed the reforms and the imprisonments ordered by Artigoyte and Chaudron-Rousseau, the representatives, raised the popular society, and had the audacity to declare through it, that those two representatives had lost the confidence of the people. They were vanquished, however, and confined, together with their principal accomplices.

These scenes were repeated everywhere, with more or less violence, according to the character of the provinces. The Jacobins were nevertheless everywhere subdued. Those of Paris, the chiefs of the coalition, were in the greatest alarm. They saw the capital adverse to their doctrines; they learned that in the departments public opinion, less prompt to manifest itself than in Paris, was not less decided against them. They knew that they were everywhere called cannibals, partisans, accomplices of Robespierre's, men who aspired to be the agents in continuing his system. They found themselves supported, it is true, by the multitude of dismissed placemen, by the electoral club, by a violent and frequently victorious minority in the sections, by a portion of the members of the Convention, some of whom still

sat in their society; but they were not the less alarmed at the direction of the public mind, and pretended that a plot was formed for dissolving the popular societies, and after them, the republic.

They drew up an address to the affiliated societies as a reply to the attacks which were made upon them. "People are striving," said they, "to destroy our fraternal union; they are striving to break the fasces so formidable to the enemies of equality and of liberty. We are accused, we are assailed by the blackest calumnies. Aristocracy and the advocates of moderation are raising their audacious heads. The fatal reaction occasioned by the fall of the triumvirs is perpetuated, and from amidst the storms engendered by the enemies of the people, a new faction has sprung up, which tends to the dissolution of all the popular societies. It harasses and strives to excite the public opinion; it carries its audacity to such a length as to hold us forth as a rival power to the national representation—us, who always rally round and fight along with it in all the dangers of the country. It accuses us of continuing Robespierre's system, and we have in our registers the names of those only who, in the night between the 9th and 10th of Thermidor, occupied the post which the danger of the country assigned to them. But we will reply to these vile calumniators by combating them without ceasing. We will reply to them by the purity of our principles and of our actions, and by an unshaken attachment to the cause of the people which they have betrayed, to the national representation which they aim at dishonouring, and to equality which they detest."

They affected, as we see, a high respect for the national representation. They had even, in one of their sittings, given up to the committee of general safety one of their members, for having said that the principal conspirators against liberty were in the very bosom of the Convention. They circulated their address in all the departments, and particularly in the sections of Paris.

The party which was opposed to them became daily bolder. It had already adopted distinguishing colours, manners, places, and watchwords. It was, as we have stated, young men, either belonging to persecuted families, or who had evaded the requisition, that had begun to form this party. The women had joined them; they had passed the last winter in consternation; they determined to pass the present in festivities and amusements. Frimaire (December) approached. They were eager to relinquish the appearances of indigence, of simplicity, nay even of squalidness, which had long been affected during the Reign of Terror, for brilliant dresses, elegant manners, and entertainments.* They made common cause with the young enemies of a ferocious democracy; they excited their zeal, they made politeness and attention to dress, a law with them. Fashion began again to exercise its sway. It required the hair to be plaited in tresses, and fastened at the back of the head with a comb. This practice was borrowed from the soldiers, who arranged their hair in that manner to parry sword-cuts; and

* "The manners of the people during these days of reviving order, exhibited an extraordinary mixture of revolutionary recklessness, with the reviving gaiety and elegance of the French character. In the saloons of the Thermidorians, none but the most humane measures were proposed, or the most generous sentiments uttered. One of the most fashionable and brilliant assemblies was called, *The Ball of the Victims*, the condition of entrance to which was the loss of a near relation by the guillotine. Between the country dances they said, 'We dance on the tombs;' and a favourite dress for the hair was adopted from the way in which it had been arranged immediately before execution."—*Alison*. E.

it was intended to intimate that the wearers had borne a part in the victories of our armies. It was also requisite to wear large cravats, black or green collars, according to the custom of the Chouans, and above all crape round the arm, as the relative of a victim of the revolutionary tribunal. We see what a singular medley of ideas, recollections, and opinions presided over the fashions of the *gilded youth*—for that was the name which was given to it at the time. In the evening, in the drawing-rooms, which again began to be brilliant, praises rewarded those young men who had displayed their courage in the sections, at the Palais Royal, in the garden of the Tuileries, and those writers who, in the thousand pamphlets and publications of the day, had launched the keenest sarcasms against the *revolutionary canaille*. Fréron had become the most distinguished of the journalists. He was the editor of the *Orateur du Peuple*, which soon acquired celebrity. This was the journal read by the gilded youth, and in which it sought its daily instructions.

The theatres were not yet opened : the actors of the Comédie Française were still in prison. For want of this place of resort, people went to show themselves at concerts given at the Théâtre Feydeau, where was to be heard a melodious voice which began to charm the Parisians—that of Garat. There assembled what might be called the aristocracy of the time : some nobles who had not quitted France, opulent men who dared show themselves again, and contractors who no longer dreaded the terrible severity of the committee of public welfare. The women appeared there, in a costume, which, according to the practice of the time, was meant to be antique, and was copied from David. They had long relinquished powder and hoops : at these new entertainments they wore fillets round their hair ; the form of their gowns approached as nearly as possible to the simple tunic of the Greek women ; instead of high-heeled shoes, they wore that covering for the foot which we see in ancient statues, a light sandal, fastened by ribbons crossing one another round the leg. The young men, with hair turned up and black collar, filled the pit of the Feydeau, and sometimes applauded the elegant and singularly dressed females who came to embellish those assemblies.

Madame Tallien was the most beautiful and the most admired of those ladies who introduced the new taste. Her drawing-room was the most brilliant and the most frequented. Being the daughter of Cabarus, the Spanish banker, the wife of a president at Bordeaux, and recently married to Tallien, she was connected with the men both of the old and of the new *régime*. She was indignant against the system of terror, as well from resentment as from goodness of heart ; she had sympathized with all the unfortunate, and, whether at Bordeaux or in Paris, she had not ceased for a moment to act the part of petitioner in their behalf, a part which she performed, we are told, with irresistible grace. It was she who had softened the proconsular severity displayed by her husband in the Gironde, and who had brought him back to more humane sentiments. She wished to give him the part of peacemaker, of repaire of the evils of the Revolution ; she drew around her all those who had contributed with him to the 9th of Thermidor, and strove to win them by flattering them, and making them hope for the public gratitude, for oblivion of the past, which many of them needed, and for power which was now promised to the adversaries rather than to the partisans of terror. She was surrounded by amiable women, who contributed to this plan of such a pardonable seduction. Among them shone the widow of an

unfortunate general, Alexandre Beauharnais, a young Creole,* fascinating not on account of her beauty, but her extreme gracefulness. To these parties were invited simple and enthusiastic men, who led a life of austerity and turmoil. They were caressed, sometimes rallied on their dress, on their manners, and on the severity of their principles. They were placed at table by men whom they would lately have persecuted as aristocrats, enriched speculators, and plunderers of the public property; they were thus forced to feel their own inferiority beside models of the ancient politeness and *bon ton*. Many of them, in narrow circumstances, lost their dignity together with their rudeness; others who, from the strength of their under-

* "Josephine Rose-Tascher de la Pagerie, Empress of the French, Queen of Italy, was born in Martinique in 1763. While very young, her father took her to France to marry her to the Viscount Beauharnais. She was then in the prime of her beauty, and met with great success at court. She bore her husband two children, Eugene and Hortense, and in 1787 returned to Martinique to attend the bedside of her invalid mother. She took her daughter with her and passed three years in that island. The troubles, however, which then suddenly broke out, compelled her to return to France, where she arrived, after narrowly escaping great perils. A singular prophecy had been made to her when a child, which she used to mention, when it was apparently fulfilled in her high destiny. During the Reign of Terror, her husband, who had defended France at the head of its armies, was thrown into prison and executed. Josephine also was imprisoned, but, on the death of Robespierre, she was liberated by Tallien, and was indebted to Barras for the restoration of a part of her husband's property. At his house she became acquainted with Bonaparte, who married her in 1796. She exerted her great influence over him, invariably on the side of mercy; protected many emigrants, and encouraged arts and industry. Napoleon used often to say to her, 'If I win battles, you win hearts.' When he ascended the imperial throne, Josephine was crowned with him, both at Paris and at Milan. She loved pomp and magnificence and was very extravagant in her tastes. A few years after her coronation, the Emperor divorced her, when she retired to Malmaison. She was soon afterwards doomed to see the destruction of that throne on which she had sat. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia paid her frequent visits at Malmaison, but the fate of Napoleon undermined her strength, and, having exposed herself, while in a feeble state of health, by walking out with Alexander, she caught cold, and died in the arms of her children in May, 1814."—*Encyclopedia Americana*. E.

"Josephine was really an amiable woman—the best woman in France. She was the greatest patroness of the fine arts which that country had known for years. She was grace personified. Everything she did was with peculiar elegance and delicacy. I never saw her act otherwise than gracefully during the whole time we lived together. Her toilet was a perfect arsenal, and she effectually defended herself against the assaults of time."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Josephine possessed personal graces and many good qualities. Benevolence was natural to her, but she was not always prudent in its exercise. Her taste for splendour and expense was excessive. This proneness to luxury became a habit, which seemed constantly indulged without any motive. What scenes have I not witnessed when the moment for paying the tradesmen's bills arrived! She always kept back one-half of their claims, and the discovery of this exposed her to new reproaches. When fortune placed a crown upon her head, she told me that the event, extraordinary as it was, had been predicted. It is certain that she put great faith in fortune-tellers."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"Eugene Beauharnais was not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age when he ventured to introduce himself to Bonaparte, for the purpose of soliciting his father's sword, of which he understood the general had become possessed. The countenance and frank air of Eugene pleased Napoleon, and he immediately granted him the boon he sought. As soon as the sword was placed in the boy's hands he burst into tears, and kissed it. This feeling of affection for his father's memory increased Bonaparte's interest in his young visitor. His mother, Josephine, on learning the kind reception which the general had given her son, thought it her duty to call and thank him. Napoleon returned her visit, and the acquaintance thus commenced, speedily led to their marriage."—*Memoirs of Constant*. E.

"At the period of her marriage with Bonaparte, Josephine was still a fine woman. Her teeth, it is true, were already frightfully decayed; but when her mouth was closed, she looked, especially at a little distance, both young and pretty."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

standing, knew how to keep up their rank and to gain those advantages of the drawing-room so frivolous and so soon acquired, were nevertheless not proof against delicate flattery. Many a member of a committee, adroitly solicited at a dinner-party, rendered a service or suffered his vote to be influenced.

Thus a woman, sprung from a financier, married to a magistrate, and who had become, like one of the spoils of the old state of society, the wife of an ardent revolutionist, undertook to reconcile simple, sometimes coarse, and almost always fanatical, men with elegance, taste, pleasures, ease of manners, and indifference as to opinions. The Revolution, brought back from that extreme point of fanaticism and coarseness, from which it was certainly beneficial to bring it back, advanced nevertheless too rapidly towards the oblivion of republican manners, principles, and, we may almost say, resentments. The Thermidorians were reproached with this change. They were accused of giving way to it, of producing it, of accelerating it, and the reproach was just.

The revolutionists kept aloof from these drawing-rooms and from these concerts. If some few of them ventured to appear there, they left them only to go to their tribunes to inveigh against *the Cabarus*, against the aristocrats, against the intriguers and the contractors, whom she drew along in her train. They, for their part, had no other meetings than their clubs and their assemblies of sections, to which they resorted, not to seek pleasure, but to give vent to their passions. Their wives, who were called the *furies of the guillotine*, because they had frequently formed a circle round the scaffold, appeared in popular costume in the tribunes of the clubs, to applaud the most violent motions. Several members of the Convention still attended the sittings of the Jacobins; some carried thither their celebrity, but they were silent and gloomy; such were Collot-d'Herbois, Billand-Varennes, and Carrier. Others, as Duhem, Crassons, Lanot, went thither from attachment to the cause, but without the personal reason of defending their revolutionary conduct.

It was at the Palais-Royal, around the Convention, in the tribunes, and in the sections, that the two parties came into collision. In the sections, in particular, where they had to deliberate and to discuss, extremely violent quarrels took place. The address of the Jacobins to the affiliated societies was just at that time carried about from one to another, and some insisted on having it read there. A decree enjoined also the reading of the report of Robert Lindet on the state of France, a report which presented so faithful a picture of it, and expressed so precisely the sentiments with which the Convention and all honest men were animated. The reading of these documents furnished occasion every Decadi for the warmest disputes. The revolutionists called loudly for the address of the Jacobins, and their adversaries for Lindet's report. A frightful uproar was the consequence. The members of the old revolutionary committees took down the names of all those who mounted the tribune to oppose them, and, as they wrote them, they exclaimed, "We will exterminate them." The habits which they had contracted during the Reign of Terror had made the words to kill, to guillotine, so familiar to them, that they had them constantly in their mouths. They thus gave occasion for its being said that they were making new lists of proscription, and intended to revive the system of Robespierre. Fights frequently took place in the sections; sometimes victory was undecided, and there had been no possibility of reading anything when ten o'clock arrived. The revolutionists, who did not scruple to exceed the lawful hour,

would then wait till their adversaries, who affected to obey the law, had withdrawn, when they read what they pleased, and deliberated on any subjects which they wished to discuss.

Scenes of this kind were daily reported to the Convention, and complaints were made against the old members of the revolutionary committees, who were, it was said, the authors of all these disturbances. The electoral club, more noisy of itself than all the sections put together, had just urged the patience of the Assembly to the utmost, by an address of the most dangerous kind. It was, as we have said, in this club that the men most compromised always met, and that the most daring schemes were conceived. A deputation from this club came to demand that the election of the municipal magistrates should be restored to the people; that the municipality of Paris, which had not been re-established since the 9th of Thermidor, should be reconstituted; and lastly, that instead of a single meeting per decade, each section should be allowed to hold two. On this last petition a great number of deputies rose, made the most vehement complaints, and demanded measures against the members of the old revolutionary committees, to whom they attributed all the disturbances. Legendre, though he had disapproved Lecointre's first attack upon Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, said that it was necessary to go further back, that the source of the evil was in the members of the former committees of government, that they abused the indulgence which the Assembly had shown them, and that it was high time to punish their ancient tyranny, in order to prevent a new one.

This discussion excited a fresh tumult, more violent than the first. After long and deplorable recriminations, the Assembly, meeting with only such questions as were dangerous or not to be solved, passed a second time to the order of the day. Various means were successively suggested for repressing the extravagances of the popular societies and the abuse of the right of petition. It was proposed to annex to Lindet's report an address to the French people, expressing in a still more precise and energetic manner the sentiments of the Assembly and the new course which it intended to pursue. This idea was adopted. Richard, who had just returned from the army, insisted that this was not enough; that it was necessary to govern vigorously; that addresses signified nothing, because all the makers of petitions would not fail to reply to them; and that people ought not to be suffered to use at the bar such language as in the streets would cause those who dared to utter it to be apprehended. "It is high time," said Bourdon of the Oise, "to address useful truths to you. Do you know why your armies are constantly victorious?—because they observe strict discipline. Have a good police in the state, and you will have a good government. Do you know whence proceed the everlasting attacks directed against yours?—from the abuse by your enemies of all that is democratic in your institutions. They take delight in reporting that you will never have a government—that you will be forever involved in anarchy. It may then be possible that a nation constantly victorious should not know how to govern itself. And would the Convention, knowing that this alone prevents the completion of the Revolution, neglect to provide for it? No, no; let us undeceive our enemies. It is by the abuse of the popular societies and of the right of petition that they aim at destroying us. It is this abuse that must be repressed."

Various expedients were submitted for repressing the abuse of popular societies without destroying them. Pelet, in order to deprive the Jacobins of the support of several Mountaineer deputies who belonged to their society,

and especially Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and other dangerous leaders, proposed to forbid members of the Convention from becoming members of any popular societies. This suggestion was adopted. But a great number of remonstrances arose from the Mountain. It was urged that the right of meeting, for the purpose of enlightening themselves on the subject of the public interests, was a right belonging to all the citizens, and of which a deputy could no more be deprived than any other member of the state; that consequently the decree adopted was a violation of an absolute and unassailable right. The decree was rescinded. Dubois-Crancé made another motion. Explaining the manner in which the Jacobins had purified themselves, he showed that this society contained within its bosom the very same persons who had misled it in the time of Robespierre. He maintained that the Convention had a right to purify it afresh, in the same way as it proceeded, by means of its commissioners in regard to the societies in the departments; and he proposed to refer the question to the competent committees, that they might devise a suitable mode of purification, and the means of rendering the popular societies useful. This new motion was also adopted.

The decree produced a great uproar at the Jacobins. They cried out that Dubois-Crancé had deceived the Convention; that the purification ordered after the 9th of Thermidor had been strictly executed; that nobody had a right to require a repetition of it; that among them all were worthy to sit in that illustrious society, which had rendered such services to the country; that they did not shrink from the severest scrutiny, and were ready to submit to the investigation of the Convention. They decided, in consequence, that a list of all their members should be printed and carried to the bar by a deputation.

On the following day, the 13th of Vendémiaire, they were less tractable. They declared that the decision adopted the preceding evening was inconsiderate; that to deliver a list of the members of the society to the Assembly was to admit that it possessed the right of purification, which belonged to nobody; that, as all the citizens had a right to meet without arms, to confer together on questions of public interest, no individual could be declared unworthy of forming part of a society; that, consequently, purification was contrary to all rights, and no list ought to be furnished. "The popular societies," exclaimed Giot, a vehement Jacobin, and one of those who held appointments about the armies, "the popular societies belong exclusively to themselves. Were it otherwise, the infamous court would have thinned that of the Jacobins, and you would have seen benches which ought to be occupied by virtue alone sullied by the presence of Jancours and Feuillants. Now, the court itself, which spared nothing, durst not attack you, and shall that which the court dared not attempt be undertaken at the moment when the Jacobins have sworn to overthrow all tyrants, be they who they may, and to be ever submissive to the Convention? I have just come from the departments; I can assure you that the existence of the popular societies is extremely endangered; I have been treated as a villain because the designation of Jacobin was inserted in my commission. I was told that I belonged to a society composed entirely of banditti. Secret intrigues are at work to separate from you the other societies of the republic. I have been so fortunate as to prevent the separation, and to strengthen the bonds of fraternity between you and the society of Bayonne, which Robespierre calumniated in your bosom. What I have said of one commune applies to all. Be prudent, continue to adhere to principles and to the Convention, and, above all, allow to no authority the right of weeding you." The Jacobins applauded this

speech, and decided that they would not carry this list to the Convention, but await its decrees.

The electoral club was much more tumultuous. Since its last petition, it had been expelled from the Evêché, and had taken refuge in a room of the Museum, close to the Convention. There, in a nocturnal sitting, amid the furious shouts of those who attended it, and the yells of the women who filled the tribunes, it declared that the Convention had overstepped the duration of its powers; that it had been commissioned to try the late King and to frame a constitution; that it had done both; and that, consequently, its task was performed, and its powers were at an end.

These scenes at the Jacobins and at the electoral club were also denounced to the Convention, which referred the whole to the committees charged to submit to it a plan relative to the abuses of the popular societies. It had voted an address, agreeably to the suggestion made to it a few days before, and sent it to the sections and to all the communes of the republic. This address, couched in firm yet discreet language, repeated, in a more precise and positive manner, the sentiments expressed in Lindet's reports. It became the subject of fresh struggles in the sections. The Revolutionists wished to prevent its being read, and opposed the voting in reply of addresses of adhesion. They obtained the adoption, on the contrary, of addresses to the Jacobins, to assure them of the interest that was taken in their cause. It frequently happened that, after they had decided this vote, their adversaries received reinforcements, when they were expelled, and the section, thus renewed, came to a contrary decision. Thus, too, there were several sections which presented two contrary addresses, one to the Jacobins, the other to the Convention. In one, the addressers extolled the services of the popular societies, and expressed wishes for their conservation; in the other, they said that the section, delivered from the yoke of anarchists and terrorists, came at length to express its free sentiments to the Convention, to offer its arms and its life, to put down at once those who would continue the system of Robespierre and the agents of royalism. The Convention listened to these addresses till the plan relative to the police of the popular societies should be promulgated.

It was presented on the 25th of Vendémiaire. Its principal object was to break the coalition formed in France by all the societies of the Jacobins. Affiliated with the parent society, corresponding regularly with it, they composed a vast party, skilfully organized, which had one centre and one direction. This it was that the plan in question aimed to destroy. The decree forbade "all affiliations and federations, as well as all correspondence under a collective name between popular societies." It purported, moreover, that no petitions or addresses could be made in a collective name, in order to put a stop to those imperious manifestoes, which the deputies of the Jacobins or of the electoral club brought and read at the bar, and which, in many instances, had become orders to the Assembly. Every address or petition was to be individually signed. The means of prosecuting the authors of dangerous propositions would thus be secured, and it was hoped that the necessity of signing would make them cautious. A list of the members of every society was to be prepared immediately, and hung up in its place of meeting. No sooner was this decree read to the Assembly, than a great number of voices were raised to oppose it. The authors of it, said the Mountaineers, aim at destroying the popular societies, forgetting that they have saved the Revolution and liberty, forgetting that they are the most powerful medium of uniting the citizens and keeping up their energy and patriotism: by forbidding their correspondence, they attack the essential

right belonging to all the citizens of corresponding together, a right as sacred as that of meeting peaceably to confer on questions of public interest.

Lejeune, Duhem, and Crassous, all Jacobins, all deeply interested in setting aside this decree, were not the only deputies who thus expressed themselves. Thibaudeau,* a sincere republican, a stranger both to the Mountaineers and to the Thermidorians, appeared himself to dread the consequences of this decree, and moved its adjournment, apprehensive lest it might strike at the very existence of the popular societies. We wish not to destroy them, replied the Thermidorians, the authors of the decree; we only want to place them under the eye of the police. Amidst this conflict, Merlin of Thionville exclaimed, "President, call the opposers to order. They allege that we want to suppress the popular societies, whereas, all that is aimed at is to regulate their present relations." Rewbel, Bentabolle, Thuriot, demonstrated that there was no intention of suppressing them. Are they prevented, said they, from assembling peaceably and without arms, to confer on the public interests? Assuredly not; that right remains intact. They are only prevented from forming affiliations, federations, and no more is done in regard to them than has been already done in regard to the departmental authorities. These latter, according to the decree of the 14th of Frimaire, which institutes the revolutionary government, cannot correspond or concert together. Can the popular societies be allowed to do what has been forbidden to the departmental authorities? They are forbidden to correspond collectively, and no right is thereby violated: every citizen can assuredly correspond from one end of France to the other; but do the citizens correspond through a president and secretary? It is this official correspondence between powerful and constituted bodies that the decree aims, and with good reason, at preventing, in order to destroy a federalism more monstrous and more dangerous than that of the departments. It is by these affiliations, and by this correspondence, that the Jacobins have contrived to gain a real influence over the government, and a part in the direction of affairs, which ought to belong to the national representation alone.

Bourdon of the Oise, one of the leading members of the committee of general safety, and, as we have seen, a Thermidorian, frequently in opposition to his friends, exclaimed, "The popular societies are not the people. I see the people in the primary assemblies only. The popular societies are a collection of men, who have chosen themselves, like monks, and who have succeeded in forming an exclusive, a permanent aristocracy, which assumes the name of the people, and which places itself beside the national representation, to suggest, to modify, or to oppose its resolutions. By the side of the Convention, I see another representation springing up, and that representation has its seat at the Jacobins." Bourdon was here interrupted by applause. He proceeded in the following terms: "So little am I influenced by passion

* "Antoine-Claire Thibaudeau was appointed, in 1792, deputy to the National Convention, where he voted for the King's death. After the fall of Robespierre he became one of the chiefs of that party which declared equally against the Mountaineers and the Royalists. He presided in the Convention, was named secretary, and in October, 1794, procured the recall of Paine to that Assembly. In the following year he showed the greatest courage in repulsing the partial insurrections of the sections which took place. In 1796 Thibadeau was appointed president of the council of Five Hundred, and warmly opposed Tallien and his party. He retired from the legislative body in the year 1798, and was made prefect of the department of Gironde. In 1803 he was decorated with the cross of a Legionary, and subsequently appointed prefect of Marseilles, which office he held in 1806. He was the author of many works of no great note."—*Biographie Moderne*. His History of the Consulate of the Empire, lately published, in 10 vols. 8vo., is, however, a valuable performance. E.

on this subject, that, in order to secure unity and peace, I would cheerfully say to the people, 'Choose between the men whom ye have appointed to represent you, and those who have arisen by the side of them. What signifies it, so ye have a single uniform representation?' " Fresh applause interrupted the speaker. He resumed: "Yes," he exclaimed, "let the people choose between you and the men who have wanted to proscribe the representatives possessing the national confidence, between you and the men who, in connexion with the municipality of Paris, aimed a few months since at assassinating liberty. Citizens, would you make a durable peace? would you attain the ancient boundaries of Gaul? Present to the Belgians, to the people bordering the Rhine, a peaceable revolution, a republic without a double representation, a republic without revolutionary committees stained with the blood of citizens. Say to the Belgians, to the people of the Rhine, 'Ye wanted a partial liberty, we give it you entire, only sparing you the cruel calamities preceding its establishment, sparing you the sanguinary trials through which we have ourselves passed.' Consider, citizens, that, in order to deter the neighbouring nations from uniting with you, people declare that you have no government, and that, if they would treat with you, they know not whether to address themselves to the Convention or to the Jacobins. Give, on the contrary, unity and harmony to your government, and you will see that no nation is hostile to you and your principles; you will see that no nation hates liberty."

Duhem, Crassous, and Clausel, proposed at least the adjournment of the decree, saying that it was too important to be passed so suddenly. They all claimed permission to speak at once. Merlin of Thionville demanded leave to speak against them, with that ardour which he displayed in the tribune, as well as in the field of battle. The president decided that they should be heard in succession. Dubarran, Lavasseur, Romme,* also spoke against the decree; Thuriot in favour of it. At length Merlin again mounted the tribune. "Citizens," said he, "when the establishment of the republic was discussed, you decreed it without adjournment and without report. The question now before you is nothing less than to establish it a second time, by saving it from the popular societies which have coalesced against it. Citizens, we must not be afraid to enter that cavern in spite of the blood and the carcasses which obstruct the entrance. Dare to penetrate it, dare to drive out of it the villains and the murderers, and leave behind only the good citizens to weigh peacefully the great interests of the country. I exhort you to pass this decree, which saves the republic, as you did that which created it, that is, without adjournment or report."

Merlin was applauded, and the decree voted immediately, article by article. It was the first blow given to that celebrated society, which, up to this day,

* "G. Romme, a farmer at Gimeaux, and an ancient professor of mathematics and philosophy, was born in 1750, and was deputed to the Convention, where he voted for the death of Louis, and showed himself a violent Jacobin. On the overthrow of the Mountain, he dissembled his principles for some time, but could not help showing, in the affair of Carrier, his disapprobation of the system of retribution which then prevailed. In the year 1795 Romme devoted himself more than ever to the cause of the Jacobins, and when the faux-bourgs rose in insurrection he showed himself one of their most ardent chiefs, and loudly demanded a return to the system of terror. For this, a decree of arrest was passed against him, and a military council condemned him to death. At the moment, however, when his sentence was read, he stabbed himself, and was supposed to be dead, which was the reason why he was not sent to the scaffold. It has since been believed that his friends, having taken him to some retreat, their cares restored him to life, and that he then went secretly into Russia, where he lived in utter obscurity. At the time of his condemnation Romme was forty-five years of age."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

had struck terror into the Convention, and served to impart to it a revolutionary direction. It was not so much the provisions of the decree, which might be easily evaded, as the courage to pass it, that was of consequence here, and which could not but forewarn the Jacobins of their approaching end. Upon meeting in the evening in their hall, they commented on the decree and the manner in which it had been passed. Lejeune, the deputy, who in the morning had opposed its adoption with all his might, complained that he had not been seconded. He said that few members of the Assembly had spoken in defence of the society to which they belonged. "There are," said he, "members of the Convention, celebrated for their revolutionary and patriotic energy, who this day maintained a reprehensible silence. Those members are either guilty of tyranny, of which they are accused, or they have laboured for the public welfare. In the first case, they are culpable, and ought to be punished; in the second, their task is not finished. After they have prepared by their toils the successes of the defenders of the country, they ought to defend principles and the rights of the people when attacked. Two months ago, you talked incessantly in this tribune about the rights of the people, you, Collot and Billaud; why have ye now ceased to defend them? Why are ye silent, now that a multitude of objects claim the exercise of your courage and your intelligence?"

Ever since the accusation preferred against them, Billaud and Collot had observed a sullen silence. Being called upon by their colleague, Lejeune, and charged with having neglected to defend the society, they declared, in reply, that if they kept silence it was from prudence and not from weakness; that they were fearful of injuring by their support the cause which the patriots upheld; that, for some time past, the apprehension of doing mischief to the discussions had been the only motive of their reserve; that, moreover, being accused of domineering over the Convention, they meant to reply to their accusers by abstaining from all interference; that they were delighted to find themselves called upon by their colleagues to emerge from this voluntary nullity, and authorized, as it were, to devote themselves again to the cause of liberty and of the republic.

Satisfied with this explanation, the Jacobins applauded, and resumed the consideration of the law passed in the morning: they consoled themselves with saying that they would correspond with all France by means of the tribune. Goujon exhorted them to respect the law just enacted. They promised to do so, but one Terrasson proposed an expedient for carrying on their correspondence without violating the law. He recommended that a circular letter should be prepared, not written in the name of the Jacobins and addressed to other Jacobins, but *signed by all the free men meeting in the hall of the Jacobins, and addressed to all the free men in France meeting in popular societies*. This plan was adopted with great joy, and a circular of this kind was resolved upon.

We see how little the Jacobins cared about the threats of the Convention, and how far they were from a disposition to profit by the lesson that it had just given them. While waiting till new facts should provoke further measures in regard to them, the Convention set about the task which Robert Lindet had marked out for it in his report, and the discussion of the questions which he had proposed. That task consisted in repairing the mischievous effects of a violent system upon agriculture, commerce, and finances, in restoring security to all classes of society, and in reviving in them a love of order and industry. On these points the representatives were as divided in system, and as disposed to lose their temper, as on all other subjects.

The requisitions, the *maximum*, the assignats, the sequestration of the property of foreigners, provoked not less violent attacks upon the old government than the imprisonments and the executions. The Thermidorians, extremely ignorant on matters of public economy, made a point, from a spirit of reaction, of censuring in severe and insulting terms all that had been done in that department; and yet if, in the general administration of the state during the past year, there was anything irreproachable and completely justified by necessity, it was the administration of the committee of finances, provisions, and supplies. Cambon, the most influential member of the committee of finances, had brought the exchequer into the best order; he had, it is true, caused a great quantity of assignats to be issued, but this was the only resource; and he had quarrelled with Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, because he opposed various revolutionary expenses. As for Lindet, who superintended the department of transport and requisitions, he had laboured with admirable zeal to obtain from abroad, or by requisitions in France, the necessary supplies, and to convey them either to the armies or to the great communes. The medium of requisitions which he had been obliged to employ was violent, but it was admitted to be the only possible one, and Lindet had taken care to use it with the greatest tenderness. He could not be answerable either for the fidelity of all his agents or for the conduct of all those who had a right to levy requisitions, such as the municipal functionaries, the representatives, and the commissioners to the armies.

The Thermidorians, and Tallien in particular, made the most silly and the most unjust attacks on the general system of raising the means, and the mode of employing them. The primary cause of all the evils was, according to them, the too abundant issue of assignats; that inordinate issue had depreciated them, and they were now in excessive disproportion to the necessities of life and commodities in general. Hence it was that the *maximum* had become so oppressive and so disastrous, because it obliged the seller or the reimbursed creditor to accept a nominal value, which was daily becoming more and more illusory. In all this there was nothing very new, nothing very useful; everybody knew as much; but Tallien and his friends attributed the excessive issue to Cambon, and seemed thus to impute to him all the calamities of the state. To him they likewise attributed the sequestration of foreign property, a measure which, having provoked reprisals against the French, had suspended all circulation of paper, and every sort of credit, and had ruined commerce. As for the commission of supplies, the same censors accused it of having harassed France by requisitions, of having expended enormous sums abroad in purchasing corn, and of having nevertheless left Paris in a destitute state, at the approach of a severe winter. They proposed to call it to a severe account.

Cambon was a man whose integrity was acknowledged by all parties. With ardent zeal for the due administration of the finances, he united an impetuous temper, which an unjust reproach drove beyond all bounds. He had sent word to Tallien and his friends that he would not attack them if they left him alone, but that, if they hazarded a single calumny, he would give them no quarter. Tallien had the imprudence to add newspaper articles to his attacks from the tribune. Cambon could refrain no longer, and, in one of the numerous sittings spent in the discussion of these subjects, he rushed to the tribune, and thus apostrophized Tallien: "What! dost thou attack me? Wouldst thou throw a cloud over my integrity? Well, then, I will prove that thou art a robber and a murderer. Thou hast not rendered thy accounts as secretary of the commune, and I have proof of this at the committee of

the finances; thou hast authorized an expenditure of fifteen hundred thousand francs for an object which will cover thee with infamy; thou hast not rendered thy accounts for thy mission to Bordeaux, and of all this too I have proof at the committee. Thou wilt ever be suspected of conniving at the crimes of September, and, by thine own words, I will prove to thee this connivance, which must for ever doom thee to silence." Cambon was interrupted: he was told that these personalities had nothing to do with the discussion, that nobody denied his integrity, that it was only his financial system that was censured. Tallien stammered out a few faltering words, and said that he would not reply to what related to himself personally, but only to so much as bore upon the general question. Cambon then demonstrated that the assignats had been the only resource of the Revolution; that the expenditure had amounted to three hundred millions per month; that, amidst the disorder which prevailed, the receipts had furnished scarcely one-fourth of that sum; that it was necessary to make up the deficiency every month with assignats; that the quantity in circulation was no secret, and amounted to six thousand four hundred millions; that, on the other hand, the national domains were worth twelve thousand millions, and afforded ample means for acquitting the republic; that he had, at the peril of his life, saved five hundred millions for expenses proposed by Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon; that he had long opposed the *maximum* and the sequestration; and that, as for the commission of commerce being obliged to pay for corn abroad at the rate of twenty-one francs per quintal and to sell it in France for fourteen, it was not wonderful that it should have incurred an enormous expense.

These controversies, so imprudent on the part of the Thermidorians, who, whether right or wrong, had not the most unblemished reputation, and who attacked a man of the purest honour, extensive information, and extremely violent temper, caused the Assembly a great waste of time. Though the Thermidorians had ceased these attacks, Cambon had no peace, but daily repeated in the tribune, "Accuse me! vile rabble! Come, then, examine my accounts, and judge of my conduct."—"Be quiet," cried one or the other to him; "nobody denies your integrity;" but he reverted to the subject every day. Amidst this conflict of personalities, the Assembly pursued, as far as lay in its power, the measures best adapted to repair or to mitigate the evil.

It ordered a general statement of the finances, exhibiting the receipts and the expenditure, and a memorial on the means of withdrawing a portion of the assignats, but still without recurring to demonetisation, in order not to discredit them. On the motion of Cambon, it renounced a paltry financial shift, which gave rise to many extortions, and disgusted the prejudices of many of the provinces—that of melting the Church plate. This plate had been at first estimated at one thousand millions. In reality it did not amount to more than thirty. It was decided that it should no longer be allowed to be touched, and that it should remain in the custody of the communes. The Convention then strove to correct the most serious inconveniences of the *maximum*. Some voices already cried out for its abolition; but the fear of a disproportionate rise of prices prevented the Assembly from yielding to this impulse of the reactors. It merely considered how to modify the law. The *maximum* had contributed to ruin commerce, because, in conforming to the tariff, the merchants could not recover either the price of freight or that of insurance. In consequence, all colonial goods, all commodities of primary necessity, all raw materials imported from abroad, were released from the *maximum* and from requisitions, and might be sold at a free price to any

person whatever. The same favour was granted to merchandise taken in prizes, which lay in the ports without finding a sale. The uniform *maximum* of corn was attended with an extremely serious inconvenience. The production of corn, being more costly and less abundant in certain provinces, the prices received by the farmers in those provinces did not even repay their expenses. It was decided that the price of corn should vary in each department, according to the standard of 1790, but that it should be two-thirds higher. In thus increasing the price of provisions, the intention was to raise the pay, the salaries, the income of small stockholders; but this idea, proposed in all sincerity by Cambon, was opposed as perfidious by Tallien, and adjourned.

The Assembly next turned its attention to the requisitions. That they might no longer be general, unlimited, or confused, that they might no longer exhaust the means of transport, it was decided that the commission of supplies should alone have authority to make requisitions; that it should not have power to lay under requisition the whole of any article, or the whole of the productions of any department, but that it should specify the object, its nature, its quantity, the time of delivery and of payment; that requisitions should be made in proportion to the want, and in the district nearest to that want. The representatives with the armies were alone empowered, in an emergency arising either from a want of provisions or a rapid movement, to make immediately the necessary requisitions.

The question of the sequestration of foreign property was warmly discussed. Some urged that war ought not to be extended from governments to subjects; that subjects ought to be suffered to continue peaceably their intercourse and their exchanges, and armies only ought to be attacked; that the French had seized only twenty-five millions, whereas one hundred millions of theirs had been seized; that they ought to return the twenty-five millions, that their hundred might be restored; that this measure was ruinous to the bankers, since they were obliged to pay into the Treasury what they owed to foreigners, while they were not paid what foreigners owed them, the governments having seized it by way of reprisals; that this prolonged measure rendered French commerce suspicious even to neutrals; lastly, that the circulation of paper having ceased, it was necessary to pay in money for part of the goods procured from the neighbouring countries. The others replied that, since it was proposed to separate subjects from governments in war, it would be right in future to direct bullets and cannon-balls at the heads of kings only, and not at those of their soldiers; that it would be necessary to restore to English commerce the vessels taken by our privateers, and to keep only the ships of war; that, if we were to restore the twenty-five millions sequestered, the example would not be followed by the hostile governments, and the hundred millions of French property would still be retained; and that to re-establish the circulation of bills would only be to furnish the emigrants with the means of receiving funds.

The Convention durst not cut the knot of this question, and merely decided that the sequestration should be taken off in regard to the Belgians, whom conquest had in some measure placed in a state of peace with France, and in regard to the merchants of Hamburg, who were innocent of the war declared by the Empire, and whose bills represented corn sold by them to France.

To all these reparatory measures, adopted for the benefit of agriculture and commerce, the Convention added all those which were likely to restore security and to recall the merchants. A decree outlawed all who had with-

drawn themselves either from trial or from the application of a law. Thus the persons condemned by the revolutionary commissions, the suspected who had concealed themselves, could return to their homes. To the suspected who were still detained in confinement the management of their property was restored. Lyons was declared to be no longer in a state of rebellion; its name was restored to it; the demolitions of houses ceased; the goods destined for it, and which had been sequestered by the surrounding communes, were given up; its merchants no longer needed certificates of citizenship to receive or despatch merchandise; the circulation was therefore renewed for that unfortunate city. The members of the popular commission of Bordeaux and their adherents, that is to say almost all the merchants of that place, had been outlawed; this decree was repealed. A column of disgrace was to be raised at Caen in memory of federalism: it was decided that it should not be erected. Sedan was allowed to manufacture cloths of all qualities. The departments of the North, the Pas-de-Calais, the Aisne, and the Somme, were relieved from the land-tax for four years, on condition of their re-establishing the cultivation of flax and hemp. Lastly, a glance was extended towards unfortunate La Vendée. Hentz and Francastel the representatives, General Turreau, and several others, who had executed the formidable decrees of terror, were recalled. It was alleged, as it was but natural, that they were the accomplices of Robespierre and of the committee of public welfare, who, in employing cruelty, had wished to make the war in La Vendée last for ever. It is not known why the committee should have had such an intention; but parties repay absurdity with absurdity. Vimeaux was appointed to command in La Vendée, and young Hoche in Bretagne. Fresh representatives were sent to those countries, with directions to ascertain if it would be possible to induce the inhabitants to accept an amnesty and thus to bring about a pacification.*

We see how rapid and how general was the return to different sentiments. It was but natural that, when turning its attention to all sorts of evils, to all classes of proscribed persons, that the assembly should think also of its own members. For upwards of a year, seventy-three of them had been imprisoned at Port-Libre for having signed a protest against the proceedings on the 31st of May. They had written a letter, demanding a trial. All who were left of the right side, part of the members of what was called the Belly, rose upon a question which concerned the security of voting, and demanded the release of their colleagues. Then one of those stormy and interminable discussions ensued which almost always arise when past transactions are referred to. "You mean, then, to condemn the proceedings of the 31st of May," exclaimed the Mountaineers; "you mean to stigmatize an event which up to this moment you have proclaimed glorious and salutary; you want to raise a faction, which by its opposition had nearly undone the republic; you want to revive federalism!!!" The Thermidorians, authors

* "When the amnesty was talked of, the Vendean officers came with their arms and white cockades to Nantes; many were so imprudent as to deride publicly the republican habits and opinions, and even to spit upon the tricoloured cockade, and give other rash provocations. The representatives who had come to treat at Nantes, were but slightly offended by these proceedings, and only expressed their fears that such conduct might retard the pacification. Nothing could exceed the attention shown to the Vendean liberated from prison, or applying for the amnesty, and it was even forbidden on pain of three days' imprisonment, to call them brigands. In the quaint language of the day, the representatives ordered that we should be called 'Misled Brethren.' The amnesty once agreed upon, moderation became the order of the day."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein*. E.

or approvers of the events of the 31st of May, were embarrassed, and, to postpone the decision, a report upon the seventy-three was ordered.

It is in the nature of reactions to seek not only to repair the mischief done, but also to take revenge. The trial of Lebon and Fouquier-Tinville was every day demanded, as that of Billaud, Collot, Barrère, Vadier, Amar, Voulant, David, members of the old committees, had already been. Time was continually bringing propositions of this kind. The drownings of Nantes, which had long remained unknown, were at length revealed. One hundred and thirty-three inhabitants of that city, sent to Paris, to be tried by the revolutionary tribunal, not having arrived till after the 9th of Thermidor, had been acquitted, and all the revelations which they had to make respecting the calamities of their city were listened to. Such was the public indignation that it was found necessary to summon the revolutionary committee of Nantes to Paris. The proceeding disclosed all the usual atrocities of civil war. In Paris, at a distance from the theatre of the war, people had no conception that ferocity had been carried to such a length. The accused had but one plea, which they opposed to all the charges preferred against them—La Vendée at their gates, and the orders of Carrier, the representative. Seeing that the end of the proceedings drew near, they daily inveighed more and more vehemently against Carrier, insisting that he should share their fate and be called to account for the acts which he had ordered. The public in general demanded the apprehension of Carrier and his trial before the revolutionary tribunal. The Convention was obliged to come to some decision. The Mountaineers asked, if, after having already imprisoned Lebon and David, and several times accused Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, it was not intended to prosecute all the deputies who had been sent on missions. To dispel their fears, a decree was passed relative to the formalities to be employed, whenever there was occasion to institute proceedings against a member of the national representation. This decree was long discussed, and with the greatest animosity on both sides. The Mountaineers, in order to prevent a new decimation, were for rendering the formalities long and difficult. Those who were called reactors, wished, on the contrary, to simplify them, in order to render the punishment of certain deputies, who were styled proconsuls, more speedy and more certain. It was finally decreed that every denunciation should be referred to the three committees of public welfare, of general safety, and legislation, that they might decide whether there was ground for inquiry; that, in case of an affirmative decision, a sort of commission of twenty-one members should be formed to make a report; that, after this report and the exculpatory defence of the accused deputy, the Convention should decide whether there was ground for the accusation, and send the deputy before the competent tribunal.

As soon as the decree was passed, the three committees declared that there was ground for examination against Carrier: a commission of twenty-one members was formed: it took possession of the documents, summoned Carrier before it, and commenced the proceedings. After what had passed before the revolutionary tribunal, and the knowledge which everybody had acquired of the facts, the fate of Carrier could not be doubtful. The Mountaineers, though they condemned the crimes of Carrier, alleged that the real intention was not to punish those crimes, but to commence a long series of persecutions against the men whose energy had saved France. Their adversaries, on the contrary, hearing the members of the revolutionary committee daily demand the appearance of Carrier, and observing the procrastination of the commission of twenty-one, cried out that there was a wish to

save him. The committee of general safety, apprehensive lest he should escape, had surrounded him with police-agents, who never lost sight of him. Carrier, however, had no thoughts of flight. Some revolutionists had secretly exhorted him to escape, but he had not resolution sufficient to adopt any such step. He appeared to be overwhelmed, and, as it were, paralyzed by the public horror. One day, perceiving that he was followed, he went up to one of the agents, asked why he was watched, and pointed a pistol at him; a scuffle ensued, the armed force interfered, and Carrier was seized and conducted to his abode. This scene excited a great murmur in the Assembly, and violent complaints at the Jacobins. It was said that the national representation had been violated in the person of Carrier, and an explanation was demanded from the committee of general safety. That committee explained how the circumstances happened, and though severely censured, it had at least occasion to prove that there was no intention to favour the escape of Carrier. The commission of twenty-one at length made its report, and concluded that there was ground for accusation before the revolutionary tribunal. Carrier feebly strove to defend himself;* he threw the blame of all the cruelties on the exasperation produced by the civil war, on the necessity of striking terror into La Vendée which still assumed a threatening aspect, lastly, on the impulse communicated by the committee of public welfare, to which he durst not impute the drownings, but to which he attributed that inspiration of ferocious energy which had hurried away several of the commissioners of the Convention. Here dangerous questions, which had already been several times raised, were again revived. The assembly found itself liable to be involved once more in the discussion of the part which each had acted in the violent scenes of the Revolution; the commissioners might throw upon the committees, the committees on the Convention, and the Convention on France, the blame of that inspiration which had produced such frightful but such great results, and which belonged to everybody, but above all to a situation without parallel. "Everybody and everything," said Carrier in a moment of despair, "is guilty here, even to the president's bell." The tale of the atrocities committed at Nantes had, however, excited such indignation that not one member durst defend Carrier, or even thought of screening him by general considerations. He was unanimously decreed to be under accusation, and sent to the revolutionary tribunal.

Thus the reaction was making rapid strides. The blows which its authors had not yet dared to strike at the members of the old committees of government, they were about to aim at Carrier. All the members of the revolutionary committees, all those of the Convention who had fulfilled missions, in short all the men who had been invested with rigorous functions, began to tremble for themselves.

The Jacobins, already struck by a decree which forbade their affiliation and correspondence in a collective name, had need of prudence; but since the late events it was not probable that they would be able to contain themselves and to avoid a struggle with the Convention and the Thermidorians. What had passed in regard to Carrier led in fact to a stormy meeting of

* "Carrier laid his cruelties to the account of the cruelties of the Vendéans themselves. 'When I acted,' said he, 'the air seemed still to ring with the civic songs of twenty thousand martyrs, who had repeated, Long live the Republic! in the midst of tortures. How could expiring humanity have made herself heard in those terrible times? What would they who now rise against me have done if they had been placed in my situation? I have saved the republic at Nantes, I have lived for my country alone, and I now know how to die for it.'—*Mignet*. E.

their club. Crassous, a deputy and a Jacobin, drew a sketch of the means employed by the aristocracy to ruin the patriots. "The trial now going forward before the revolutionary tribunal," said he, "is its principal resource, and that on which it places the greatest reliance. The accused are scarcely allowed a hearing before that tribunal; the witnesses are almost all of them persons interested in making a great noise about this affair; some have passports signed by Chouans; the newspaper-writers and the pamphleteers have joined to exaggerate the most trifling facts, to mislead public opinion, and to keep out of sight the cruel circumstances which produced and which explain the misfortunes that happened not at Nantes only, but throughout all France. If the Convention does not take care, it will find itself dishonoured by these aristocrats, who make such a noise about this trial merely to throw all the odium of it upon the Assembly. It is not the Jacobins who must now be accused of wishing to dissolve the Convention, but those men who have coalesced to compromise and to degrade it in the eyes of France. Let, then, all good patriots beware. The attack on them is already begun. Let them close their ranks and be ready to defend themselves with energy."

Several Jacobins spoke after Crassous, and repeated nearly the same sentiments. "People talk," said they, "of shootings and drownings, but they do not recollect that the individuals for whom they feel pity had furnished succours to the banditti. They do not recollect the cruelties perpetrated on our volunteers, who were hanged upon trees and shot in files. If vengeance is demanded for the banditti, let the families of two hundred thousand republicans, mercilessly slaughtered, come also to demand vengeance." There was great excitement. The sitting became an absolute tumult, when Billaud-Varennes, whom the Jacobins reproached for his sullen silence, took his turn to speak. "The course of the counter-revolutionists," said he, "is known. When, in the time of the Constituent Assembly, they wanted to bring the Revolution to trial, they called the Jacobins disorganizers, and shot them in the Champ de Mars. After the 2d of September, when they wanted to prevent the establishment of the republic, they called them quaffers of blood, and loaded them with atrocious calumnies. They are now recommencing the same machinations; but let them not expect to triumph. The patriots have been able to keep silence for a moment; but the lion is not dead when he slumbers, and when he awakes he exterminates all his enemies. The trenches are opened, the patriots are about to rouse themselves, and to resume all their energy: we have already risked our lives a thousand times; if the scaffold yet awaits us, let us recollect that it was the scaffold which covered the immortal Sidney with glory."

This speech electrified all minds. Billaud-Varennes was applauded, and his colleagues thronged around him, vowing to make common cause with the threatened patriots, and to defend themselves to the last extremity.*

In the existing state of parties such a sitting could not fail to excite great attention. These words of Billaud-Varennes's, who had hitherto abstained from showing himself in either of the two tribunes, were a real declaration of war. The Thermidorians actually regarded them as such. Next day,

* "That ancient revolutionary cavern, the Jacobin club, now once again heard its roof resound with denunciations by which Billaud-Varennes and others devoted to the infernal deities those who, they complained, wished to involve all honest republicans with sanguinary charges brought against Robespierre and his friends. Their threats, however, were no longer rapidly followed by the thunderbolts which used to attend such flashes of Jacobin eloquence. Men's homes were now in comparison safe. A man might be named in a Jacobin club as an aristocrat or a moderate, and yet live."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Bentabolle, snatching up the *Journal de la Montagne*, containing a report of the sitting of the Jacobins, denounced these expressions of Billaud-Varennes's: *The lion is not dead when he slumbers, and when he awakes he exterminates all his enemies*. Scarcely had Bentabolle finished reading this sentence, when the Mountaineers took fire, loaded him with abuse and told him that he was one of those who had procured the release of the aristocrats. Duhem called him a scoundrel. Tallien warmly insisted that Bentabolle should be heard, but the latter, alarmed at the tumult, would have descended from the tribune. He was, however, persuaded to stay, and he then proposed that Billaud-Varennes should be required to explain what he meant by the *awaking of the lion*. Billaud said a few words from his place. "To the tribune!" was shouted from all quarters. He refused, but was at length obliged to ascend and to address the Assembly. "I shall not disavow," said he, "the opinion that I expressed at the Jacobins. While I conceived that the question related to private quarrels only, I kept silence; but I could no longer hold my tongue when I saw the aristocracy rise up more threatening than ever." At the last words, there was a burst of laughter in one of the tribunes, and a noise was made in the other. "Turn out the Chouans!" was shouted from the Mountain. Billaud continued amidst the applause of some and the murmurs of others. He said, in a faltering voice, that well-known royalists had been released, and the purest patriots imprisoned; he mentioned Madame de Tourzel, governess of the children of the royal family, who had just been liberated, and who might of herself form a nucleus of counter-revolution. At the concluding words, fresh bursts of laughter arose. He added that the secret conduct of the committees belied the public language of the addresses of the Convention; that, in such a state of things, he was justified in talking of the necessary awaking of the patriots, for it is the sleep of men over their rights that leads them to slavery.

Some cheers were given by the Mountain in favour of Billaud, but part of the tribunes and of the Assembly burst into a violent fit of laughter, and felt only that pity which is excited by prostrate power, stammering forth empty words for its justification. Tallien hastened to succeed Billaud, and to repel his charges. "It is high time," said he, "to reply to those men who would fain direct the hands of the people against the Convention."—"Nobody tries to do so," cried some voices in the hall. "Yes, yes," rejoined others, "there are those who wish to direct the hands of the people against the Convention."—"It is those men," continued Tallien, "who are alarmed at seeing the sword suspended over guilty heads, at seeing light thrown upon all the departments of the administration, the vengeance of the laws ready to alight upon assassins—it is those men who are now bestirring themselves, who pretend that the people ought to awake, who strive to mislead the patriots by persuading them that they are all compromised; and, finally, who hope, by favour of a general commotion, to prevent the prosecution of the accomplices or abettors of Carrier." Universal applause interrupted Tallien. Billaud, indignant at the charge of collusion with Carrier, exclaimed from his place, "I declare that I have never approved the conduct of Carrier." No notice was taken of this protest of Billaud's; Tallien was applauded, and thus resumed: "It is impossible to suffer any longer two rival authorities, to permit members who are silent here to go elsewhere immediately and to denounce all that you have done."—"No, no," cried several voices, "no rival authorities to the Convention."—"People must not," proceeded Tallien, "be allowed to go to any place whatever to pour forth ignominy upon the Convention, and upon those of its members to whom it has com-

mitted the government. I shall draw no conclusion," added he, "at this moment. It is sufficient that this tribune has replied to what has been said in another; it is sufficient that the unanimity of the Convention be strongly expressed against blood-thirsty men."

Fresh plaudits proved to Tallien that the Assembly was determined to second any measure that might be proposed against the Jacobins. Bourdon of the Oise supported the sentiments of the last speaker, though he differed on many questions from his friends the Thermidorians. Legendre also raised his energetic voice. "Who are they," said he, "that blame our operations?—a handful of *men of prey*. Look them in the face. You will see that theirs is covered with a varnish composed of the gall of tyrants." These expressions, alluding to the gloomy and bilious countenance of Billand-Varennes, were loudly applauded. "What have you to complain of," continued Legendre, "you, who are constantly accusing us? Is it because citizens are no longer sent to prison by hundreds? because the guillotine no longer despatches fifty, sixty, or eighty persons per day? Ah! I must confess that on this point our pleasure differs from yours, and that our manner of sweeping the prisons is not the same. We have visited them ourselves; we have made, as far as it was possible to do so, a distinction between the aristocrats and the patriots; if we have done wrong, here are our heads to answer for it. But while we make reparation for crimes, while we are striving to make you forget that those crimes are your own, why do you go to a notorious society to denounce us, and to mislead the people who attend there, fortunately in no great number? I move," added Legendre, as he concluded, "that the Convention take measures for preventing its members from going and preaching up rebellion at the Jacobins." The Convention adopted Legendre's proposition, and directed the committees to submit those measures to its consideration.

The Convention and the Jacobins were thus arrayed against each other, and in this state, when words were exhausted, there was nothing left but to strike. The intention to destroy that celebrated society* began to be no longer doubtful. It was only necessary that the committees should have the courage to propose that measure. The Jacobins were aware of this, and complained in all their sittings that there was an evident determination to dissolve them. They likened the existing government to Leopold, to Brunswick, and to Coburg, who had demanded their dissolution. One assertion, in particular, made in the tribune, had furnished them with a fertile text for representing themselves as calumniated and attacked. It was alleged that letters had been intercepted containing proofs that the committee of emigrants in Switzerland was in correspondence with the Jacobins of Paris. Had it been said that the emigrants wished for commotions which should obstruct the march of the government, that would no doubt have been correct. A letter seized upon an emigrant stated in fact that the hope of conquering the Revolution by arms was insane, and that its adversaries ought to seek to destroy it by its own disorders. But if, on the contrary, people went so far as to suppose that the Jacobins and the emigrants corresponded and concerted together to attain the same end, they said what was equally absurd and ridi-

* "Though the Jacobin society had most essentially served the cause of the republic at a time when it was necessary, in order to repel the attacks of Europe, to place the government in the hands of the multitude, yet, at the present crisis, it could have no other effect than to counteract the existing order of things. Its destruction had now become necessary. For the position of the affairs was changed, and it was fit that liberty should succeed to club dictatorship."—*Mignet*. E.

culous, and the Jacobins desired nothing better. Accordingly, they never ceased, for several days, to declare that they were calumniated; and Duhem, at several different times, insisted that those pretended letters should be read from the tribune.

The agitation in Paris was extreme. Numerous groups, some starting from the Palais Royal and composed of young men with double queues and black collars, others from the fauxbourg St. Antoine, the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, and all the quarters were the Jacobins preponderated, met at the Carrousel, in the garden of the Tuileries, in the Place de la Révolution. Some shouted, *The Convention for ever! Down with the Terrorists and Robespierre's tail!*—others replied with cries of *The Convention for ever! The Jacobins for ever! Down with the aristocrats!* They had their peculiar songs. The gilded youth had adopted an air which was called the *Réveil du Peuple*; the partisans of the Jacobins sang that old air of the Revolution rendered famous by so many victories: *Allons enfans de la patrie*. These adverse groups met; they sang their appropriate songs; then set up hostile shouts, and frequently attacked one another with stones and sticks. Blood was spilt, and prisoners were taken and delivered by both parties to the committee of general safety. The Jacobins declared that this committee, composed entirely of Thermidorians, released the young men who were sent to it, and detained the patriots only.

These scenes lasted for several successive days, and at length became so alarming that the committees of government took measures of safety, and doubled the guard at all the posts. On the 19th of Brumaire (November 9, 1794), the assemblages were still more numerous and more considerable than on the preceding days. A party, setting out from the Palais Royal, and passing through the rue St. Honoré, had proceeded to the hall of the Jacobins and surrounded it. The concourse kept continually increasing, all the avenues were choked up, and the Jacobins, who were just then sitting, might fairly conceive themselves besieged. Some groups that were favourable to them had shouted, *The Convention for ever! the Jacobins for ever!* and had been answered by the contrary cries. A battle ensued, and, as the young men were the stronger, they soon succeeded in dispersing all the hostile groups. They then surrounded the hall of the club, and broke the windows with stones. Large flints had already fallen amidst the assembled Jacobins. The latter, enraged, cried out that they should be murdered; and, availing themselves of the presence of some members of the Convention, they declared that the national representation was about to be slaughtered. The women, who filled their tribunes, and who were called the Furies of the Guillotine, attempted to leave the hall, to escape the danger; but the young men who beset it seized those who endeavoured to get away, subjected them to the most indecent treatment, and even cruelly chastised some of them.* Several had gone back into the hall in a wretched plight, with dishevelled hair, saying that they should be assassinated. Stones were still showered upon the assembly. The Jacobins then resolved to sally forth and fall upon the assailants. The energetic Duhem, armed with a stick, put himself at the head of one of these sorties, and the consequence was a tremendous fray in the rue

* "On this occasion the female Jacobins came to rally and assist their male associates, whereupon several of them were seized and punished in a manner which might excellently suit their merits, but which shows that the young associates for maintaining order were not sufficiently aristocratic to be under the absolute restraints imposed by the rules of chivalry. It is impossible, however, to grudge the flagellation administered on this memorable occasion."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*.

St. Honoré. Had the weapons on both sides been destructive, a massacre must have ensued. The Jacobins returned with some prisoners whom they had taken; the young men left outside threatened, if their comrades were not set at liberty, to break into the hall and to take signal vengeance on their adversaries.

This scene had lasted several hours before the committees of the government had assembled and could give orders. Several messengers from the Jacobins had brought word to the committee of general safety that the deputies attending the meeting of the society were in danger of their lives. The four committees of public welfare, general safety, legislation, and war, met and resolved to send patrols immediately to extricate their colleagues who were compromised in this scene, which was more scandalous than murderous.

The patrols set out, with a member of each committee, for the scene of the combat. It was then eight o'clock. The members of the committees who were at the head of the patrols did not order them to charge the assailants, as the Jacobins desired: neither would they enter the hall, as their colleagues there urged them to do; they remained outside, exhorting the young men to disperse, and promising to take care that their comrades should be released. By degrees they succeeded in dispersing the groups; they then made the Jacobins leave the hall, and sent every body home.

Tranquillity being restored, they returned to their colleagues, and the four committees passed the night in deliberating upon what course to pursue. Some were for suspending the Jacobins, others opposed that measure. Thuriot, in particular, though one of those who had attacked Robespierre on the 9th of Thermidor, began to be alarmed at the reaction, and seemed to lean towards the Jacobins. The committees separated without coming to any resolution.

In the morning (Brumaire 20), a most violent scene took place in the Assembly. Duhem was the first, as it may naturally be supposed, to insist that the patriots had been well-nigh murdered on the preceding evening, and that the committee of general safety had not done its duty. The tribunes, taking part in the discussion, made a tremendous noise, and seemed, on the one hand, to confirm, on the other, to deny, the statements. The disturbers were turned out, and, immediately afterwards, a number of members demanded permission to speak: Bourdon of the Oise, Rewbel,* and Clausel, in behalf of the committee; Duhem, Duroy, Bentabolle, against it. Each spoke in his turn, stated the facts in his own way, and was interrupted by the contradictions of those who had viewed them in a contrary light. Some had only perceived groups maltreating the patriots; others had only met with groups maltreating the young men, and abusing the Convention and the committees. Duhem, who could scarcely contain himself during these discussions, cried out that the blows had been directed by the aristocrats, who dined at the house of Cabarus, and who went a-hunting at Raincy. He was not suffered to speak, and, amidst this conflict of contrary assertions, it was evident that the committees, notwithstanding their readiness to meet

* "Rewbel, who inveighed bitterly against the Jacobins, said, 'Where has tyranny been organized? At the Jacobins. Where has it found its supporters and its satellites? At the Jacobins. Who have covered France with mourning, carried despair into families, filled the country with prisons, and rendered the republic so odious, that a slave pressed down by the weight of his irons would refuse to live under it? The Jacobins. Who regret the frightful government under which we have lived? The Jacobins. If you have not now the courage to declare yourselves, you have no longer a republic, because you have Jacobins.'"—*Mignet*. E.

and to collect the armed force, had not been able to send it to the spot till very late; that, when the patrols were at length sent towards the rue St. Honoré, they did not attempt to extricate the Jacobins by force, but had been content to disperse the concourse by degrees; that, in short, they had shown a very natural indulgence for groups shouting *The Convention for ever!* and in which it was not asserted that the government was under the sway of the counter-revolutionists. What more could have been well expected of them? To preserve their enemies from maltreatment was their duty; but to insist on their charging with the bayonet their own friends, that is to say, the young men who daily came in numbers to support them against the revolutionists, was requiring too much. They declared to the Convention that they had passed the night in discussing the question whether the Jacobins ought to be suspended or not. They were asked if they had yet formed any plan, and, on their reply that they were not yet agreed, the whole was referred to them, that they might come to some decision, and then communicate it to the Assembly.

The 20th was rather quieter, because there was no sitting at the Jacobins; but, on the 21st, the day for their meeting, the assemblages of people indicated that both sides were prepared, and it was evident that they would come to blows in the evening. The four committees immediately met, suspended by an ordinance the sittings of the Jacobins, and ordered the keys of the hall to be brought forthwith to the secretary's office of the committee of general safety.

The order was obeyed, the hall locked up, and the keys carried to the secretary's office. This measure prevented the tumult that was apprehended. The assemblages dispersed, and the night was perfectly quiet. Next day, Laignelot came to communicate to the Convention, in the name of the four committees, the resolution which they had adopted. "We never had any intention to attack the popular societies," said he, "but we have a right to close the doors of places where factions arise, and where civil war is preached up." The Convention hailed him with applause. A call of the Assembly was demanded, and the ordinance was sanctioned almost unanimously, amidst acclamations and shouts of *The Republic for ever! The Convention for ever!*

Such was the end of that society whose name had continued to be so celebrated and so odious, and which, like all the assemblies, like all the men, who successively appeared on the stage, nay, like the Revolution itself, had the merit and the faults of extreme energy.* Placed below the Convention, open to all new comers, it was the arena to which the young revolutionists who had not yet figured, and who were impatient to show themselves, repaired to try their strength, and to accelerate the usually slower progress of the revolutionists who had already attained power. So long as there was need of fresh subjects, fresh talents, fresh lives ready to be sacrificed, the society of the Jacobins was serviceable, and furnished such men as the Revolution wanted in that terrible and sanguinary struggle. But, when the Revolution, having arrived at its final term, began to retrograde, the ardent men whom it had produced, and who had survived that violent action, were driven back

* "Thus fell the club of the Jacobins, the victim of the crimes it had sanctioned, and the reaction it had produced. Within its walls all the great changes of the Revolution had been prepared, and all its principal scenes rehearsed: from its energy the triumph of the democracy had sprung; and from its atrocity its destruction arose—a signal proof of the tendency of revolutionary violence to precipitate its supporters into crime, and render them at last the victims of the atrocities which they have committed."—*Alison*. E.

into the society of the Jacobins. It soon became troublesome by its alarm, and dangerous even by its terrors. It was then sacrificed by the men who sought to bring back the Revolution from the extreme term to which it had been urged, to a middle course of reason, equity, and liberty, and who, blinded by hope, like all the men who act, conceived that they could fix it in that desirable middle track.

They were certainly right in striving to return to moderation; and the Jacobins were right in telling them that they were running into counter-revolution. As revolutions, like a pendulum violently agitated, go from one extreme to another, we have always ground to predict that they will run into excesses, but fortunately, political societies, after having violently oscillated in a contrary direction, subside at length into an equable and justly limited movement. But, before they arrive at that happy epoch, what time! what calamities! what bloodshed! Our predecessors, the English, had to endure the infliction of a Cromwell and two Stuarts.

The dispersed Jacobins were not the men to shut themselves up in private life, and to renounce political agitation. Some betook themselves to the electoral club, which, driven from the Eveché by the committee, held its meetings in one of the halls of the Museum. Others went to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to the popular society of the section of the Quinze-Vingts. There the most conspicuous and the most violent men of the fauxbourg met. Thither the Jacobins repaired in a body on the 24th of Brumaire, saying, "Brave citizens of the fauxbourg Antoine! you who are the only supporters of the people, you see the unfortunate Jacobins under persecution. We apply to be admitted into your society. We said to one another, 'Let us go to the fauxbourg Antoine, we shall there be unassailable; united we shall strike surer blows to preserve the people and the Convention from slavery.'" They were all admitted without examination, made use of the most violent and the most dangerous language, and several times read this article of the declaration of rights; *When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people the most sacred of rights and the most indispensable of duties.*

The committees, which had tried their strength and felt themselves capable of acting vigorously, did not deem it necessary to pursue the Jacobins into their asylum, but allowed them to employ empty words, holding themselves in readiness to act at the first signal, if those words should be followed up by deeds.

Most of the sections of Paris took courage and expelled from their bosoms the Terrorists, as they were called, who retired towards the Temple, and to the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. Delivered from this opposition, they prepared numerous addresses congratulating the Convention on the energy which it had just displayed against *Robespierre's accomplices*. Similar addresses poured in from almost all the towns, and the Convention, thus borne along in the direction which it had lately taken, pursued it the more freely. The seventy-three, whose release had been already demanded, were loudly called for every day by the members of the centre and of the right side, who were anxious to reinforce themselves with seventy-three voices, and above all, to insure the liberty of the vote by recalling their colleagues. They were at length released and reinstated in their seats; the Convention, without explaining its sentiments concerning the events of the 31st of May, declared that people might have differed in opinion on that subject from the majority, without on that account being guilty. They entered in a body, with old Dussaulx at their head. He acted as spokesman,

and declared that, in resuming their seats by their colleagues, they laid aside all resentment, and were actuated solely by the wish to promote the public welfare. This step taken, it was too late to stop. Louvet, Lanjuinais,* Henri Larivière, Douleet, Isnard, all the Girondins who had escaped the proscription, and many of whom were hidden in caverns, wrote and demanded their reinstatement. On this subject a violent scene took place. The Thermidorians, alarmed at the rapidity of the reaction, paused and checked the right side, which, conceiving that it needed them, durst not displease them, and ceased to insist. It was decreed that the proceedings against the outlawed deputies should be dropped, but that they should not return to the bosom of the Assembly.

The same spirit which caused some to be absolved led of necessity to the condemnation of others. An old deputy, named Raffron, exclaimed that it was high time to prosecute all who were guilty, and to prove to France that the Convention was not the accomplice of murderers. He moved that Lebon and David, both of whom had been apprehended, should be immediately brought to trial. What had occurred in the South, and especially at Bédouin, having become known, a report and an act of accusation against Maignet were demanded. A great number of voices insisted on the trial of Fouquier-Tinville, and on the institution of proceedings against the former minister at war, Bouchotte, who had thrown open the war-office to the Jacobins. The same course was called for against Pache, the ex-mayor, an accomplice, it was alleged, of the Hebertists, and saved by Robespierre. Amidst this torrent of attacks upon the revolutionary leaders, the three principal chiefs, who had long been defended, could not fail at length to fall. Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère, being accused anew and in a formal manner by Legendre, could not escape the general fate. The committees could not help receiving the denunciation and giving their opinion. Lecointre, at first declared to be a calumniator, gave notice that the documents with which he was at first not provided, he had since got printed: they were referred to the committees. The latter, hurried along by the force of opinion, durst not resist, and declared that there was ground for investigation in the case of Collot, Billaud, and Barrère, but not against Vadier, Vouland, Amar, and David.

The proceedings against Carrier, which had long been proceeding, before the public that ill-disguised the spirit of reaction by which it was influenced, closed at last on the 5th of Nivose (December 25). Carrier and two members of the revolutionary committee of Nantes, Pinel and Grand-Maison, were condemned to death as agents and accomplices of the system of terror.† The others were acquitted, their participation in the drownings being excused on the ground of obedience to their superiors. Carrier, persisting to assert that the entire Revolution, and those who had effected, suffered, and directed it, were as guilty as he, was conveyed to the scaffold. He recovered resignation at the fatal moment, and received death with composure and courage. In proof of the blind excitement of civil wars, several traits of character were mentioned demonstrating that Carrier, before his mission to Nantes, was by no

* "Lanjuinais was the bravest and best man that the Revolution produced. He was proscribed with the Girondins, but escaped; and survived to exhibit the independent moderation of his character, through all the phases of the Revolution, even down to the restoration."—*Quarterly Review*. E.

† "Out of five hundred members, four hundred and ninety-eight voted in favour of the sentence of death against Carrier, the remaining two were also in favour of it, but conditionally."—*Hazlitt*. E.

means of a bloodthirsty disposition. The revolutionists, at the same time that they condemned his conduct, were alarmed at his fate; they could not conceal from themselves that this execution was the commencement of the bloody reprisals preparing for them by the counter-revolution. Besides the prosecutions directed against the representatives who had been members of the old committees, or sent on missions, other laws, lately enacted, proved that vengeance was about to descend lower, and that the inferiority of the part would not save them. A decree required all those who had held any function whatever, and had the handling of the public money, to give an account of their management. Now, as all the members of the revolutionary committees and of the municipalities had formed chests with the produce of the taxes, with the church plate, and with the revolutionary imposts, for the purpose of organizing the first battalions of volunteers, paying the revolutionary armies, defraying the expense of transport, carrying on the police—in short, for a thousand causes of that nature, it was evident that every individual functionary during the system of terror would be amenable to inquiry.

To these well-founded apprehensions were added very alarming reports. Peace with Holland, Prussia, the empire, Spain, and even La Vendée was talked of; and it was asserted that the conditions of this peace would be ruinous to the revolutionary party.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CONQUEST OF HOLLAND—NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRUSSIA—COMMENCEMENT OF PACIFICATIONS IN LA VENDEE—PUISAYE IN ENGLAND.

THE French armies, masters of the whole left bank of the Rhine, and ready to debouch on the right bank, threatened Holland and Germany. Were they to be urged to advance or to go into cantonments? Such was the question that presented itself.

Notwithstanding their triumphs, and their abode in Belgium which was so rich, they were in a state of the greatest destitution. The country which they occupied, overrun for three years past by innumerable legions, was completely drained. To the evils of war were added those of the French administration, which had introduced in its train assignats, the *maximum*, and requisitions. Provisional municipalities, eight intermediate administrations, and a central administration established at Brussels, governed the country till its fate should be definitively decided. Twenty-five millions had been levied upon the clergy, the abbey, the nobles, and the corporations. The assignats had been put into forced circulation; the prices at Lille had been taken as a standard for fixing the *maximum* throughout all Belgium. Articles of consumption and commodities serviceable for the armies had been laid under requisition. These measures had not put an end to the dearth. The dealers, the farmers, hid all they possessed: the officer, like the common soldier, was in want of everything.

Being levied *en masse* in the preceding year, and transported in haste to Hondtschoote, Watignies, and Landau, the entire army had only been sup-

plied by the administration with powder and projectiles. For a long time it had not encamped in tents, but bivouacked under boughs of trees, in spite of the commencement of an already severe winter. Many of the soldiers, destitute of shoes, fastened wisps of straw about their feet, or wrapped themselves in mats for want of great coats. The officers, paid in assignats, found their appointments reduced sometimes to eight or ten effective francs per month; those who received any assistance from their families were scarcely the better for it, as everything was put into requisition beforehand by the French administration. They fared precisely the same as the common soldiers, marching on foot, carrying the knapsack at their backs, eating ammunition bread, and living by the chances of war.

The administration appeared to be exhausted by the efforts which it had made to raise and arm twelve hundred thousand men. The new organization of the supreme power, feeble and divided, was not calculated to restore it to the necessary vigour and activity. Thus everything seemed to require that the army should be put into winter-quarters, and rewarded for its victories and its military virtues by rest and abundant supplies.

Meanwhile, we were before the fortress of Nimeguen, which, seated on the Wahl—the name given to the Rhine near its mouth—commanded both banks, and might serve the enemy as a *tête-du-pont* for debouching in the next campaign on the left bank. It was, therefore, important to gain possession of that place before wintering, but the attack of it was a very difficult undertaking. The English army, ranged on the right bank, was encamped there to the number of thirty-eight thousand men: a bridge of boats enabled it to communicate with, and to re-victual the place. Besides its fortifications, Nimeguen had before it an intrenched camp manned with troops. To render the investment complete, it would therefore have been necessary to throw upon the right bank an army which would have to run the risks of the passage and of a battle, and which, in case of defeat, would have had no means of retreat. Our troops, therefore, could act on the left bank only, and they would be obliged to attack the intrenched camp, without any great hope of success.

The French generals nevertheless determined to try the effect of one of those sudden and bold attacks which had in so short a time opened to them the gates of Maestricht and Venloo. The allies, aware of the importance of Nimeguen, had met at Arnheim to concert the means of defending the place. It had been agreed that an Austrian corps under General Werneck should be taken into English pay, and form the left of the Duke of York for the defence of Holland, while the duke, with his English and Hanoverians, was to remain on the right bank before the bridge of Nimeguen and to recruit the forces of the place. General Werneck was to attempt, at a great distance above Nimeguen, towards Wesel, a singular movement, which experienced officers have deemed one of the most absurd that the coalition planned during all these campaigns. This corps, taking advantage of an island formed by the Rhine, near Buderich, was to cross to the right bank, and to attack a point between the army of the Sambre and Meuse and that of the North. Thus twenty thousand men were to be thrown across a great river, between two victorious armies, each eighty or one hundred thousand strong, to see what effect they should produce upon them. This corps was to be reinforced according to its success. It is obvious that this movement, executed with the united armies of the allies, might have been grand and decisive; but, effected with twenty thousand

men, it would be but a puerile attempt, and probably a disastrous one to the corps engaged in it.

The allies, however, hoping to save Nimeguen by these means, caused Werneck's corps to advance towards Buderich on the one hand, and sorties to be made by the garrison of Nimeguen on the other. The French repulsed the sorties, and, as at Maestricht and Venloo, opened the trenches much closer to the place than was yet usual in war. A lucky accident accelerated their operations. The two extremities of the arc which they described about Nimeguen terminated at the Wahl: they attempted to fire from these extremities at the bridge. Some of their projectiles reached several pontoons, and endangered the communications of the garrison with the English army. The English who were in the fortress, surprised at this by no means probable event, re-established the pontoons, and hastened to rejoin the main body of their army on the other bank, leaving the garrison composed of three thousand Dutch to itself. No sooner were the republicans aware of the evacuation than they redoubled their fire. The governor, alarmed, communicated his situation to the Prince of Orange, and obtained permission to retire as soon as he should deem the danger sufficiently urgent. The moment he had received this authority, he crossed over himself. Disorder ensued among the garrison. One part laid down their arms, another, attempting to escape on a flying bridge, were stopped by the French who cut the cables, and they were stranded upon an island, where they were made prisoners.

On the 18th of Brumaire (November 8), the French entered Nimeguen,* and found themselves masters of that important place, owing to their temerity, and to the terror excited by their arms. Meanwhile the Austrians, commanded by Werneck, had attempted to debouch from Wessel, but the impetuous Vandamme, rushing upon them at the moment when they were setting foot on the other side of the Rhine, drove them back to the right bank; and it was fortunate for them that they had not been more successful, for, had they advanced farther, they would have run the risk of being destroyed.

The fit moment had at length arrived for going into cantonments, since they were masters of all the important points on the Rhine. To conquer Holland; to secure thus the navigation of the three great rivers, the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine; to deprive England of her most powerful naval ally; to threaten Germany on its flanks; to interrupt the communications of our enemies on the continent with those of the Ocean, or at least to oblige them to make the long circuit by Hamburg; to open to ourselves, in short, the richest country in the world, and the most desirable for us in the state that our commerce then was,—these were, to be sure, objects worthy of exciting the ambition of our government and of our armies; but how durst they attempt the conquest of Holland, almost impossible at any time, but most impracticable in the rainy season? Situated at the mouths of several

* People in every country had been induced to look upon the siege of Nimeguen as an event that would terminate in great celebrity; from its duration, the number of brilliant actions it would produce, and the unyielding obstinacy with which on both sides it would be accompanied. The sudden and unexpected disappointment of all these expectations, put an end to the hopes which had been entertained that, laying aside the animosity of parties, the Dutch would at length cordially unite in opposing the threatened invasion of the French. The loss of the town was imputed at the time to the secret machinations of those within the walls, who were labouring in the service of the French, and continually giving them notice of whatever was transacted in the garrison. E.

rivers, Holland consists of stripes of land thrown between the currents of those rivers and the sea. Its soil, everywhere lower than the bed of the waters, is constantly threatened by the Ocean, the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, and is intersected moreover by small detached arms of rivers, and by a multitude of artificial canals. These lowlands so menaced are covered with gardens, manufacturing towns and arsenals. At every step that an army attempts to take there, it comes either to broad streams whose banks are elevated, dykes lined with cannon, or to arms of rivers or canals, all defended by fortifications, or to fortresses which are the strongest in Europe. Those great manœuvres which frequently disconcert methodical defence by rendering sieges useless, are therefore impossible in a country intersected and defended by innumerable lines. If an army, nevertheless, succeeds in conquering so many obstacles and advances into Holland, its inhabitants, by an act of heroism, of which they furnished an example in the time of Louis XIV., need only cut their dykes, in order to ingulf, together with their country, the army that has been rash enough to invade it. They have their shipping left, and, like the Athenians of old, they can fly with their most valuable effects, and wait for better times, or go to India, and transfer their abode to the vast empire which there belongs to them. All these difficulties are greatly increased during the season of inundations, and are insurmountable with a maritime alliance, such as that of England.

It is true that the spirit of independence which possessed the Dutch, their hatred of the stadtholdership, their aversion to England and Prussia, their acquaintance with their true interests, their resentment on account of the Revolution so unfortunately stifled in 1787, gave the French armies the certainty of being ardently wished for. It was to be presumed that the Dutch would oppose the cutting of the dykes and the ruining of the country for a cause which they detested. But the army of the Prince of Orange and that of the Duke of York still overawed them, and these united were sufficient to prevent the passage of the numberless lines which it would be necessary to carry in their presence. If then a surprise was rash in the time of Dumouriez, it was almost insane at the end of 1794.

The committee of public welfare, instigated by Dutch refugees, nevertheless thought seriously of pushing a point beyond the Wahl. Pichegru, almost as badly off as his soldiers, who were eaten up by itch and vermin, had gone to Brussels to get cured of a cutaneous disease. Moreau and Regnier* had succeeded him. Both were in favour of rest and winter quarters. The Dutch general Daendels, a refugee and a gallant officer, earnestly recommended a first attempt on the isle of Bommel, which need not to be followed up, if that attack should fail. The Meuse and the Wahl, running parallel with the sea, unite just below Nimeguen, again separate, and once more unite at Wondrichem, a little above Gorcum. The tract inclosed by them during their separation is called the isle of Bommel. Contrary to the opinion of Moreau and Regnier, an attack was attempted upon that island at three different points. It was not successful, and was immediately relinquished with the utmost alacrity, especially on the part of General Daendels, who cheerfully acknowledged, as soon as he was convinced of, its impossibility.

Then, that is about the middle of Frimaire (the beginning of December),

* "Regnier was certainly a man of talent, but he was more fit to give counsel to an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, than to command one of five or six."—*A Voice from St. Helena.* E.

winter-quarters, which the army stood so much in need of, were assigned to it, and part of the cantonments were established around Breda, for the purpose of forming the blockade of that place, which, with Grave, still held out, but the interruption of the communications during the winter could not fail to oblige them to surrender.

It was in this position that the army expected to await the end of the season : and most assuredly it had done enough to make it proud of its glory and its services. But an almost miraculous chance reserved for it new destinies. The cold had already begun to be very severe ; it soon increased to such a degree as to encourage a hope that the great rivers would be frozen over. Pichegru left Brussels, without waiting to complete his cure, that he might be ready to seize the first opportunity for new conquests, should it be offered him by the season. The frost became more and more intense, and the winter exceeded in severity any that had preceded it for several years. The Meuse and the Wahl were already covered with floating ice, and the ice was set along their banks.

On the 3d of Nivose (December 23) the Meuse was entirely frozen, and hard enough to bear cannon. General Walmoden, to whom the Duke of York had left the command on setting out for England, and whom he had thus doomed to experience nothing but disasters, found himself in the most difficult position. The Meuse being taken, his front would be uncovered ; and the floating ice upon the Wahl even threatening to carry away all the bridges, his retreat would be endangered. He soon learned that the bridge of Arnheim had been actually carried away ; he then ordered his baggage and his heavy cavalry to file off on the rear, and himself retreated upon Deventer, towards the banks of the Yssel. Pichegru, profiting by the occasion which fortune offered to surmount obstacles usually invincible, prepared to cross the Meuse on the ice. He made arrangements for passing at three points, and for seizing the isle of Bommel, while the division blockading Breda was to attack the lines which surrounded that place. Those brave Frenchmen, exposed almost without clothes to the severest winter for a century past, marching in shoes of which nothing but the upper leather was left, immediately quitted their quarters, and cheerfully renounced the rest which they had begun to enjoy.

On the 8th of Nivose (December 28), in a cold of 17°, they presented themselves at three points, at Crèvecœur, Empel, and Fort St. André. They crossed the ice with their artillery, surprised the Dutch, almost stiffened with cold, and completely defeated them. While they were making themselves masters of the isle of Bommel, that division of their force which was besieging Breda, attacked its line and carried them. The Dutch, assailed on all points, retired in disorder, some towards the head-quarters of the Prince of Orange, who was still at Gorcum, the others to Thiel. In the confusion of their retreat they did not think of defending the passes of the Wahl, which was not entirely frozen. Pichegru, master of the isle of Bommel, into which he had penetrated by passing over the frozen Meuse, crossed the Wahl at different points, but durst not venture beyond the river, the ice not being strong enough to bear cannon. In this situation, the state of Holland would be desperate if the frost continued, and there was every appearance that it would continue. The Prince of Orange, with his Dutchmen disheartened at Gorcum, Walmoden with his English in full retreat upon Deventer, could not make head against a formidable conquerer, who was far superior to them in strength, and who had just broken the centre of their line. Their political was not less alarming than their military situation. The Dutch, full of hope

and joy on seeing the French approach, began to stir. The Orange party was far too weak to overawe the republican party. The enemies of the stadtholder's authority reproached it with having suppressed the liberties of the country, imprisoned or banished the best or the most generous patriots, and, above all, with having sacrificed Holland to England, by forcing her into an alliance contrary to all her interests commercial and naval. They met secretly in revolutionary committees, ready at the first signal to rise, to turn out the authorities, and to appoint others. The province of Friesland, whose states were assembled, ventured to declare that it was determined to separate itself from the stadtholder. The citizens of Amsterdam presented a petition to the authorities of the province, in which they declared that they were ready to oppose any preparation for defence, and that they would not at any rate suffer the dykes to be cut.

In this desperate situation the stadtholder thought of negotiating, and sent envoys to Pichegru's head-quarters to demand a truce, and to offer, as conditions of peace, neutrality and an indemnification for the expenses of the war. The French general and the representatives refused the truce; and as for the offers of peace, they referred them immediately to the committee of public welfare.

Spain, threatened by Dugommier, whom we left descending from the Pyrenees, and by Moncey,* who, master of Guipuscoa, was advancing upon Pampeluna, had already made proposals of accommodation. The representatives sent into La Vendée, to inquire if a pacification were possible, had replied affirmatively, and recommended a decree of amnesty. How secret soever a government may be, negotiations of this kind are sure to transpire; they transpire even with absolute irremovable ministers; how then should they continue secret with committees renewable by one-fourth every month? It was publicly known that Holland and Spain had made proposals; it was added that Prussia, sensible of her illusions, and acknowledging the fault which she had committed in allying herself with the house of Austria, had applied to treat; it was known from all the newspapers of Europe that several states of the Empire, weary of a war which concerned them but little, had at the diet of Ratisbon insisted on the opening of a negotiation. Thus every thing disposed people's minds to peace, and, in the same manner as they had gone over from the ideas of revolutionary terror to those of clemency, they now passed from ideas of war to those of a general reconciliation with Europe. They seized the slightest circumstances to found conjectures on them. The unfortunate children of Louis XVI., deprived of all their rela-

* "Bon-Adrien-Jeannot Moncey was born in 1754. His father was an advocate, and he was intended for the same profession, but he took an invincible repugnance to it, and entered the army as a private soldier. In 1790, at the age of thirty-six, he was but a sub-lieutenant of dragoons. Soon afterwards, however, he was draughted into a battalion of light infantry, and thenceforward his promotion was rapid. In the course of the ensuing two years, he had risen to be general of division, and received the command of the eleventh military division at Bayonne. On the formation of the consular government Moncey took part in the war of Italy, and was present at the famous battle of Marengo. In the year 1804 he became marshal of the empire, and subsequently Duke of Conegliano. In 1808 he was engaged in the Spanish campaigns, but his operations were by no means brilliant. He was also present in the Russian expedition, and in the subsequent struggles in Germany. When Napoleon abdicated, Moncey sent in his adhesion to the royal government; he refused however to preside on the trial of Marshal Ney, for which he was degraded from his honours and confined. In 1823, he accompanied the Duke d'Angouleme in his invasion of Spain. Moncey was humane by nature, honourable in conduct, and a cautious, rather than a bold, general."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

tives, and separated from one another in the prison of the Temple, had seen their situation somewhat ameliorated since the 9th of Thermidor. Simon, the shoemaker, to whose care the young prince was committed, had perished as an accomplice of Robespierre's. Three keepers were appointed in his stead, each of whom officiated in turn for a day, and who treated the young prince with more humanity. From these changes made at the Temple important inferences were drawn. The plan under consideration for withdrawing the assignats also furnished occasion for abundance of conjectures. The royalists, who began already to show themselves, and whose number was increased by those waverers who are always ready to forsake a party which begins to grow weak, said maliciously that the government was going to make peace. As they could no longer say to the republicans, "Your armies will be beaten,"—which had been too frequently repeated without success, and which would now have appeared too silly—they said, "Their career of victory is cut short; peace is signed; you will not have the Rhine; the condition of peace will be the restoration of Louis XVII. to the throne, the return of the emigrants, the abolition of assignats, and the restitution of the national property." It is easy to conceive how such rumours must have irritated the patriots. Alarmed already at the proceedings directed against them, they saw with despair the end which they had been pursuing with such toil compromised, by the government. "What do you mean to make of young Capet?" said they. "What are you going to do with the assignats? Shall our armies have shed so much of their blood to be stopped in the midst of their victories? Shall they not enjoy the satisfaction of giving to their country the line of the Rhine and the Alps? Europe meant to dismember France; the just reprisals of victorious France upon Europe ought to be, to conquer the provinces wanting to complete her territory. What is to be done for La Vendée? Are rebels to be pardoned when they sacrifice patriots?" "Better were it," exclaimed a deputy of the Mountain, in a transport of indignation, "to be Charette than a member of the Convention!"

It may easily be conceived how much these subjects of division, added to those already furnished by domestic policy, must have agitated men's minds. The committee of public welfare, finding itself pressed between the two parties, deemed it incumbent on it to explain. It declared, therefore, on two different occasions, first through Carnot, secondly through Merlin of Douai, that the armies had received orders to prosecute their triumphs, and not to listen to any proposals of peace but in the heart of the enemy's capitals.

The proposals of Holland appeared to it in fact to come too late to be accepted, and it did not think it right to consent to negotiate when on the point of becoming master of the country. To overthrow the power of the stadtholder, and to restore the Dutch republic, seemed to it to be worthy of the French republic. It ran the risk, it is true, of seeing all the colonies of Holland, and even part of her navy, fall a prey to the English, who would declare that they took possession of them in the name of the stadtholder: but political considerations of course gained the ascendancy.* France could

* "The invasion of Holland was an object of universal expectation in Europe. The force under the command of General Pichegru, who was placed at the head of this great expedition, amounted to not less than 200,000 men. His ability, and those of the officers who served under him, annexed a security to the enterprise, which equally elated the French and depressed their enemies. The strength which was to oppose this vast and victorious army consisted of the remains of the British troops, and those in their pay, and of the Dutch troops. But their numbers were beneath consideration, when compared to the multitude of their enemies."—*Annual Register*. E.

not avoid overthrowing the stadtholdership ; the conquest of Holland would enhance the marvellousness of her victories, intimidate Europe more, compromise especially the flanks of Prussia, oblige that power to treat immediately, and, above all, give confidence to the French patriots. In consequence, Pichegru was ordered not to stop. Prussia and the Empire had not yet made any overture, and there was no answer to give to them. As for Spain, who promised to acknowledge the republic and to pay its indemnities, on condition of its erecting a little state near the Pyrenees for Louis XVII., her proposals were received with scorn and indignation, and orders were issued to the French generals to lose no time in advancing. As for La Vendée, a decree of amnesty was passed. It purported that all the rebels, without distinction of rank, who should lay down their arms within the space of one month, should be exempted from all punishment for their insurrection.

General Canclaux, removed on account of his moderation, was replaced at the head of the army of the West, which comprised La Vendée. Young Hoche, who had already the command of the army of the Coasts of Brest, had that of the army of the Coasts of Cherbourg annexed to it ; none were more capable than these two generals, to pacify the country by tempering prudence with energy.

Pichegru, who had received orders to prosecute his victorious career, waited till the surface of the Wahl should be entirely frozen. Our army skirted the river ; it was spread upon its banks towards Millingen, Nimeguen, and all along the isle of Bommel, of which it had gained possession by crossing the frozen Meuse. Walmoden, observing that Pichegru had left but a few advanced posts on the right bank towards Bommel, drove them back, and began an offensive movement. He proposed to the Prince of Orange to join them, in order to form with their united armies an imposing mass, capable of stopping by a battle an enemy who could no longer be stopped by the line of the rivers. The Prince of Orange could not be prevailed upon to quit Gorcum, lest the road to Amsterdam should be left uncovered. Walmoden then resolved to place himself on his line of retreat, which he had traced beforehand from the Wahl to the Linge, from the Linge to the Leek, and from the Leek to the Yssel, through Thiel, Arnheim, and Deventer.

While the republicans were waiting with the utmost impatience for the freezing of the river, the fortress of Grave, defended with heroic courage by Debons, the commandant, surrendered when nearly reduced to ashes. It was the principal of the fortresses which the Dutch possessed beyond the Meuse, and the only one that had not yielded to the ascendancy of our arms. The French entered it on the 9th of Nivose (December 29). At length, on the 19th of Nivose (January 8, 1795), the Wahl was solidly frozen. Souham's division crossed it near Bommel ; Dewinther's brigade, detached from Macdonald's corps, crossed near Thiel. At Nimeguen and above, the passage was not so easy, because the Wahl was not entirely frozen. Nevertheless, on the 21st (January 10) the right of the French crossed it above Nimeguen, and Macdonald, supported by it, passed over at Nimeguen itself in boats. On perceiving this general movement, Walmoden's army retired. A battle alone could have saved it ; but, in the state of division and discouragement that prevailed among the allies, a battle would probably have led to disastrous consequences. Walmoden executed a change from front to rear, proceeding upon the line of the Yssel, in order to reach Hanover by the provinces of the main land. Conformably with the plan of retreat which he had laid down for himself, he thus abandoned the provinces of Utrecht and

Guelders to the French. The Prince of Orange remained near the sea, namely, at Goreum. Having no longer any hope, he left his army, repaired to the States assembled at the Hague, declared to them that he had done all in his power for the defence of the country, and that nothing more could be done. He exhorted the representatives not to make any further resistance to the conqueror, lest it might produce disastrous consequences.

From that moment, the victorious French had only to spread like a torrent over all Holland. On the 28th of Nivose (January 17) Salm's brigade entered Utrecht, and General Vandamme* arrived at Arnheim. The States of Holland decided that no further resistance should be made to them, and that commissioners should be sent to open for them such places as they deemed necessary for their security. In all parts, the secret committees which had been formed manifested their existence, drove out the established authorities, and spontaneously appointed new ones. The French were received with open arms and as deliverers. Such provisions and clothing as they needed were carried to them. In Amsterdam, which they had not yet entered and where they were impatiently expected, the greatest agitation prevailed. The citizens, exasperated against the Orangists, insisted that the garrison should leave the city, that the regency should resign its authority, and that the inhabitants should have their arms restored to them. Pichegru, who was approaching, sent an aid-de-camp to exhort the municipal authorities to preserve peace and prevent disorder. On the 1st of Pluviose (January 20) Pichegru, accompanied by the representatives Lacoste, Bellegarde, and Joubert, made his entry into Amsterdam. The inhabitants hastened forth to meet him, carrying in triumph the persecuted deputies, and shouting, *The French republic for ever! Pichegru for ever! Liberty for ever!*† They admired those brave men, who, though half-naked, had defied such a winter and won such victories. The French soldiers furnished on this occasion a most praiseworthy example of order and discipline. Destitute of provisions and clothing, exposed to frost and snow, in the heart of one of the wealthiest capitals of Europe, they waited for several hours around their piled arms, till the magistrates had provided for their wants and assigned them quarters. As the republicans entered on one side, the Orangists and French emigrants fled on the other. The sea was covered with vessels, laden with fugitives and with property of every kind.

On the same day, the 1st of Pluviose, Bonnard's division, which had the day before taken possession of Gertruydenberg, crossed the frozen Biesbos,

* "Vandamme was one of the bravest men in the world, but fiery and passionate. A nobler figure than he possessed, cannot well be imagined. He had a finely-formed head, regular features, beautiful curly hair, glistening eyes which, when angry, seemed to flash fire, and an exquisitely turned hand."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "The Emperor related the following anecdote, as highly characteristic of General Vandamme: When made prisoner by the Russians, he was brought before the Emperor Alexander, who reproached him in bitter terms with being a robber, a plunderer, and a murderer; adding that no favour could be granted to such an execrable character. This was followed by an order that he should be sent to Siberia, while the other prisoners were sent to a much less northern destination. Vandamme replied with great *sang froid*: 'It may be, Sire, that I am a robber and a plunderer; but at least I have not to reproach myself with having soiled my hands with the blood of a father.'"—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

‡ "A neutral party subsisted in Holland which, without inclining to the stadtholder or to his enemies, were decidedly adverse to the entrance of the French. But their remonstrances on the necessity of a reunion of all parties against a foreign invasion were lost in the fixed determination of those in authority to trust none but their adherents, and in the not less obstinate resolution of their antagonists to destroy their authority through the assistance of the French, whom they welcomed with enthusiasm as liberators!"—*Annual Register*. E.

and entered the town of Dordrecht, where six hundred pieces of cannon, ten thousand muskets, and magazines of provisions and ammunition for an army of thirty thousand men were found. This division then passed through Rotterdam, on its way to the Hague, where the States were sitting. Thus the right about the Yssel, the centre about Amsterdam, and the left about the Hague, successively took possession of all the provinces. The marvellous itself became already associated with the extraordinary operations of the war. Part of the Dutch fleet was at anchor near the Texel. Pichegru, unwilling to give it time to get clear of the ice and to sail for England, sent some divisions of cavalry and several batteries of light artillery towards North Holland. The Zuider Zee was frozen; our squadrons galloped across those plains of ice, and our hussars and horse artillery summoned the ships, immoveably fixed, as they would have done a fortress. The Dutch ships surrendered to these strange assailants.

On the left there was nothing to gain possession of but the province of Zealand, which is composed of the islands situated at the mouth of the Scheldt and the Meuse; and on the right the provinces of Overijssel, Drenthe, Friesland, and Gröningen, which join Holland to Hanover. The province of Zealand, strong in its inaccessible position, proposed a rather lofty capitulation, in which it insisted on not admitting garrisons into its principal towns, on not being subject to contributions, on not receiving assignments, on retaining its shipping and its property, public and private, in short, on being exempt from all the inconveniences of war. It demanded also that the French emigrants should be allowed to retire safe and sound. The representatives accepted some of the articles of the capitulation, but entered into no engagement respecting others, saying that they must refer them to the committee of public welfare, and, without further explanation they entered the province, glad to avoid the dangers of an attack by main force, and to preserve the squadron which might have been delivered up to England. During these occurrences on the left, the right crossing the Yssel drove the English before it, and forced them to retreat beyond the Ems. The provinces of Friesland, Drenthe, and Gröningen were thus conquered, and the Seven United Provinces were subdued by the victorious arms of the republic.

This conquest, which was attributable to the season, to the admirable perseverance of our soldiers, and to their happy disposition for withstanding all hardships, much more than to the abilities of our generals, excited an astonishment in Europe mingled with terror, and in France unbounded enthusiasm. Carnot, having directed the operations of the armies during the campaign of the Netherlands, which had carried them to the banks of the Rhine, was the first and the real author of their successes. Pichegru, and still more Jourdan, had effectively seconded him during that sanguinary series of actions. But, since the army had proceeded from Belgium into Holland, everything was due to the soldiers and the season. Nevertheless, Pichegru, as commander-in-chief of that army, reaped all the glory of that wonderful conquest; and his name, borne on the wings of fame, circulated throughout all Europe as that of the most eminent general of France.

It was not enough to have conquered Holland; it behoved the French to conduct themselves there with prudence and policy. In the first place, it was of importance that they should not trample upon the country, lest they should alienate the inhabitants. In the next, they had to impart a political direction to Holland, and on this point they soon found themselves between

two contrary opinions. Some were desirous that this conquest should be rendered serviceable to liberty by revolutionizing Holland; others wished that too strong a spirit of proselytism might not be displayed, lest it should again alarm Europe, which was on the point of reconciling herself with France.

The first act of the representatives was to publish a proclamation, in which they declared that they would respect all private property, excepting however that of the stadtholder; that, the latter being the only foe of the French republic, his property belonged to the conquerors as an indemnification for the expenses of the war; that the French entered as friends of the Batavian nation, not to impose upon it any religion or any form of government whatever, but to deliver it from its oppressors, and to confer on it the means of expressing its wishes. This proclamation, followed up by corresponding acts, produced a most favourable impression. The authorities were everywhere renewed under the French influence. Several members, who had been introduced into the States by the stadtholder's influence alone, were excluded; and the patriot, Peter Paulus, minister of marine before the overthrow of the republican party in 1787, a distinguished man, and strongly attached to his country, was chosen president. No sooner was this assembly complete than it abolished the stadtholdership for ever, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people. It waited on the representatives, to acquaint them with what it had done, and to pay them homage, as it were, by its resolution. It then fell to work upon a constitution, and committed the affairs of the country to a provisional administration. Out of the eighty or ninety ships of war composing the military marine of Holland, fifty were left in the ports and preserved for the Batavian republic; the others had been seized by the English. The Dutch army, dissolved since the departure of the Prince of Orange, was to be reorganized on a new footing, and under the command of General Daendels. As for the famous bank of Amsterdam, the mystery which enveloped its funds was at length dispelled. Had it continued to be a bank of deposit, or had it become a discounting bank, by lending to the India Company, or to the government, or to the provinces? Such was the question which had long been asked, and which exceedingly diminished the credit of that celebrated bank. It was ascertained that it had lent to the amount of eight or ten millions of florins on obligations of the India Company, the Chamber of Loans, the province of Friesland, and the city of Amsterdam. This was a violation of its statutes. It was alleged, however, that there was no deficit, because these obligations represented certain amounts. But it was requisite that the Company, the Chamber of Loans, and the Government, should be able to pay, in order that the obligations accepted by the bank should not give rise to a deficit.

While the Dutch were thus turning their attention to the internal administration of their country, it was necessary to provide for the wants of the French army, which was destitute of everything. The representatives made a requisition to the provisional government for cloth, shoes, clothing of all kinds, provisions, and ammunition, which it promised to supply. This requisition, without being exorbitant, was sufficient to equip and subsist the army. The Dutch government invited each town to furnish its share of this requisition, telling them very justly that they ought to lose no time in satisfying a generous conqueror, who asked for, instead of taking, what he wanted, and who demanded no more than merely what his necessities required. The towns complied with the greatest cheerfulness, and the articles laid under requisition were duly supplied. An arrangement was then made for the cir-

culation of assignats. The soldiers received their pay in paper only,* and if they were to pay away all that they took, it was requisite that this paper should have the currency of money. The Dutch government came to a decision on this head. The shopkeepers and the petty dealers were obliged to take the assignats of the French soldiers at the rate of nine sous per franc; they were not allowed to sell to the amount of more than ten francs to any one soldier; they were then, at the end of every week, to appear before the municipalities, who would withdraw the assignats at the rate at which they had taken them. Owing to these different arrangements, the army, which had so long suffered, found itself at length in abundance, and began to enjoy the fruits of its victories.

Our triumphs, so surprising in Holland, were not less brilliant in Spain. There, thanks to the climate, the operations had not been discontinued. Dugommier, quitting the high Pyrenees, had advanced to the enemy's line, and attacked on three points the long chain of positions taken by General La Union. The brave Dugommier had been killed by a cannon-ball in the attack of the centre. The left had not been successful, but his right, owing to the intrepidity and energy of Augereau,† had been completely victorious. The command had been given to Perignon, who had recommenced the

* "The soldiers being still paid in assignats which passed only for one-fifteenth of their real value, the pay of an officer was only equal in real value to three francs, or half-a-crown a month. In 1795, one-third was paid in specie, which raised the income of a captain to seventy francs, or three pounds sterling a month."—*Jomini*. E.

† "Pierre-François-Charles Augereau, the son of a poor fruiterer is one of the fauxbourgs in Paris, was born in 1757. At an early age he entered the Neapolitan service, but in 1787 was still only a private soldier. Seeing little prospect of advancement, he quitted the army in disgust and settled at Naples, where he taught fencing. In 1792, however, he returned to France, and became a volunteer in the republican army of the South. Owing to his daring intrepidity, his promotion was rapid beyond all precedent. In 1794 he was brigadier-general, and two years later, general of division. In the year 1796 he joined the army of Italy, and fought at Lodi and Castiglione, from which place he afterwards derived his ducal title. In this campaign, Augereau, who was as avaricious as he was cruel, amassed immense wealth. In 1799 he warmly espoused Bonaparte's cause, and on the establishment of the empire was created marshal, and Duke of Castiglione. In 1806 he distinguished himself greatly at the battle of Jena, and, after the Russian expedition, still more so in the campaigns in Germany. He was one of the first to give in his adhesion to Louis XVIII., for which he was presented with the cross of St. Louis, and created a peer of France. On Napoleon's return from Elba, however, he again offered his services to the Emperor, who repulsed him as a traitor, and, being neglected also by the Bourbons shortly after, he retired to his country-seat, where he died in 1816."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"Augereau was a cross-gained character; he seemed to be tried and disheartened by victory, of which he always had enough. His person, his manners, and his language, gave him the air of a braggadocio, which however he was far from being."—*Las Cases*. E.

"Augereau was a man wholly destitute of religious feeling. When Napoleon re-established religious worship in France, he insisted on all his ministers and generals attending a solemn *Te Deum*, which was chanted at the cathedral of Notre Dame. On their way from the Tuileries thither, Lannes and Augereau wanted to alight from the carriage as soon as they saw that they were being driven to mass, and it required an order from the First Consul to prevent their doing so. They went, therefore, to Notre Dame, where Augereau kept swearing, in no low whisper, during the whole of the chanted mass. The next day, Bonaparte asked him what he thought of the ceremony. 'Oh, it was all very fine,' replied the general; 'there was nothing wanting but the million of men who have perished in the pulling down of what you are now setting up.'—*Bourrienne*. E.

"Augereau was one who might possess that daring spirit which hurries along thousands of soldiers in its train; but for directing a political movement, or organizing the simplest machination, he was a mere cipher. Not only was he a mere soldier, but his manners were those of a soldier; everything about him betrayed the uneducated man. His vanity was, nevertheless, inordinate."—*Dutchess d'Abrantes*. E.

attack on the 30th of Brumaire (November 20) and gained a signal victory. The enemy had fled in disorder, and left us the intrenched camp of Figueras. A panic seizing the Spaniards, the commandant of Figueras had opened the gates to us on the 9th of Frimaire, and we had thus entered one of the strongest fortresses in Europe. Such was our position in Catalonia. Towards the western Pyrenees, we had taken Fontarabia, St. Sebastian, and Tolosa, and occupied the whole province of Guipuscoa. Monecy, who had succeeded General Muller, had crossed the mountains and advanced to the gates of Pampeluna. Considering however his position too hazardous, he had fallen back, and, supported upon safer positions, he awaited the return of the favourable season for penetrating into the Castilles.

Winter, therefore, had not been able to stop the course of that memorable campaign, and it had just closed in the middle of the season of frost and snow, in Pluviose, that is, in January and February. If the glorious campaign of 1793 had saved us from invasion by raising the blockade of Dunkirk, Maubeuge and Landau, that of 1794 had just opened to us the career of conquest by giving us Belgium, Holland, the country comprised between the Meuse and the Rhine, the Palatinate, the line of the high Alps, the line of the Pyrenees, and several fortresses in Catalonia and Biscay. We shall presently see still greater wonders; but these two campaigns will remain in history as the most national, the most legitimate, and the most honourable for France.

The coalition could not withstand so many rude shocks. The English cabinet, which had lost only the states of its allies through the blunders of the Duke of York, which had gained forty or fifty ships of war, upon pretext of restoring them to the stadtholder, and which was about to seize the Dutch colonies upon the same pretext—the English cabinet was in no hurry to put an end to the war; it was apprehensive, on the contrary, lest it should be terminated by the dissolution of the coalition: but Prussia, which perceived the French on the banks of the Rhine and the Ems, and saw the torrent ready to burst upon her, no longer hesitated. She immediately sent a commissioner to Pichegru's head-quarters to stipulate for a truce, and to promise to open forthwith negotiations for peace. The place chosen for these negotiations was Basle, where the French government had an agent, who had acquired high consideration among the Swiss by his abilities and his moderation. The pretext for selecting this place was that they might there treat with more secrecy and quiet than in Paris itself, where too many passions were still in agitation, and where a multitude of foreign intrigues were crossing one another. But that was not the real motive. While making overtures of peace to that republic, whose enemies had fully expected to annihilate it by a single military march, they wished to cloak the acknowledgment of their defeat, and it was less galling to them to go to a neutral country in quest of peace than to seek it in Paris. The committee of public welfare, less haughty than its predecessor, and feeling the necessity of detaching Prussia from the coalition, consented to invest its agent at Basle with sufficient powers for treating. Prussia sent Baron de Goltz, and the powers were exchanged at Basle on the 3d of Pluviose, year III (January 22, 1795).

The Empire was quite as much inclined to withdraw from the coalition as Prussia. Most of its members, incapable of furnishing the quintuple contingent and the subsidies voted under the influence of Austria, had suffered themselves, during the whole campaign, to be urged to no purpose to keep their engagements. Excepting those whose territories lay beyond the Rhine, and who clearly saw that the republic would not restore them unless

it were forced to do so, all were desirous of peace. Bavaria, Denmark, for the Duchy of Holstein, the Elector of Mayence, and several states, had declared that it was high time to put an end by an acceptable peace to a ruinous war; that the Germanic empire had had no other aim than the maintenance of the stipulations of 1648, and had taken up arms only in behalf of such of its states as bordered on Alsace and Lorraine; that it was thinking of its preservation, not of its aggrandizement; that *it never had been, and never could be, its intention to interfere in the internal government of France*; that this pacific declaration must be made sooner or later, to put an end to the evils which afflicted humanity; and that Sweden, the guarantee of the stipulation of 1648, and which had fortunately remained neutral amidst this general war, could undertake the office of mediatrix. The majority of the votes had acceded to this proposal. The Elector of Treves, stripped of his dominions, and the Imperial envoy for Bohemia and Austria, had alone declared that it was certainly right to seek for peace, but that it was scarcely possible with a country without government. At length, on the 25th of December, the diet had published a *conclusum* tending to peace, leaving it to be afterwards decided by whom the proposal should be made. The substance of the *conclusum* was that, while making preparations for a new campaign, the states ought nevertheless to make overtures for peace; that no doubt France, touched by the sufferings of humanity, and convinced that there was no intention of interfering in her internal affairs, would consent to conditions honourable to both parties.

Thus, whoever had committed faults thought of repairing them, if it were not yet too late. Austria, though faint from her efforts, had lost too much, in losing the Netherlands, to think of relinquishing arms. Spain had been inclined to lay down hers: but, again involved in English intrigues, and bound by false shame to the cause of the French emigration, she durst not yet demand peace.

The same discouragement that seized the external enemies of the republic prevailed among its internal enemies also. The Vendéans, divided, exhausted, would not have been averse to peace, had it been discreetly proposed to them, and pains been taken to make them believe it to be sincere. The forces of Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette were extremely reduced. It was only by constraint that they could now make their peasants march.* These people, weary of carnage, and above all ruined by devastations, would have been glad to discontinue this horrid warfare. The only persons still entirely devoted to the chiefs were a few men of an absolutely military turn, smugglers, deserters, and poachers, for whom fighting and plunder had become a want, and who could not settle down to agricultural labour. But these were not numerous. They composed the picked band, which kept constantly together, but were quite incapable of withstanding the efforts of the republicans. It was not without the greatest difficulty that, on days when expeditions were to be undertaken, the peasants could be induced to leave their fields. Thus the three Vendean chiefs found themselves almost without forces. Unfortunately for them, they were not even united among themselves.

* "The insurrection had now come to be entirely in the hands of Charette and Stofflet, who never in reality agreed. They were both devoured with jealousy and ambition. The war had no longer that character of union among the chiefs, and universal self-devotion, which distinguished the early days of La Vendée. The peasants were disheartened, and severity was become necessary to keep them to their duty, instead of those higher motives by which they were at first impelled. No great battles were fought as formerly. It was now a war of ruffians carried on by treachery."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochefoucauld*. E.

We have seen that Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Charette, had entered at Jalais into a convention, which was but an adjournment of their rivalry. It was not long before Stofflet, at the instigation of the ambitious Abbé Bernier, resolved to organize an army and a financial and administrative department, in short all that constitutes a regular power. To this end he also proposed to issue paper-money. Charette, jealous of Stofflet, opposed his designs. Seconded by Sapinaud, whom he influenced, he summoned Stofflet to relinquish his project, and to appear before the general council instituted by the convention of Jalais. Stofflet had refused to reply. On his refusal, Charette declared the convention of Jalais null and void. This was equivalent to stripping him of his command, for it was at Jalais that they had reciprocally acknowledged each other's titles. The rupture was therefore complete, and did not allow them to make amends by concord for their exhausted state. Notwithstanding the commission given to the royalist agents at Paris to open a correspondence with Charette and to transmit to him the letters of the regent, nothing had yet reached him.

Scépeaux's division, between the Loire and the Vilaine, was in the same predicament. In Bretagne, it is true, there was less relaxation of energy: a long war had not exhausted the inhabitants. *Chouannerie* was a lucrative trade of plunder, which did not fatigue those who addicted themselves to it, and, besides, a single chief, a man of unequalled perseverance, was there to rekindle the nearly expiring ardour. But this chief, whom we have seen preparing to set out as soon as he should have completed the organization of Bretagne, had lately gone to London, for the purpose of entering into communication with the English cabinet and the French princes. Puisaye had left, to supply his place in the central committee, a Sieur Desotieux, who styled himself Baron de Cormatin in quality of major-general. The emigrants, so numerous in the courts of Europe, were very rare in La Vendée, in Bretagne, and wherever this arduous civil war was waged. They affected supreme contempt for this kind of service, which they called *chouanning* (*chouanner*). For this reason there was a want of officers, and M. de Puisaye had taken this adventurer, who had decorated himself with the title of Baron de Cormatin, from a petty barony of that name in Burgundy, which had devolved to his wife by inheritance. He had been by turns a red-hot revolutionist, then an officer of Bouillé's, afterwards a knight of the dagger, and lastly, he had emigrated, seeking everywhere a part to enact. He was like one possessed, talking and gesticulating with great vivacity, and liable to the most sudden changes. Such was the man, whom Puisaye, without knowing much about him, had left in Bretagne.

Puisaye had organized a correspondence through the Channel Islands: but his absence was prolonged; his letters frequently miscarried; Cormatin was utterly incapable of supplying his place and reviving the courage of the people; the chiefs became impatient or disheartened, and they saw animosities, calmed by the clemency of the Convention, subsiding around them, and the elements of civil war dissolving. The presence of such a general as Hoche was not likely to encourage them, and thus Bretagne, though less exhausted than La Vendée, was quite as well disposed to accept a peace adroitly prepared.

Canclaux and Hoche were both very capable of conducting such an affair with success. We have already witnessed the proceedings of Canclaux in the first war in La Vendée. He had left behind him in that country a high character for moderation and ability. The army placed under his command was considerably weakened by the continual reinforcements sent to the

Pyrenees and to the Rhine, and, moreover, entirely disorganized by its long stay on the same spot. From the disorder incident to civil wars, insubordination had gained ground, and hence pillage, debauchery, drunkenness, and disease had ensued. This was the second relapse of that army since the commencement of this baneful war. Out of the forty-six thousand men who composed it, fifteen or eighteen thousand were in the hospitals; the remaining thirty thousand were badly armed, and half of them were guarding the fortresses: thus fifteen thousand at most were disposable. At his desire, twenty thousand men were given to him, fourteen thousand being taken from the Brest army, and six from that of Cherbourg. With this reinforcement he doubled all the posts, recovered the camp of Sorinières near Nantes, recently taken by Charette, and proceeded in force towards the Layon, which formed Stofflet's defensive line in Upper Anjou. After he had taken this imposing attitude, he circulated abundantly the decrees and the proclamation of the Convention, and sent emissaries all over the country.

Hoche, accustomed to conduct a war upon a large scale, and endowed with superior qualities for carrying it on, found himself, to his extreme mortification, doomed to oppose a civil war, without generosity, without combinations, and without glory. He had at first solicited his dismissal; but he presently made up his mind to serve his country in this disagreeable post, one too obscure for his talents. He was now to be rewarded for this resignation, by finding, on the very stage that he had wished to quit, occasion for displaying the qualities of a statesman as well as those of a general. His army was exceedingly weakened by the reinforcements sent to Canclaux: he had scarcely forty thousand ill-organized men to guard an intersected, mountainous, and woody country, and more than three hundred and fifty leagues of coast from Cherbourg to Brest. He was promised twelve thousand men which were to be drawn from the North. He asked more especially for well-disciplined men and he immediately set about weaning his troops from the habits contracted in the civil war. "We ought," said he, "to put at the head of our columns none but disciplined men, who can show as much moderation as valour, and be mediators as well as soldiers." He had trained them in a great number of small camps, and he recommended to them to go about in parties of forty or fifty, to endeavour to make themselves acquainted with the country, to accustom themselves to this war of surprises, to vie in stratagems with the Chouans, to converse with the peasants, to establish an intercourse with them, to gain their confidence, their friendship, nay even their assistance. "Never forget," he thus wrote to his officers, "that policy ought to have a great share in this war. Let us employ by turns humanity, virtue, integrity, energy, stratagem, and always the dignity that befits republicans." In a short time, he had given to that army a different aspect and a different attitude: the order indispensable for pacification was restored. It was he who, mingling indulgence with severity in his treatment of the soldiers, used these charming expressions in writing to one of his lieutenants, who complained too bitterly of some drunken excesses: "Why, my friend, if soldiers were philosophers, they would not fight. Let us, however, punish drunkards, if drunkenness causes them to neglect their duty." He had formed the most judicious notions of the country, and of the way to restore peace to it. "These peasants," he wrote, "must absolutely have priests; let us leave them their priests, then, since they desire it. Many have suffered, and are sighing to return to an agricultural life; let us afford them some assistance to repair their farms. As for those who have contracted the habit of war, it would be impossible to throw them back upon their country;

they would only disturb it by their indolence and their restlessness. They must be formed into legions and enrolled in the armies of the republic. They will make excellent advanced guard soldiers; and their hatred of the coalition, which has neglected to succour them, will guarantee their fidelity to us. Besides, what signifies the cause? it is war that they want. Recollect," he added, "the bands of Duguesclin going to dethrone Peter the Cruel, and the regiments raised by Villars in the Cévennes." Such was the young general called to give peace to those unfortunate countries.

The decrees of the Convention, profusely circulated in La Vendée and in Bretagne, the release of the suspected persons, both at Nantes and at Rennes, the pardon granted to Madame de Bonchamps, who had been saved from the decree of death issued against her, the cancelment of all unexecuted sentences, the free exercise of religion which had been granted, the prohibition to injure churches, the liberation of the priests, the punishment of Carrier and his accomplices, began to produce the effect expected from them in both countries, and disposed minds to profit by the amnesty offered alike to chiefs and soldiers.* Animosities subsided, and courage along with them. The representatives on mission at Nantes had interviews with the sister of Charette, and transmitted to him, through her agency, the decree of the Convention. He was at that moment reduced to extremity. Though endowed with unparalleled perseverance, he could not dispense with hope, and he saw not a ray of it on any side. The court of Verona, where he excited such admiration, as we have already seen, nevertheless did nothing for him. The regent had, indeed, written him a letter, in which he appointed him lieutenant-general, and styled him the second founder of the monarchy. But this letter, which might at least have flattered his vanity, had been intrusted to the agents in Paris, and had not yet reached him. He had for the first time solicited succour from England, and sent his young aide-de-camp La Roberie to London; but he had received no tidings from him. Thus he had not a word of reward or encouragement, either from the princes to whom he was devoting himself, or from the powers whose policy he was seconding. He consented, therefore, to an interview with Canclaux and the representatives of the people.

At Rennes, also, the desired approximation was brought about by the sister of one of the chiefs. Botidoux, one of the principal Chouans of the Morbihan, had learned that his sister, who was at Rennes, had been imprisoned on his account. He was prevailed upon to repair thither, in order to obtain her release. Boursault, the representative, gave up his sister to him, paid him all sorts of attentions, satisfied him respecting the intentions of the government, and convinced him of the sincerity of the decree of amnesty. Botidoux promised to write to Bois-Hardi, an intrepid young Chouan, who commanded the division of the Côtes-du-Nord, and was reputed to be the most formidable of the insurgents. "What are your hopes!" he wrote to him. "The republican armies are masters of the Rhine. Prussia is soliciting peace. You cannot rely on the promises of England; you cannot rely upon the chiefs who write to you only from beyond sea, or who have forsaken you upon pretext of seeking succour for you; henceforth you can but wage a war of assassination." Bois-Hardi, staggered by this letter, and

* "At the suggestion of Carnot, the committee of public safety, weary of a contest apparently interminable, published a proclamation couched in terms of reconciliation and amity; and, this having led to an address in similar terms from the royalist chiefs, conferences took place between the contending parties, and eventually a treaty was concluded for the final pacification of the West of France."—*Alison*. E.

unable to leave the Côtes-du-Nord, where yet active hostilities required his presence, solicited the central committee to come to him, in order to answer Botidoux. The committee, at the head of which was Cormatin, as Puisaye's major-general, went to Bois-Hardi. There was in the republican army a young general, bold, brave, possessing great natural talent, and especially that cunning peculiar to the profession which he had formerly followed—that of jockey. This was General Humbert. "He was one of those," said Puisaye, "who had triumphantly proved that a year's practice in war amply supplies the place of all the apprenticeships of the parade." He wrote a letter, the style and orthography of which were denounced to the committee of public welfare, but which was so effective as to touch Bois-Hardi and Cormatin. An interview took place. Bois-Hardi showed the easiness of a young and brave soldier, without animosity, fighting from natural disposition rather than fanaticism. He entered, however, into no engagements, and left Cormatin to act. The latter, with his habitual inconsistency, highly flattered at being called to treat with the generals of the mighty French republic, acceded to all Humbert's overtures, and begged to be introduced to the generals, Hoche and Canclaux, and to the representatives. Interviews were agreed upon; the day and the place were fixed. The central committee found fault with Cormatin for having gone too far. The latter, adding duplicity to inconsistency, assured the committee that he would not betray its cause; that, in accepting an interview, he wished to have an opportunity of closely observing the common enemies, and judging of their forces and their dispositions. He laid particular stress upon two reasons, and, according to him, important ones: in the first place, he had never seen Charette, with whom no concert had ever taken place; by desiring to see him, upon pretext of comprehending La Vendée as well as Bretagne in the negotiation, he might acquaint him with Puisaye's plans, and prevail upon him to concur in them: secondly, Puisaye, the playfellow in boyhood of Canclaux, had written him a letter capable of touching him, and containing the most splendid offers to gain him for the monarchy. Upon pretext of an interview, Cormatin would deliver the letter to him, and thus complete Puisaye's work. Affecting thus the part of a skilful diplomatist with his colleagues, Cormatin obtained their assent to his opening a feigned negotiation with the republicans, in order to concert with Charette and to win Canclaux. In this spirit he wrote to Puisaye, and set out with his head full of the most contrary ideas, sometimes proud of deceiving the republicans, of plotting before their faces, and of taking from them a general: at others, vain of being the mediator of the insurgents with the representatives of the republic, and ready, in this whirl of ideas, to become a dupe while intending to make dupes. He saw Hoche, first demanded a provisional truce, and then asked permission to visit all the Chouan chiefs, one after another, for the purpose of inspiring them with pacific sentiments, to see Canclaux, and especially Charette, in order to concert with the latter, saying that the Bretons could not separate themselves from the Vendéans. Hoche and the representatives complied with his desire; but they directed Humbert to accompany him, and to attend all the interviews. Cormatin, at the summit of his wishes, wrote to the central committee and to Puisaye, stating that his artifices were successful, that the republicans were his victims, that he was going to encourage the Chouans, to talk to Charette, to prevail on him merely to temporize till the grand expedition, and lastly, to gain over Canclaux. He accordingly set out on a tour through Bretagne, calling everywhere on the chiefs, and astonishing them by the language of peace, and by

this singular truce. All of them were not aware of the trick, and relaxed their efforts. The cessation of hostilities produced an eager desire for rest and peace, and, without intending it, Cormatin promoted the pacification. He began himself to be inclined to it; and, while he meant to dupe the republicans, it was the republicans who, without meaning to do so, made him their dupe. Meanwhile, the day and place for the interview with Charette had been agreed upon. It was in the vicinity of Nantes. Cormatin was to repair thither, and there the negotiations were to commence. Cormatin, more and more embarrassed every day by the engagements which he was contracting with the republicans, began to write less frequently to the central committee, and the committee, observing the turn which things were taking, wrote to Puisaye in Nivose: "Lose no time in returning. The courage of our men is shaken; the republicans are seducing the chiefs. You must come, if with only twelve thousand men, money, priests and emigrants. Be here before the end of January (Pluviose)." Thus, while the emigrants and the foreign powers were building all their hopes upon Charette and Bretagne, a negotiation was on the point of restoring peace to the two countries. In Pluviose (January and February), the republic was, therefore, treating at Basle with one of the principal powers of the coalition, and at Nantes with the royalists, who had hitherto combated and misconceived it.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

VARIOUS REFORMS—DESTRUCTION OF THE BUSTS OF MARAT—ABOLITION OF THE MAXIMUM AND OF REQUISITIONS—VARIOUS PLANS RESPECTING ASSIGNATS—DEARTH—INSURRECTION OF THE TWELFTH OF GERMINAL—TRANSPORTATION OF BILLAUD-VARENNE, COLLOT-D'HERBOIS, AND BARRÈRE—DISARMING OF THE PATRIOTS.

The Jacobins were dispersed, the principal agents or chiefs of the revolutionary government under prosecution, Carrier put to death, several other deputies called to account for their missions; lastly, Billaud-Varennes, Collet d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, were placed under accusation, and destined to be soon brought to trial before the tribunal of their colleagues. But, while France was thus seeking to revenge herself on the men who had required of her such painful efforts, and doomed her to a system of terror, she returned with passion to pleasure and to the enjoyments of the arts and of civilization, of which those men had for a moment deprived her. We have already seen with what ardour people were preparing to launch into the amusements of the winter, with what new and singular taste the women strove to dress, how eagerly the concerts in the Rue Feydeau were attended. All the theatres were now opened again. The actors of the Comédie Française were released from prison: Larive, St. Prix, Molé, Dazincourt, St. Phal, and Mesdemoiselles Contat and Devienne, had again appeared on the

stage. The theatres became quite the rage. There all the passages in plays that could be applied to the Reign of Terror were applauded; there the air of the *Réveil du Peuple* was sung; there the *Marseillaise* was proscribed. In the boxes appeared the beauties of the time; the wives or friends of the Thermidorians; in the pit, Fréron's gilded youth seemed to spite, by its pleasures, its dress and its tastes, those coarse, sanguinary Terrorists who it was said had wanted to stifle all civilization. The balls were attended with the same eagerness. There was one, at which no person was present who had not lost relatives during the Revolution. It was called the ball of the victims. The public places devoted to the arts were again opened. The Convention ordered the formation of a museum, to contain not only the pictures previously possessed by France, but all those acquired by conquests. Those of the Flemish school taken in Belgium had been already removed thither. The Lyceum, where Laharpe had very recently celebrated philosophy and liberty in a red cap which had been shut up during the Reign of Terror, was just restored to the public, thanks to the bounty of the Convention, which had taken upon itself part of the expense of the establishment, and distributed some hundreds of tickets among the young men of each section. There Laharpe* was again heard declaiming against anarchy, the system of terror, the corruption of the language, *philosophism*, and all that he had formerly extolled, before that liberty which he celebrated, but with which he was unacquainted, had affrighted his little soul. The Convention had granted pensions to almost all the literary men and to all the men of science, without any distinction of opinion. It had just decreed the establishment of the primary schools, where the lower classes were to learn the elements of the spoken and written language, the rules of arithmetic, the principles of surveying, and some practical notions concerning the principal phenomena of nature; the central schools destined for the higher classes where youth were to be taught the mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, medical science, the mechanical arts, the arts of design, the belles lettres, the ancient languages, the living languages most appropriate to the localities, general grammar, logic and analysis, history, political economy, the elements of legislation, all in the order best adapted to the development of the understanding; the normal school, where, under the most eminent literati and men of science, young professors were to be

* "Jean François de Laharpe, a French dramatic poet, critic, and philosopher, was born at Paris in 1739. His father, a swiss officer in the French service, dying in indigence, he was admitted into the college of Harcourt, where he received an excellent education. A lampoon, however, on one of his benefactors, occasioned him a confinement of some months in the Bastille, when he threw himself on his talents as an author for support. In 1762 he published a collection of poems, and in the following year, the tragedy of Warwick, which was very successful at the time. On the breaking out of the Revolution, Laharpe embraced the principles of republicanism, but during the Reign of Terror, being suspected by the ruling powers, he was thrown into prison, but ultimately restored to liberty. The last years of his life were spent in literary retirement. He died in 1803, in his sixty-fourth year. His principal work is the "Lyceum, or a Complete Course of Literature."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"At the beginning of the Revolution Laharpe adopted its principles, and went so far as to preach its maxims in his lessons at the Lyceum, where, in 1792, at the time of the greatest ferment, he declaimed a very vehement hymn to liberty, in which the following lines are particularly remarkable: 'The sword, my friends, the sword, it presses on carnage! The sword, it drinks blood; blood nourishes rage; rage inflicts death.' Another day Laharpe appeared in the same assembly with a red cap on his head, and cried out, 'This cap penetrates and inflames my brain!' He soon afterwards lowered his tone, and became zealous in defence of rational liberty and religion."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

trained, who were afterwards to spread throughout all France the instruction acquired by them at the focus of knowledge; lastly, the special schools of medicine, jurisprudence, and the veterinary art. Besides this vast system of education, destined to diffuse and to propagate that civilization which the Revolution was so unjustly accused of having banished, the Convention had added encouragements of all kinds. The establishment of various manufactures had just been ordered. To the Swiss expatriated on account of disturbances national domains at Besançon were given, that they might carry thither the manufactures of clocks and watches. The Convention had, moreover, demanded from its committees plans for canals, banks, and a system of advances to certain provinces ruined by the war. It had mitigated several laws likely to injure agriculture and commerce. A great number of farmers and labourers had quitted Alsace when it was evacuated by Wurmsers, Lyons during the siege, and the whole South since the severities exercised against federalism. It distinguished them from the emigrants, and enacted a law by which labourers and artisans, who had left France since the 1st of May, 1793, and who were disposed to return before the 1st of Germinal, were not to be considered as emigrants. The law relative to suspected persons, the repeal of which had been demanded, was maintained; but it was now formidable to the patriots only, who had become the suspected of the day. The revolutionary tribunal had been entirely re-formed, after the model of the ordinary criminal tribunals. There were judges, juries, and counsel. Judgment could no longer be given upon written documents, or without the examination of witnesses. The law which allowed the tribunal to dispense with pleadings, and which had been passed against Danton, was repealed. The district administrations were to cease to be permanent, as well as the revolutionary committees, except in cities containing upwards of fifty thousand souls. Lastly, the important interests of religion were regulated by a new law. This law stated that, in virtue of the declaration of rights, all religions were free; but it declared that the state would no longer pay any, or permit the public celebration of their worship. Each sect was at liberty to erect or to rent buildings, and to perform the ceremonies of its worship in those edifices. Lastly, as a substitute for the ancient ceremonies of the Catholic religion and those of *Reason*, the Convention formed a plan of decenary festivals. It had combined dancing, music, and moral exhortations, so as to render the diversions of the people profitable, and to produce upon their imagination impressions at once useful and agreeable. Thus relieved from the urgent necessity for defending itself, the Revolution threw off its violent forms, and reverted to its true mission, that of promoting the arts, industry, knowledge, and civilization.

But, while cruel laws were thus disappearing, while the upper classes were recomposing themselves and indulging in pleasure, the lower were suffering severely from the effects of dearth and of a cold season scarcely ever known in our climate. This winter which enabled us to cross dry-shod over the rivers and arms of the sea in Holland, made us pay dearly for that conquest, by dooming the populace in the towns and in the country to grievous hardships. It was indisputably the severest winter of the century: it surpassed even that which preceded the opening of the States-general in 1789. Provisions were scarce from various causes. The principal was the deficiency of the crops. Though they had afforded at first a very fair promise, yet the drought, and afterwards blights, had disappointed all expectations. Threshing had been neglected, as in the preceding years, either from want of hands, or the ill-will of the farmers. As the assignats were

depreciating from day to day, and had lately fallen to one-tenth of their value, the *maximum* had become more oppressive, and the reluctance to obey it, and the efforts to evade it, were so much the greater. The farmers everywhere made false declarations, and were assisted in their lies by the municipalities, which, as we have seen, had lately been renewed. Being composed almost all of them of moderate men, they cheerfully seconded disobedience to the revolutionary laws; in short, all the springs of authority were relaxed: the government having ceased to strike terror, the requisitions for the supply of the armies and of the great communes were no longer obeyed. Thus the extraordinary system of supplies, destined to make amends for the deficiencies of commerce, was disorganized long before commerce had resumed its natural movement. The dearth was of course more severely felt in the great communes, the supply of which is always more difficult. Paris was threatened with a more distressing famine than any of those which had struck terror into it during the Revolution. With general causes were combined purely particular causes. By the suppression of the commune which had conspired against the Convention on the 9th of Thermidor, the superintendence of the supply of Paris had been transferred from the commune to the commission of commerce and supplies. An interruption in the services had been the consequence of this change. The orders had been given very late, and with a dangerous precipitation. The means of transport were wanting: all the horses, as we have seen, had perished, and, besides the difficulty of collecting sufficient quantities of corn, there was the further difficulty of conveying them to Paris. Dilatoriness, pillage by the way, all the usual accidents of dearth, thwarted the efforts of the commission. With the scarcity of provisions was combined the scarcity of wood for fuel and of charcoal. The canal of Briare had been dry during the summer. Supplies of pitcoal had not yet arrived, and the forges had consumed all the charcoal. The felling of timber had been tardily ordered, and the people engaged in floating it down the rivers, who were annoyed by the local authorities, had been entirely discouraged. Charcoal and wood were therefore both scarce, and in that terrible winter the dearth of fuel was almost as severely felt as that of corn.

Thus a cruel infliction on the lower classes contrasted with the new pleasures in which the higher orders indulged. The revolutionists, irritated against the government, followed the example of all vanquished parties, and made use of the public calamities as so many arguments against those who were then at the head of the state.* They even contributed to aggravate those calamities by opposing the orders of the administration. "Do not send your corn to Paris," said they to the farmers; "the government is counter-revolutionary; it is bringing back the emigrants; it will not put the constitution in force; it leaves the corn to rot in the magazines of the commission of commerce; it means to starve the people in order to oblige them to throw themselves into the arms of royalty." By such language they prevailed on the owners of the corn to keep it. They left their communes and repaired to the great towns, where they were unknown, and out of the reach of those whom they had persecuted. There they excited disturbances. At Marseilles, they had just committed fresh violence upon the representatives,

* "The season had been very unfavourable, and the scarcity of food was dreadful. The people wanting provisions, and not having the power even with the assignats of purchasing them, were reduced to the greatest distress; they attributed it of course to the government, and called to mind, not without regret, that they had, not long ago, both bread and power under the committee of public safety."—*Mignet*. E.

whom they forced to suspend the proceedings instituted against the men who were called the accomplices of terror. It had been deemed necessary to put the city in a state of siege. In Paris, where they were much more numerous, they were also more turbulent. They harped perpetually upon the same subject, the distress of the people, and contrasted it with the luxury of the new leaders of the Convention. Madame Tallien was the woman of the day whom they accused, for at all periods there was one person whom the people accused: she was the perfidious enchantress whom they blamed, as Madame Roland had formerly been blamed, and before her time Marie Antoinette, for all the miseries of the people. Her name was several times pronounced in the Convention without appearing to gall Tallien. At last, he one day rose to reply to this abuse. He represented her as a model of attachment and courage, as one of the victims whom Robespierre had destined to the scaffold, and he declared that she had become his wife. Barras, Legendre, and Fréron, joined him. It was high time, they said, to speak out. They exchanged abuse with the Mountain, and the Convention was obliged, as usual, to put an end to the discussion by proceeding to the order of the day. On another occasion, Duhem told Clausel, the deputy, a member of the committee of general safety, that he would murder him. The tumult became tremendous, and the order of the day once more interfered to put an end to this new scene.

The indefatigable Duhem discovered a publication entitled *Le Spectateur de la Révolution*, containing a dialogue on the two governments monarchical and republican. This dialogue gave an evident preference to the monarchical government, and even exhorted the French people, in an undisguised manner, to revert to it. Duhem denounced this work with indignation, as one of the symptoms of the royalist conspiracy. The Convention, acknowledging the justice of this complaint, sent the author before the revolutionary tribunal; but Duhem having gone so far as to say that royalism and aristocracy were triumphant, it sent him for three days to the Abbaye, as having insulted the assembly. These scenes had set all Paris in commotion. In these sections it was proposed to prepare addresses on what had just happened, and violent contests ensued about drawing them up, each desiring that these addresses should be written agreeably to his own opinion. Never had the Revolution exhibited so tempestuous a scene.

Formerly, the all-powerful Jacobins had met with no resistance capable of producing a real combat. They had driven all before them and come off conquerors—noisy and furious, but sole conquerors. Now, a powerful party had just risen up, and though it was less violent, it made up by number what it wanted in violence, and could fight with an equal chance of success. Addresses were made in every variety of tone. Some Jacobins, who met in coffee-houses near the populous quarters of St. Denis, the Temple, and St. Antoine, held the same language as they had been accustomed to do. They threatened to go and attack the new conspirators at the Palais Royal, in the theatres, and in the Convention itself. The young men, on their side, made a terrific noise in the pit of the theatres. They resolved upon an outrage which would be keenly felt by the Jacobins. The bust of Marat was in all the public places and particularly in the theatres. At the Théâtre Feydeau some young men climbed up to the balcony, and mounting upon one another's shoulders threw down the bust of the *saint*, dashed it to pieces, and immediately set up that of Rousseau in its place. The police made vain efforts to prevent this disturbance. The act of the young men was universally applauded. Wreaths were thrown upon the stage to crown the bust

of Rousseau; verses written for the occasion were circulated; and there were shouts of "Down with the Terrorists! down with Marat! down with the sanguinary monster who demanded three hundred thousand heads! The author of *Emile*, of the *Contrat Social*, of the *Nouvelle Heloise*, for ever!" No sooner had this example been set, than it was imitated on the following day at the other theatres, and at all the places of public resort. People ran to the markets, smeared the bust of Marat with blood, and then threw it into the mud. A number of boys, in the quarter of Montmartre, formed a procession, and, after carrying a bust of Marat to the brink of a sewer, tumbled it in. Public opinion was expressed with extreme violence. Dislike, even hatred of Marat, filled every heart, not excepting even those of most of the Mountaineers; for none of them could follow in his eccentricities the ideas of this audacious maniac. But the name of Marat being consecrated, the dagger of Corday having gained him a kind of worship, people were as much afraid of touching his altars as those of liberty itself. We have seen that during the last sans-culottides, that is four months before, he had been introduced into the Pantheon in the place of Mirabeau. The committees, eagerly taking the hint, proposed to the Convention to decree that no individual should be deposited in the Pantheon till twenty years after his death, and that the bust or portrait of no citizen should be set up in the public places. It added that every decree to the contrary was repealed. In consequence, Marat, introduced into the Pantheon, was turned out again before the end of four months. Such is the instability of revolutions! Immortality is decreed or taken away, and unpopularity threatens party leaders even after death! From that moment commenced the long infamy which has covered Marat, and which he has shared with Robespierre. Both, formerly idolized by fanaticism, but now judged by affliction, were devoted to long-continued execration.

The Jacobins, incensed at this outrage offered to one of the most renowned characters of the Revolution, assembled at the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and swore to avenge the memory of Marat. They took his bust, carried it about in triumph in all the quarters under their sway, and, being armed exceedingly well, threatened to murder any one who should attempt to disturb this sinister solemnity. The young men had a great mind to fall upon this train. They encouraged one another to attack it, and a battle would infallibly have ensued, if the committees had not ordered the club of the Quinze-Vingts to be closed, forbidden processions of this kind, and dispersed the assemblages. In the sitting of the 20th of Nivose, the busts of Marat and Lepelletier were removed from the hall of the Convention,* as well as the two fine paintings in which David had represented them dying. The tribunes, which were divided, set up contrary cries: some applauded, while others raised tremendous murmurs. Among the latter were many of those women who were called the furies of the guillotine:

* "Marat was now attacked in his turn. His bust was in the Convention, and in most of the popular assemblies. The gilded youths broke it to pieces at the Theatre Feydau, and the Mountain remonstrated, but without success. The commotion in the fauxbourgs became, consequently, considerable. There was also in front of the Invalids a mountain crowned with a colossal statue of Hercules killing the Hydra. The section of the corn-market demanded of the Assembly that it should be pulled down. Some murmurs were heard from the left. 'This giant,' said a member, 'is the image of the people.'—'I see nothing but a mountain,' replied another; 'and what is a mountain, if it be not a lasting protest against equality!' These words were received with applause; they were sufficient to procure the petition a favourable reception, and to overturn this monument of the victory and domination of a party."—*Mignet*. E.

they were turned out. The Assembly applauded, and the Mountain, sullen and silent, on seeing those celebrated pictures taken down, fancied that it saw the Revolution and the republic annihilated.

The Convention had just deprived both parties of an occasion for quarrel; but it had only deferred the struggle for a few days. The resentment was so keen, and the sufferings of the people were so severe, that there was every reason to expect one of those violent scenes which had imbrued the Revolution in blood. Amidst the uncertainty as to what was likely to happen, all the questions to which the commercial and financial situation of the country gave rise were discussed—unfortunate questions, which people took up afresh every moment, to treat and resolve them in a different manner, according to the changes which opinions had undergone.

Two months before, the Convention had modified the *maximum* by rendering the price of corn variable according to the localities. It had modified the requisitions by making them special, limited, and regular; and it had adjourned the questions relative to the sequestration, the specie, and the assignats. Now, all respect for the revolutionary creations was gone. It was no longer a mere modification that was demanded, but the abolition of this system of coercion established during the Reign of Terror. The adversaries of this system adduced excellent reasons. Everything, they said, was not subject to a *maximum*; the *maximum* was absurd and unjust. The farmer paying 30 francs for a coulter, for which he formerly paid 50 sous, 700 francs for a servant, for whom he used to pay 100, and 10 francs to a day-labourer, to whom he had given 50 sous, could not afford his produce at the same price as formerly. As raw materials imported from abroad had recently been exempted from the *maximum*, in order to restore some activity to trade, it was absurd to subject them to it after they were wrought; for eight or ten times less would then be paid for them than before. These examples were not the only ones. A thousand others of the same kind might be mentioned. As the *maximum* thus exposed the shopkeeper, the manufacturer, and the farmer, to inevitable losses, they never would submit to it; the former would voluntarily shut up their shops or their factories; the latter would hide his corn or consume it in his own farm-yard, because he would find it more profitable to sell poultry and pigs when fattened upon it. At any rate, if it was desired that the markets should be supplied, it was requisite that the prices should be free; for nobody would like to work for nothing. Besides, added the adversaries of the revolutionary system, the *maximum* had never been carried into execution; those who wanted to buy made up their minds to pay according to the real price, and not according to the legal price. The whole question, therefore, was comprised in these words—to pay high or to have nothing. It would be vain to attempt to supply the lack of spontaneous activity in manufactures and commerce by requisitions, that is to say, by the action of the government. A trading government was a ridiculous monstrosity. Was it certain that that commission of supplies, which had made such a noise about its operations, had imported any foreign corn into France? What was there to feed France with for five days? It was necessary, therefore, to return to individual activity, that is, to free trade, and to rely only on herself. When the *maximum* should be abolished, and the merchant could again lay on the price of freight and insurance, the interest of his capital, and his fair profit, he would import commodities from all parts of the globe. The great communes, in particular, which were not provisioned, like Paris, at the cost of

the state, could not have recourse to anything but commerce, and would be famished unless its freedom were restored to it.

These arguments were just in principle. It was not the less true that the transition from a forced trade to a free trade was liable to prove dangerous in a great crisis like the present. Till the freedom of prices should have awakened individual industry, and supplied the markets, everything would be excessively dear. It would be a very transient inconvenience for all commodities which were not of prime necessity; it would be only an interruption for a moment, till competition should reduce the prices; but, for articles of consumption which did not admit of interruption, how was the transition to take place? Until the faculty of selling corn at a free price should have caused vessels to be despatched to the Crimea, to Poland, to Africa, and to America, and by the competition have obliged the farmers to part with their grain, how were the populace in the cities to subsist without *maximum* and without requisitions? Would not bad bread, produced by the laborious efforts of the administration, with incredible pains and anxiety, be better than absolute want. Most certainly it would be well to get out of the forced system as soon as possible, but with great caution and without silly precipitation.

As for the reproaches of M. Boissy-d'Anglas* to the commission of supplies, they were not less unjust than ridiculous. Its importations, he said, could not have fed France for five days. The accuracy of the calculation was at first denied; but that was of little consequence. It is but a little of which a country is deficient, otherwise it would be impossible to supply that deficiency; but was it not an immense service to have provided that little? Who can form a conception of the distress of a country deprived of bread for five days? Moreover, had this privation been equally divided, it would not have been mortal, but, while the country would have been glutted with corn, the great towns, and the capital, in particular, would have been destitute of it not for five days only, but for ten, twenty, fifty, and a convulsion would have ensued. Besides, the commission of commerce and supplies, under the direction of Lindet, had not merely imported articles of consumption from abroad, but transported the corn, forage, and merchandise which were in France, from the country to the frontiers or to the great communes; and commerce, affrighted by the war and political horrors, would never have done so spontaneously. It had been found necessary to make amends for this by the will of the government, and that energetic and extraordinary will was entitled to the gratitude and the admiration of France, notwithstanding the outcry of those petty men, who, during the dangers of the country, could do nothing but hide themselves.

The question was carried by assault, as it were. The *maximum* and the requisitions of transport were abolished, as the seventy-three had been recalled, as Billaud, Collot, and Barrère had been denounced. Some relics of the system of requisitions were nevertheless suffered to subsist. Those which were imposed, in order to supply the great communes, were to be enforced for a month longer. Government retained the right of pre-emption, that is, the right to take articles of consumption by authority on paying the market price for them. The famous commission lost part of its title; it was

* "At this particular period, Boissy-d'Anglas, who was at the head of a committee of subsistence for supplying the people with bread, was anything but popular. People began to suspect him even of keeping back the supplies of provisions, in order to make them desperate, and favour the royalist faction, with which he was secretly connected."—*Hazlitt*. E.

no longer called commission of commerce and supplies, but merely commission of supplies. Its five directors were reduced to three; its ten thousand agents to a few hundred. The system of contracts was judiciously substituted for that of administrative management; and, by the way, Pache was found fault with for his appointment of the committee of markets. The expense of carriage was allowed to contractors. The manufacture of arms in Paris, which had rendered costly but important services, was discontinued, as it could then be without inconvenience. The fabrication of arms was again committed to contractors. The workmen, who clearly saw that they should be paid less wages, began to murmur: instigated by the Jacobins, they even threatened a commotion; but they were quelled, and sent back to their communes.

The question of the sequestration, previously adjourned, (because the government feared lest, in re-establishing the circulation of bills, it should furnish supplies to the emigrants, and cause jobbing in foreign paper to be renewed,) was again taken up, and this time resolved to the advantage of freedom of trade. The sequestration was taken off; the sequestered bills were thus restored to the foreign merchants, at the risk of not obtaining the like restitution in favour of the French. Lastly, the free circulation of specie was restored, after a warm debate. It had formerly been prohibited, to prevent emigrants from carrying specie out of France; it was now permitted from the consideration that, as we lacked the means of return, Lyons being no longer able to furnish sixty millions' worth of manufactured goods, Nîmes twenty, and Sedan ten, commerce would be impossible, unless purchases made abroad were allowed to be paid for in gold or silver. Besides, it was believed that, as specie was hoarded and would not come forth on account of the paper-money, the faculty of paying foreigners for articles of importation would induce it to show itself, and draw it again into circulation. Precautions of a puerile kind were moreover taken to prevent its going to feed the emigrants; every person who sent abroad any metallic amount being obliged to import merchandise of the like value.

Lastly, the government turned its attention to the difficult question of the assignats. There were nearly seven thousand five or six hundred millions in actual circulation; in the coffers there were five or six hundred millions; the total sum fabricated amounted therefore to eight thousand millions. The pledge in hand, in property of first and second origin, as woods, lands, country mansions, hotels, houses, furniture, amounted to more than fifteen thousand millions, according to the actual valuation in assignats. The pledge was therefore amply sufficient. But the assignat lost nine-tenths or eleven-twelfths of its value, according to the objects for which it was given in payment. Thus the state, which received the taxes in assignats, the stockholder, the public functionary, the owner of houses or of lands, the creditor of a capital, all those in short who received their salaries, their income, their reimbursements, in paper, sustained losses that became daily more enormous; and the distress resulting from this state of things likewise increased every day. Cambon proposed to augment the salaries of the public functionaries and the income of the stockholders. After this suggestion had been opposed, it was found necessary to adopt it in regard to the public functionaries, who could no longer live upon their salaries. This was but a very slight palliative for an immense evil: it was relieving one class out of a thousand. To relieve them all, it would be requisite to re-establish the just standard of values; but how was this to be effected?

People were still fond of indulging in the dreams of the preceding year.

They investigated the cause of the depreciation of the assignats, and the means of raising them. In the first place, though they acknowledged that their great quantity was one cause of the depreciation, they strove to prove that this was not the chief cause, in order to exculpate themselves from the excessive issue. In proof, they alleged that at the moment of the defection of Dumouriez, of the insurrection in La Vendée and of the taking of Valenciennes, the assignats, circulating in much smaller quantity than after the raising of the blockade of Dunkirk, Maubeuge, and Landau, nevertheless lost more. This was true, and it proved that defeats and victories had an influence on the course of paper-money, a truth that was certainly incontestable. But now, in the year III (March, 1795), victory was complete on all points, confidence in the sales was established, the national property had become the object of a species of jobbing, a great number of speculators bought to make a profit by reselling or by dividing; and yet the discredit of the assignats was four or five times as great as in the preceding year. The quantity of the issues was therefore the real cause of the depreciation of the paper, and to decrease the amount in circulation was the only mode to raise its value.

The way to bring it back was to sell the national possessions. But what were the means of selling them?—an everlasting question, which was brought forward every year. The cause which had prevented the purchase of national property in preceding years was repugnance, prejudice, and above all, want of confidence in the acquisitions. Now there was a different cause. Let us figure to ourselves how immoveable property is acquired in the ordinary course of things. The merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the capitalist, with slow accumulations arising from produce or income, purchase land of the man who has impoverished himself, or who wishes to change his property for another. But either it is one estate that is exchanged for another, or it is the estate that is exchanged for a moveable capital accumulated by labour. The purchaser of the estate comes to enjoy repose on its bosom; the seller goes elsewhere to employ the moveable capital which he receives in payment, and to succeed to the laborious part of him who accumulated it. Such is the insensible revolution of immoveable property. But let us figure to ourselves a full third of the territory, consisting of extensive and mostly undivided estates, parks, country-houses, hotels, put up for sale all at once, at the very moment too when the most opulent proprietors, merchants, and capitalists, were dispersed, and we shall be able to judge whether it was possible to pay for them. It was not a few tradesmen or farmers who had escaped the proscriptions that could make such acquisitions, and what was still more, pay for them. We shall no doubt be told that the mass of assignats in circulation was sufficient to pay for the domains; but this mass was illusory, if every holder of assignats was obliged to lay out eight or ten times the quantity to procure the same objects as formerly.

The difficulty consisted, therefore, in furnishing purchasers not with the inclination to buy, but with the faculty of paying: consequently, all the means proposed were founded on a false basis, for they all presupposed that faculty. The means proposed were either forced or voluntary. The former were demonetization and forced loan. Demonetization changed paper-money into a mere delegation upon property. It was tyrannical; for, when it reached the assignat in the hands of the labouring man or the individual who had but just wherewithal to live, it converted the morsel of bread into earth and starved the holder of that assignat. The mere rumour, in fact, that a certain portion of the paper was to be divested of the character of

money had caused a rapid fall, and a decree had been issued against demonetizing. The forced loan was quite as tyrannical; it consisted also in forcibly changing the money assignat into an obligation on the lands. The only difference was that the forced loan bore upon the upper and wealthy classes, and operated the conversion for them only; but they had suffered so severely that it was difficult to oblige them to buy landed property, without throwing them into cruel embarrassment. Besides, since the reaction, they began to defend themselves against any return to revolutionary measures.

There was of course nothing left but voluntary means. Expedients of all kinds were proposed. Cambon devised a scheme for a lottery: it was to consist of four millions of tickets at 1000 francs each, which made an amount of four thousand millions to be furnished by the republic. The state was to add 391 millions out of which the great prizes were to be formed, so that there should be four of 500,000 francs, thirty-six of 250,000, and three hundred and sixty of 100,000. The least fortunate were to get back the 1000 francs which they had given for their tickets; but both, instead of being paid in assignats, were to receive a bond on the national property, bearing interest at three per cent. Thus it was supposed that the attraction of a considerable prize would cause this kind of investment in bonds on the national domains to be sought after, and that four thousand millions of assignats would thus exchange the quality of money for that of contracts on lands, by the sacrifice of a premium of 391 millions. Thirion proposed another plan, that of a tontine. But this method, consisting in those investments which are made to secure a small capital to certain survivors, was far too slow and too inadequate in regard to the enormous mass of the assignats. Johannot proposed a kind of territorial bank where assignats might be paid in and bonds bearing three per cent. interest obtained in their stead—bonds which might be exchanged at pleasure for assignats. This was still the same plan of changing the paper-money into simple obligations on lands. Here the only difference consisted in conferring on those obligations the faculty of resuming the form of circulating medium. It is evident that the real difficulty was not surmounted. All the means devised for withdrawing and raising the paper were therefore illusory: it would have been necessary to proceed for a long time to come in the same track, issuing assignats, which would fall more and more every day; and in the end there must have been a forced solution. Unfortunately, people can never foresee the necessary sacrifices, and diminish their extent by making them beforehand. Nations have always lacked this foresight and this courage in a financial crisis.

To these supposed means of withdrawing the assignats were added others, fortunately more practicable but very limited. The moveable property of the emigrants, for which a ready sale might be found, amounted to 200 millions. The shares of emigrants in the commercial companies might produce 100 millions, the share in their inherited property 500 millions. But in the first case capital would be withdrawn from commerce; in the second, a portion of the amount must be raised in lands. It was intended to offer a premium to those who should complete their payments for the property already purchased, and it was hoped that 800 millions might thus be brought back. Lastly, it was intended to make a lottery of the great houses situated in Paris and not let. In case of complete success, this would bring in a thousand millions more. All the items that we have enumerated would thus withdraw 2600 millions; but it would have been very fortunate if 1500 millions had been got in upon the whole. That sum, however, was about to be produced

in another way. The Convention had just decreed a very judicious and a very humane measure—the payment of the creditors of the emigrants. It had at first been resolved to make a separate liquidation for each emigrant. As many of them were insolvent, the republic would not have paid their debts till it had realized their credits. But this individual liquidation would have been attended with endless delay. It would have been necessary to open an account for each emigrant, to enter in it his immoveable property, and his moveable property and to balance the whole with his debts; and his unfortunate creditors, almost all of them servants, artisans, or shopkeepers, would have had to wait twenty or thirty years for their money. At the instigation of Cambon, it was decided that the creditors of the emigrants should become creditors of the state, and should be paid immediately, excepting those whose debtors were notoriously insolvent. The republic might thus lose a few millions, but it would relieve very great distress and confer an immense benefit. Cambon, the revolutionist, was the author of this most humane idea.

But, while these unhappy questions were under discussion, the attention of the government was called off every moment to still more urgent matters—the supply of Paris, which was almost entirely destitute. It was now the end of Ventose (the middle of March). The abolition of the *maximum* had not yet had the effect of reviving commerce, and corn did not arrive. A number of deputies, scattered around Paris, made requisitions which were not obeyed. Though they were still authorized for the supply of the great communes, and on paying the market-price, the farmers alleged that they were abolished, and refused to comply with them: but this was not the greatest obstacle. The rivers and the canals were entirely frozen. Not a boat could arrive. The roads, covered with ice, were impassable; to render wheel-carriage possible it would have been requisite to gravel them for twenty leagues round. During the journey the carts were plundered by the famished people, who were excited to fury by the Jacobins, who told them that the government was counter-revolutionary, that it suffered corn to rot in Paris, and that it intended to restore royalty. While the arrivals diminished, the consumption increased, as always happens in such cases. The fear of running short made each person lay in provisions for several days. Bread was delivered as formerly on the presentation of tickets; but every one exaggerated his wants. To favour their milkwomen, their laundresses, or the country-people, who brought them vegetables and poultry, the inhabitants of Paris gave them bread, which was preferred to money, on account of the dearth which afflicted the environs as much as Paris itself. The bakers even sold dough to the country-people, and from fifteen hundred sacks the consumption had thus risen to nineteen hundred. The abolition of the *maximum* had caused an extraordinary rise in the prices of all kinds of eatables; to bring them down, the government had put meat and goods in the hands of the pork butchers, the grocers, and the shop-keepers, to be sold at a low price. But these depositories abused their commission and sold at a higher rate than they had agreed to do.

The committees were every day in the greatest alarm, and waited with extreme anxiety for the nineteen hundred sacks of flour which had become indispensable. Boissy-d'Anglas, charged with the superintendence of the supply of articles of consumption, came continually to make new reports, in order to pacify the public, and to impart to it a security which was not felt by the government itself. In this situation the customary abuse was not spared. "See," said the Mountain, "the effect of the abolition of the *maximum*!"—"See," replied the right side, "the inevitable effect of your revo-

lutionary measures!" Each then proposed as a remedy the accomplishment of the wishes of his party, and demanded measures frequently most foreign to the painful subject under discussion. "Punish all the guilty!" said the right side, "repair all injustice, revise all the tyrannical laws, repeal all the laws relative to the suspected."—"No," answered the Mountaineers: "renew your committees of government; render their energy revolutionary: cease to persecute the best patriots, and to raise the aristocracy again." Such were the means proposed for the relief of the public distress.

It is always moments like these that parties choose for coming to blows and for carrying their schemes into effect. The report so long expected concerning Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, Barrère, and Vadier, was presented to the Assembly. The commission of twenty-one decided upon accusation, and demanded the provisional arrest. The arrest was immediately voted by an immense majority. It was decreed that the four inculpated members should be heard by the Assembly, and that a solemn discussion should be opened on the motion for placing them under accusation. No sooner was this decision adopted, than it was proposed to readmit into the bosom of the Assembly the proscribed deputies, who two months before had been discharged from all prosecution, but who had been forbidden to resume their seats among their colleagues. Sieyes,* who had kept silence for five years, who, from the first months of the Constituent Assembly, had concealed himself in the centre, that his reputation and his genius might be forgotten, and whom the dictatorship had forgiven as an unsociable character, incapable of conspiring, ceasing to be dangerous as soon as he ceased writing—Sieyes emerged from his long silence, and said that, since the reign of the laws seemed to be restored, he should resume the right to speak. So long as the outrage committed on the national representation was not repaired, the reign of the laws, according to him, was not re-established. "Your whole history," said he to the Convention, "is divided into two epochs; from the 21st of September, the day of your meeting, to the 31st of May, the oppression of the Convention by the misguided people; from the 31st of May to the present day, the oppression of the people by the Convention, tyrannized over itself. From this day you will prove that you are become free by recalling your colleagues. Such a measure cannot even be discussed; it is one of absolute right." The Mountaineers inveighed against this manner of

* The following anecdotes are highly characteristic of Sieyes, who rendered himself conspicuous during the Revolution by his numerous crotchets, theories, and systems, which possessed every earthly recommendation except common sense.

"Sieyes, observed Napoleon, before the Revolution, was almoner to one of the princesses. One day, when he was performing mass in the chapel before herself, her attendants, and a large congregation, something occurred which made the princess get up and retire. Her example was followed by her ladies-in-waiting, and by the whole of the nobility, officers, and others, who attended more out of complaisance to her than from any true sense of religion. Sieyes was very busy reading his breviary, and for some time did not perceive the general desertion. Lifting up his eyes, however, from his book, lo! he observed that the princess, nobles, and all their retainers, had disappeared. With an air of contempt, displeasure, and haughtiness, he shut the book, hastily descended from the pulpit, exclaiming, 'I do not say mass for the *canaille*,' and went out of the chapel, leaving the service half finished."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"The Abbé Sieyes rendered himself remarkable on occasion of the King's trial. When his turn came to ascend the tribune, he pronounced the words 'Death, *sans phrase*.' This expression was afterwards parodied in a cutting manner by a minister of the King of Prussia, whom Caillard, the French minister, had requested to pay some attention to Sieyes, who was going as ambassador to Berlin. 'No,' replied he; 'and *sans phrase*.'"—*Memoirs of a Peer of France*. E.

reasoning. "All that you have done then is null!" exclaimed Cambon. "Those immense toils, that multitude of laws, all the decrees which constitute the present government, are then null! and the salvation of France, effected by your courage and your efforts, all this is null!" Sieyès said that he was misunderstood. The Assembly nevertheless decided that the deputies who had escaped the scaffold should be reinstated. Those famous proscripsts, Isnard, Henri Larivière, Louvet, Lareveillère-Lepaux, and Doulcet de Pontecoulant, entered amidst applause. "Why," exclaimed Chenier, "was there not a cavern deep enough to save from the executioners the eloquence of Vergniaud and the genius of Condorcet!"*

The Mountaineers were indignant; nay, even several Thermidorians, alarmed at seeing the chiefs of a faction which had opposed so dangerous a resistance to the revolutionary system, admitted again into the Assembly, went back to the Mountain. Thuriot, that Thermidorian, so inimical to Robespierre, who had by a miracle escaped the fate of Philipeaux; Lesage-Senault, a man of sound discretion, but a decided enemy to all counter-revolution; lastly, Lecointre, the resolute adversary of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, who had five months before been declared a calumniator for denouncing the seven remaining members of the old committees; took their seats again on the left side. "You know not what you are doing," said Thuriot to his colleagues; "those men will never forgive you." Lecointre proposed a distinction: "Recall the proscribed deputies," said he, "but inquire which of them took arms against the country by exciting the departments to insurrection, and admit them not again among you." All of them had in fact taken arms. Louvet hesitated not to confess this, and proposed to declare that the departments which had risen in 1793 had deserved well of the country. This called up Tallien, who, alarmed at the boldness of the Girondins, opposed the two propositions of Lecointre and Louvet. Both were rejected. While the Assembly recalled the proscribed Girondins, it referred Pache, Bouchotte, and Garat,† to the examination of the committee of general safety.

Such resolutions were not calculated to pacify the public mind. The increasing dearth at length rendered necessary the adoption of a measure which had been postponed for several days, and which could not fail to increase the irritation to the highest pitch—namely, to reduce the inhabitants of Paris to rations. Boissy-d'Anglas appeared before the Assembly on the 25th of Ventose (March 15), and proposed, in order to prevent waste and to insure to each a sufficient share of provisions, to limit every individual to a certain quantity of bread. The number of persons composing each family was to be stated on the ticket, and no more than one pound of bread per day was to be allowed for each person. On this condition, the commission of

* "I will not do the National Convention the injustice," said Chenier, who spoke in favour of the Girondins, "to place before its eyes the phantom of federalism, which they have dared to make the principal head of accusation against your colleagues. They have fled, it is said. They have concealed themselves. This, then, is their crime. Ah! would that it had pleased the fates of the republic that this had been the crime of them all! Why were there not caverns deep enough to preserve to their country the meditations of Condorcet, and the eloquence of Vergniaud! Why, on the 10th of Thermidor, did not a hospitable land again bring to light this band of energetic patriots, and virtuous republicans! But they fear schemes of vengeance from men soured by misfortune."—*Mignet*. E.

† "Garat was a man of talent who had distinguished himself in the revolutionary troubles, but his eloquence, I well remember, was always disliked by Bonaparte. 'What an animal that Garat is!' said he to me one day. 'What a stringer of words! There are people who never know when to hold their tongues.'"—*Bourrienne*. E.

supplies could answer for it that the city would not be left without provisions. Romme, the Mountaineer, proposed to raise the allowance of working men to a pound and a half. The upper classes, he said, possessed the means of procuring butchers' meat, rice, or vegetables; but the common people, being unable to buy anything but bread, ought to have more of it. Romme's proposition was adopted, and the Thermidorians were sorry that they had not made it themselves, to gain the support of the lower classes and to withdraw them from the Mountain.

No sooner was this decree passed than it excited a most violent ferment in the populous quarters of Paris. The revolutionists strove to aggravate its effect, and never called Boissy-d'Anglas by any other name than *Famine Boissy*. On the day after the next, the 27th of Ventose (March 17), when the decree was for the first time carried into execution, a great tumult arose in the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau. For the 636,000 inhabitants of the capital there had been given out 1897 sacks of flour: 324,000 citizens had received the additional half-pound allowed to persons supporting themselves by the labour of their hands. Nevertheless, it appeared so new to the people of the fauxbourgs to be reduced to rations, that they murmured. Some women, who were accustomed to attend the clubs, and who were always ready to create a riot, made a disturbance in the section of the Observatoire, and were joined by the usual agitators of the section. They resolved to present a petition to the Convention; but for this purpose it was requisite that there should be a meeting of the whole section, and it was not lawful to hold such a meeting excepting on the Decadi. They nevertheless beset the civil committee, demanded with threats the keys of the hall, and, on its refusal to give them up, the mob insisted on its sending one of its members to go with them to the Convention. The committee complied, and appointed one of its members to regularize the movement and to prevent disturbance. A similar scene was taking place at the same moment in the section of Finistère. A concourse had collected there and joined that of the Observatoire; and both, blended together, proceeded towards the Convention. One of the ringleaders undertook to speak, and was conducted with a few of the petitioners to the bar. The rest of the mob remained outside making a tremendous noise. "We are in want of bread!" said the spokesman of the deputation: "we are ready to regret all the sacrifices that we have made for the Revolution." At these words, the Assembly, filled with indignation, abruptly stopped him, and several members rose to condemn language so unbecoming. "Bread! bread!" shouted the petitioners striking the bar with their fists. On this insolent conduct, the Assembly desired them to be turned out of the hall. Tranquillity, however, was restored; the speaker finished his harangue and said that, till the wants of the people were supplied, they would not shout anything but *The republic for ever!* Thibaudeau, the president, replied with firmness to this seditious speech, and, without inviting the petitioners to the sitting, sent them back to their work. The committee of general safety, which had already collected some battalions of the sections, cleared away the crowd from the doors of the Assembly, and dispersed it.

This scene produced a strong impression on the public mind. The daily threats of the Jacobins spread through the sections of the fauxbourgs; their inflammatory placards, in which they gave warning that an insurrection would take place within a week, if all the prosecutions against the patriots were not dropped, and if the constitution of 1793 were not enforced; their almost public conferences, held in the coffee-houses of the fauxbourgs; lastly,

this recent attempt at riot, revealed to the Convention the scheme of a new 31st of May. The right side, the reinstated Girondins, the Thermidorians, all threatened alike, deemed it time to take measures for preventing any new attack on the national representation. Sieyes, who had lately made his appearance again upon the stage, and become a member of the committee of public welfare, proposed to the united committees a sort of martial law, destined to preserve the Convention from fresh violence. This *projet de loi* declared as seditious every concourse of people assembled for the purpose of attacking public or private property, of restoring royalty, of overthrowing the republic and the constitution of 1793, of going to the Temple, to the Convention, &c. Every member of such an assemblage was to be liable to banishment. If after three warnings from the magistrates the assemblage did not disperse, force was to be employed; and, till the public force should collect, all the adjoining sections were to send their own battalions. An insult offered to a representative of the people was to be punished by banishment; outrage, attended with violence, by death. One bell only was to remain in Paris, and to be placed in the Pavillon de l'Unité. If any assemblage should be proceeding towards the Convention, this bell was immediately to sound the alarm. At this signal, all the sections were to be required to assemble and to march to the succour of the national representation. If the Convention should be dissolved, or its liberty violated, all the members who could escape were to be enjoined to leave Paris immediately, and to repair to Châlons-sur-Marne. All the deputies absent on leave or on missions were to be ordered to join them. The generals were also to send them troops from the frontiers, and the new Convention formed at Châlons, the only depository of the legitimate authority, was to march to Paris, to deliver the oppressed portion of the national representation, and to punish the authors of the outrage.

This plan was cordially adopted by the committees. Sieyes was commissioned to draw up the report upon it, and to present it as speedily as possible to the Assembly. The revolutionists, on their part, emboldened by the late movement, finding in the dearth a most favourable opportunity, perceiving that the danger was becoming more imminent for their party, and that the fatal moment for Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier, was approaching, bestirred themselves with greater violence, and thought seriously of getting up a sedition. The electoral club and the popular society of the Quinze-Vingts had been dissolved. Deprived of this place of refuge, the revolutionists had resorted to the sectional assemblies, which were held every Decadi. They swayed the faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, and the quarters of the Temple and of the City. They met at the coffee-houses situated in the heart of these different quarters; they projected a commotion, but without having either any avowed plan or leaders. Among them were several men compromised either in the revolutionary committees or in different offices, who possessed considerable influence over the multitude; but none of them had a decided superiority. The one counterbalanced the other, agreed but ill together, and had, moreover, no communication whatever with the deputies belonging to the Mountain.

The old popular leaders had always been allied with Danton, with Robespierre, with the heads of the government, and had served as intermediate agents to give their directions to the populace. But all these had perished. The new leaders were strangers to the new chiefs of the Mountain. They had nothing in common with them but their dangers and their attachment to the same cause. Besides, the Mountaineer deputies, as the beaten party,

being left in a minority in the Assembly, and accused of conspiring in order to recover power, were under the necessity of justifying themselves every day, and obliged to declare that they were not conspiring. The usual result of such a position is a wish that others should conspire, and a fear of entering into a conspiracy oneself. Accordingly, the Mountaineers said every day, *The people will rise—the people must rise*; but they would not have dared to concert with the people in order to bring about that rising.* Many imprudent expressions used by Duhem and Maribon-Montaud in a coffee-house were repeated. Both must have been very unguarded and indiscreet to utter them. Declarations made by Leonard Bourdon to the sectionary society of the Rue du Vertbois were also cited: they were likely enough to have come from him: but none of these men corresponded with the patriots. As for Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, who were more interested than any other persons in a commotion, they were afraid lest, by taking part in one, they should render their own position worse, which was already very dangerous.

The patriots, therefore, proceeded alone, without much unity of purpose, as is almost always the case when there are no very prominent chiefs. They ran from one to the other, carrying messages from street to street and from quarter to quarter, and intimating that this or that section was going to present a petition, or to attempt a movement. At the commencement of a revolution, at the outset of a party, when all its chiefs are with it, when success and novelty hurry the mass along in its train, when it disconcerts its adversaries by the boldness of its attacks, it makes amends by excitement for the want of unity and order: on the contrary, when it is once forced to defend itself, when it is deprived of impulsion, when it is known to its adversaries, it has more need than ever of discipline. But that discipline almost always impossible, becomes absolutely so when the influential leaders are gone. Such was the position of the patriot party; it was no longer the torrent of the 14th of July, of the 5th and 6th of October, of the 10th of August, or of the 31st of May. It was the combination of a few men, injured by long discord to hostility, seriously compromised, full of energy and obstinacy it is true, but more capable of fighting desperately than of conquering.

According to the old custom of preceding every movement by an imperative and yet guarded petition, the sections of Montreuil and the Quinze-Vingts comprised in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, drew up one in much the same spirit as all those which had been the forerunners of the great insurrections. It was agreed that it should be presented on the 1st of Germinal (March 21). This was the very day that the committees had resolved to propose the law of high police devised by Sieyès. Besides the deputation which was to present the petition, an assemblage of patriots took care to proceed towards the Tuileries; thither they thronged, and, as usual, they formed numerous groups, shouting, *The Convention forever! the Jacobins forever! down with the Aristocrats!* The young men, with hair turned up and black collars, had also moved off from the Palais Royal to the Tuileries, and formed hostile groups, crying, *The Convention forever! down with the Terrorists!* The petitioners were admitted to the bar. The language of their petition was extremely moderate. They referred to the distress of the people, but without acrimony; they combated the accusation directed against

* "With respect to the middle classes and the people, the death of Robespierre was the death of the revolutionary government; and, after various struggles and oscillations, the Mountaineers (that is to say, those who wished to continue the system of terror) found themselves no longer heading the people, but, in spite of themselves, drawn along with and governed by public opinion."—*Las Cases*. E.

the patriots, but without recriminating against their adversaries. They merely remarked that the authors of these charges misconceived both the past services of the patriots, and the position in which they had found themselves. They confessed, however, that excesses had been committed, but added, that all parties were composed of men and not of gods. "The sections of the Quinze-Vingts and of Montreuil," said they, "are not come, therefore, to demand of you as general measures either banishment or the spilling of blood against this or that party, measures which confound mere error with crime: they regard all Frenchmen as brethren, differently organized, it is true, but all members of the same family. They come to solicit you to employ an instrument which is in your hands, and which is the only efficacious one for putting an end to our political storms; that is the constitution of 1793. Organize from this day forth that popular constitution which the French people have accepted and sworn to defend. It will reconcile all interests, pacify the public mind, and lead you to the term of your labours."

This insidious proposition comprised all that the revolutionists desired at the moment. They actually conceived that the constitution, in expelling the Convention, would bring back their leaders and themselves to the legislature, to the executive power, and to the municipal administrations. This was an egregious mistake; but such was their hope, and they thought that, without expressing dangerous wishes, such as the release of the patriots, the suspension of all proceedings against them, and the formation of a new commune at Paris, they should find its accomplishment in the mere putting in force of the constitution. If the Convention refused to comply with their demand, if it did not speak out precisely, and did not fix an early period, it would confess that it disliked the constitution of 1793. Thibaudeau, the president, made them a very firm reply, concluding with these words, which were by no means flattering, nay, they were indeed severe: "The Convention has never attributed the insidious petitions which have been presented to it, to the sturdy and stanch defenders of liberty, whom the fauxbourg St. Antoine has produced." As soon as the president had finished, Chales hastened to mount the tribune, to demand that the declaration of rights should be exhibited in the hall of the Convention, as one of the articles of the constitution required. Tallien succeeded him in the tribune. "I ask those men," said he, "who now pretend to be such zealous defenders of the constitution, those who seem to have adopted the watchword of a sect which sprang up at the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly—*The constitution, and nothing but the constitution*—I ask them if it was not themselves who shut it up in a box?" Applause, from one quarter, murmurs and shouts from another, interrupted Tallien. Resuming his speech, amidst tumult, "Nothing," he continued, "shall prevent me from expressing my opinion when I am among the representatives of the people. We are all for upholding the constitution, with a firm government, with the government which it prescribes; and it is not right that certain members should make the people believe that there are in this Assembly persons hostile to the constitution. It behoves us this day to take measures to prevent them from slandering the pure and respectable majority of the Convention."—"Yes, yes," was the general cry from all quarters. "That constitution," proceeded Tallien, "which they followed up not by laws calculated to complete it and to render its execution possible, but by the revolutionary government—that constitution we must put in action, and we must impart life to it. But we shall not be so imprudent as to pretend to carry it into effect without organic laws, so as to consign it incom-

plete and defenceless to all the enemies of the republic. For this reason, I move that a report be immediately prepared on the means of perfecting the constitution, and that it be decreed that henceforth there shall be no intermediate agency between the present government and the definitive government." Tallien descended from the tribune amidst universal demonstrations of the satisfaction of the Assembly, whom his manner of replying had extricated from a dilemma. The preparation of organic laws was a happy pretext for deferring the promulgation of the constitution, and furnishing the means of modifying it. It was an occasion for a new revision, like that to which the constitution of 1791 was subjected. Miaulle, a moderate Mountaineer, approved Tallien's proposal, and admitted, with him, that they ought not to be too precipitate in carrying the constitution into effect: but he maintained that there could not be any inconvenience in giving it publicity; and he moved that it should be engraved on marble tablets and set up in all the public places. Thibaudeau, alarmed at the idea of giving such publicity to a constitution framed in a moment of democratic frenzy, gave up the chair to Clauzel, and ascended the tribune. "Legislators," said he, "we ought not to resemble those priests of antiquity who had two ways of expressing themselves, the one secret, the other ostensible. It behoves us to have the courage to say what we think of this constitution; and, were it even to strike me dead, as it last year struck those who presumed to make observations against it, still would I speak out." After a long interruption occasioned by applause, Thibaudeau boldly asserted that there would be danger in publishing a constitution with which those who so highly extolled it were assuredly not acquainted. "A democratic constitution," said he, "is not one in which the people themselves exercise all the powers." "No! no!" cried a multitude of voices. "It is that," resumed Thibaudeau, "under which the people enjoy liberty, equality, and peace. Now I cannot find these in a constitution which should place a usurping commune or factious Jacobins by the side of the national representation; which should not give to the national representation the direction of the armed force in the place where it is sitting, and should thus deprive it of the means of defending itself and of upholding its dignity; which should grant to a fraction of the people the right of partial insurrection and the faculty of overthrowing the state. To no purpose are we told that an organic law will correct all these inconveniences. A mere law may be altered by the legislature; but dispositions so important as those which shall be comprehended in these organic laws must be as immutable as the constitution itself. Besides, organic laws are not framed in a fortnight, or even in a month; meanwhile I propose that no publicity be given to the constitution; that great vigour be imparted to the government, and that even, if it be requisite, new powers be given to the committee of public welfare." Thibaudeau descended from the tribune amidst applause bestowed on the boldness of his declaration. It was then proposed to close the discussion immediately. The president put the question to the vote, and almost the whole Assembly rose in support of it. The irritated Mountaineers complained that they had not had time to hear what the president said, and that they knew not what had been proposed. No attention was paid to them, and the Assembly proceeded to other business. Legendre then moved the appointment of a commission of eleven members, to consider without intermission the organic laws with which the constitution was to be accompanied. This idea was forthwith adopted. The committees at that moment intimated that they had an important report to make, and Sieyès ascended the tribune to submit his law of high police.

While these different scenes were passing in the interior of the Assembly, the greatest tumult prevailed without. The patriots of the fauxbourg, who had not been able to get into the hall, had gone to the Carrousel and to the gardens of the Tuileries, and were there waiting impatiently, and setting up their accustomed shouts, till the result of the application to the Convention should be known. Some of them had come from the tribunes to report to the others what had passed; and, giving them an unfaithful account, they had told them that the petitioners had been maltreated. The tumult among them increased. Some ran off to the fauxbourgs to say that their envoys were ill-used by the Convention; others scoured the garden, driving before them the young men whom they met with; they had even seized three of them and thrown them into the great basin of the Tuileries.* The committee of general safety, observing these disorders, had directed the drums to beat, for the purpose of calling together the neighbouring sections. Meanwhile, the danger was urgent; and it required time for the sections to be called together, and to assemble. The committee had around it a body of young men, who had collected to the number of a thousand or twelve hundred, armed with sticks and disposed to fall upon the groups of patriots, who had not yet met with any resistance. It accepted their aid, and authorized them to keep order in the garden. They rushed upon the groups which were shouting *The Jacobins forever!* dispersed them after a long contest, and drove back part of them towards the hall of the Convention. Some of the patriots again went up to the tribunes, and there caused a sort of confusion by their precipitate arrival. At this moment, Sieyes was finishing his report on the law of high police. An adjournment was demanded, and there were cries from the Mountain of "It is a bloody law! It is martial law! They want the Convention to leave Paris!" With these cries was mingled the noise of the runaways coming back from the garden. Great agitation ensued. "The royalists are assassinating the patriots!" exclaimed a voice. A tumult was heard at the doors: the president put on his hat. A great majority of the Assembly said that the danger against which Sieyes's law provided had already occurred, that it ought to be voted immediately. "Vote! vote!" was the general cry. The law was put to the vote, and adopted by an immense majority, amidst the loudest applause. The members of the extreme left refused to take any part in the proceeding. At length quiet was gradually restored, and it began to be possible to hear the speakers. "The Convention has been imposed upon," cried Duhem. Clauzel, who then came in, said that he had brought good news. "We want none of thy good news," replied several voices. Clauzel continued, and reported that the good citizens had assembled to make a rampart of their bodies for the national representation. He was applauded. "It is thou," cried Ruamps, "who hast instigated these mobs, in order to cause the passing of an atrocious law." Clauzel attempted to reply, but could not make himself heard. The law, voted with such precipitation, was then attacked. "The law has been passed," said the president, "it is too late to revert to it." "People here are conspiring with those outside," said Tallien; "no

* "The enraged patriots set off to appear before the Convention. They vociferously demanded 'Bread, the Constitution of 1793, and the liberty of the imprisoned Jacobins.' They met some young people, and threw them into the basin of the Tuileries. But the report having soon spread that the Convention was in danger, and that the Jacobins were going to attempt the rescue of their chiefs, the Troupe Dorée, followed by about five thousand citizens belonging to the interior sections, arrived to disperse the men of the fauxbourgs, and to act as the guard of the Assembly."—*Mignet*. E.

matter, let us resume afresh the discussion of the *projet*, and prove that the Convention can deliberate even amidst murderers." Tallien's proposal was adopted, and the *projet* of Sieyes was anew taken into consideration. The discussion was carried on with more calmness. While the assembly was deliberating within the hall, tranquillity was restored without. The young men, victorious over the Jacobins, begged permission to present themselves before the Assembly. They were introduced by deputation, and protested their patriotic intentions and their devotedness to the national representation. They withdrew after having been vehemently applauded. The Convention persisted in discussing the law of police without stirring, voted it article by article, and at length broke up at ten at night.

This day left both parties convinced of the approach of some important event. The patriots, repulsed by the closing of the debate in the Convention, and beaten with sticks in the garden of the Tuileries, repaired to the faubourgs to vent their rage, and to excite the populace there to riot. The Convention plainly saw that it was about to be attacked, and prepared to avail itself of the tutelary law which it had just passed.

The next day was likely to produce as warm a discussion as that which was just over. It was the first time that Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier were to be heard before the Convention. A great number of patriots and women had thronged very early to occupy the tribunes. The young men more prompt, had got there before them, and prevented the women from entering. They had sent them away rather roughly, and some scuffles had ensued around the hall. Numerous patrols, on duty in the environs, had nevertheless maintained the public peace; the tribunes had filled without much disturbance, and, from eight in the morning till noon, the time had been spent in singing patriotic airs. On one side was sung *Le Réveil du Peuple*, on the other *La Marseillaise*, till the deputies were seated. The president at length took the chair amidst shouts of *The Convention for ever! The republic for ever!* The accused had entered and seated themselves at the bar, and the discussion was awaited in profound silence.

Robert Lindet immediately demanded permission to speak on a motion of order. It was surmised that this irreproachable man, whom none had dared to accuse along with the other members of the committee of public safety, meant to defend his old colleagues. It was generous in him to do so, for he had still less concern than Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or in the political measures of the late committee of public welfare. He had accepted the department of supplies and transports solely on condition that he should have nothing to do with the operations of his colleagues, that he should never deliberate with them, nay, that he should even have his office in a different building. He had refused the co-suretiship before the danger; the danger arrived, and he generously came forward to claim it. It was thought likely that Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or would follow Lindet's example: accordingly, several voices on the right were raised at once to oppose his being heard. "The accused must be heard first," was the cry; "they must speak before either their accusers or their defenders."—"Yesterday," said Bourdon of the Oise, "a plot was hatched to save the accused; it was frustrated by the good citizens. To-day recourse is had to other means; scruples are awakened in honest men, whom the accusation has separated from their colleagues: they are prevailed upon to associate themselves with the guilty, in order to retard justice by new obstacles. Robert Lindet replied that the intention was to bring the whole government to trial, that he had been a member of it, that, in consequence, he ought not to consent to be

separated from his colleagues, and that he claimed his share of the responsibility. Men hardly dare withstand an act of generosity and courage. Robert Lindet obtained permission to speak. He expatiated at great length on the immense toils of the committee of public welfare; he demonstrated its activity, its foresight, and its eminent services; and proved that the excitement of zeal produced by the struggle had alone caused the excesses with which certain members of that government were charged. This speech, which lasted six hours, was not heard without many interruptions. Ungrateful persons, forgetting already the services of the accused, found this enumeration of the obligations owing to them rather tedious: and some members even had the indecency to say that this speech ought to be printed at Lindet's expense, because it would cost the republic too much. The Girondins were nettled by the mention of the federalist insurrection and the calamities which it had caused. Every party found reason to complain. At length, the Assembly adjourned to the following day, many of its members vowing not to suffer any more of those long depositions in favour of the accused. Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or desired, however, to be heard in their turn; they were anxious, like Lindet, to lend a generous succour to their colleagues, and at the same time to justify themselves against a great number of accusations, which could not be urged against Billaud, Collot, and Barrère without involving them also. The signature of Carnot and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or was in fact attached to the orders for which the accused were most severely censured. Carnot, whose reputation was immense, who was said in France and in Europe to have *organized victory*, and whose courageous contests with St. Just and Robespierre were well known, could not be heard without respect and a sort of reverence.* He obtained leave to speak. "It belongs to me," said he, "to justify the committee of public welfare, to me who dared first to face Robespierre and St. Just;" and he might have added—to me who dared attack them, while you obeyed their slightest orders, and decreed at their pleasure all the executions which they demanded of you. He first explained how his signature and that of his colleagues, who had no participation whatever in the political acts of the committee, came nevertheless to be appended to the most sanguinary orders. "Overwhelmed," said he, "by the pressure of business, having three or four hundred matters to settle every day, and very often no time for meals, we had agreed to lend our signatures to one another. We signed a multitude of papers without reading them. I signed orders for placing under accusation, and my colleagues signed orders for military movements and plans of attack, without either having time to enter into any explanation concerning them. The necessity for this immense toil had required that individual dictatorship, which each had reciprocally granted to the other. Without this, we could never have got through the business. The order to arrest one of the most useful of my *employés* in the

* "Carnot was not included in the act of accusation, but he had the magnanimity to declare that, having acted with his colleagues for the public good, he had no wish but to share their fate. This generous proceeding embarrassed the accusers; but, in order to avoid implicating so illustrious a character in the impeachment, it was resolved to limit it to some only of the members of the committee; and Amar, Vouland, and the painter David, were excluded, the last of whom had disgraced a fine genius by the most savage revolutionary fanaticism."—*Alison*. E.

"Carnot, after the events of Thermidor, when the Convention caused all the members of the committee of public safety to be arrested, with the exception of himself, insisted on sharing their fate. This conduct was the more noble, inasmuch as the country had declared violently against the committee. Carnot, who had a high sense of honour and great natural sensibility, was deeply affected by the reproaches of public opinion."—*Las Cases*. E.

war department, an order for which I attacked St. Just and Robespierre, and denounced them as usurpers—that order I had signed without knowing it. Thus our signature proves nothing, and it cannot be adduced in evidence of our participation in the acts laid to the charge of the late government.” Carnot then endeavoured to justify his accused colleagues. Though admitting, without precisely saying so, that they had formed part of the passionate and violent men of the committee, he declared that they had been the first to rise up against the triumvirate, and that the indomitable character of Billaud-Varennes had been the greatest obstacle that Robespierre had had to encounter. Prieur of the Côte-d’Or, who, in the fabrication of arms and ammunition, had rendered as important services as Carnot, and who had given the same signatures and in the same manner, repeated Carnot’s declaration, and insisted, like him and Lindet, on sharing the responsibility which pressed upon the accused.

Here the Convention found itself plunged again into the perplexities of a discussion which had been several times renewed, and which had never led to anything but frightful confusion. Was not this example, given by three men enjoying universal consideration and voluntarily declaring themselves co-sureties of the late government a warning for it? Was it of no consequence that everybody had more or less been an accomplice of the old committees, and that it ought itself to demand chains, like Lindet, Carnot, and Prieur? In fact, it had not attacked tyranny till after the three men whom it now wished to punish as its accomplices; and as for their passions, it had shared them all; it was even more culpable than they if it had not felt them, for it had sanctioned all their excesses.

Thus, on the 4th, 5th, and 6th of Germinal, the discussion degenerated into a frightful squabble. Every moment the name of a fresh member was compromised; he demanded permission to justify himself; he reeriminated in his turn; and the members belonging to both parties entered into digressions equally long and dangerous. It was then decreed that the accused and the members of the commission should alone have the privilege of speaking, for the purpose of discussing the facts, article by article, and every deputy was forbidden to attempt to justify himself if his name was mentioned. To no purpose was this decree passed. Every moment the discussion again became general, and there was not an act but was bandied from one to the other with fearful violence. The commotion which existed on the preceding days kept still increasing. Only one cry was heard in the faubourgs. We must go to the Convention, to demand bread, the constitution of 1793, and the release of the patriots. Unfortunately, the quantity of flour necessary for furnishing the 1800 sacks not having arrived in Paris on the 6th, only a half ration was given out on the morning of the 7th, with a promise of the other half in the evening. The women of the section of the Graviilliers, in the quarter of the Temple, refused the half ration offered them, and assembled tumultuously in the Rue du Vert-Bois. Some of them, who possessed influence, strove to form an assemblage, and, taking with them all the women whom they fell in with, set off for the Convention. While they were proceeding thither, the leaders ran to the house of the president of the section, seized by violence his bell and the keys of the hall of meeting, and set about forming an illegal assembly. They appointed a president, composed a bureau, and read several times the article of the declaration of rights, which proclaimed insurrection to be a right and a duty. The women had meanwhile pursued their way to the Convention, and were making a great noise at its doors. They desired to be introduced *en masse*, but only twenty

were admitted. One of them boldly spoke in their name, and complained that they had received only half a pound of bread. The president having attempted to reply, they shouted, "Bread! bread!" They interrupted by the same cry the explanation which Boissy-d'Anglas would have given respecting the distribution of the morning. They were at length obliged to withdraw, and the discussion relative to the accused was resumed. The committee of general safety ordered patrols to escort these women back, and sent one of its members to dissolve the assembly illegally formed in the section of the Gravilliers. Those who composed it refused at first to comply with the exhortations of the representative sent to them; but on seeing the armed force they dispersed. In the night, the principal instigators were apprehended and conveyed to prison.

This was the third attempt at commotion. On the 27th of Ventose people had rioted on account of the ration, on the 1st of Germinal on account of the petition of the Quinze-Vingts, and on the 7th on account of the insufficient distribution of provisions. Apprehensions were entertained of a general movement on the Decadi, a day of idleness, and on which the meetings of the sections were held. To prevent the dangers of an assemblage at night, it was decided that the sectional assemblies should be held between the hours of one and four. This was but a very insignificant measure, and could not possibly prevent the conflict. It was obvious that the principal cause of these commotions was the accusation preferred against the late members of the committee of public welfare, and the imprisonment of the patriots. Many deputies were disposed to drop prosecutions which, were they ever so just, were certainly dangerous. Rouzet devised a plan which would render it unnecessary to pass any sentence on the accused, and which at the same time would save their lives. This was the ostracism. When a citizen should have made his name a subject of discord, he proposed to banish him for a time. His suggestion was not listened to. Merlin of Thionville, a warm Thermidorian and an intrepid citizen, began nevertheless to think that it would be better to avoid a conflict. He proposed, therefore, to convoke the primary assemblies, to put the constitution in force immediately, and to refer the trial of the accused to the next legislature. Merlin of Douai strongly supported this advice. Guyton-Morveau* proposed a firmer course. "The proceedings in which we are now engaged," said he, "are a scandal: where should we stop, if we were to prosecute all those who have made more sanguinary motions than those with which the accused are charged? One cannot tell, indeed, whether we are finishing or recommencing our revolution." The Convention was justly startled at the idea of resigning at such a moment the supreme authority to a new assembly; neither was it disposed to give France a constitution so absurd as that of 1793. It declared, therefore, that there were no grounds for discussing the propositions of the two Merlins. As for the proceedings already commenced, their continuance gratified the revenge of too many for them to be relinquished; and it was merely decided that the Assembly, in order that

* "L. B. Guyton-Morveau, born in 1737, was chosen deputy to the legislature, to which he became secretary in 1791. In the following year he was appointed president, and employed himself in financial affairs. Being afterwards deputed to the Convention, he voted for the King's death. In 1794, after the 9th of Thermidor, he was chosen into the committee of public safety. During the session of 1795 he distinguished himself by his activity, and his reports; and shortly after entered into the council of Five Hundred. In the year 1804, he was made an officer of the Legion of Honour. Guyton-Morveau was a man of science, and we owe to him the important discovery of a method of purifying the air by reducing muriatic acid to gas."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

it might be able to attend to other business, should devote every other day only to the hearing of the accused.

Such a decision was not calculated to pacify the patriots. The Decadi was spent in reciprocally exciting one another. The sectional assemblies were very tumultuous. Still the so-much-dreaded commotion did not take place. In the section of the *Quinze-Vingts* a new petition was drawn up; it was bolder than the first, and was to be presented on the following day. It was accordingly read at the bar of the Convention. "Why," it asked, "is Paris without municipality? Why are the popular societies shut up? What has become of the crops? Why are assignats falling every day? Why are the young men of the *Palais Royal* alone allowed to assemble? Why are the patriots alone in prison? The people are at length determined to be free. They know that when they are oppressed, insurrection is the first of their duties." The petition was read, amid the murmurs of a large portion of the Assembly and the applause of the Mountain. Pelet of La Lozère, the president, received the petitioners rather roughly, and dismissed them. The only satisfaction granted was to send to the sections the list of the imprisoned patriots, that they might be enabled to judge whether there were any who deserved to be claimed.

The rest of the 11th was passed in agitations in the *fauxbourgs*. People said everywhere that they must go the next day to the Convention, to demand once more all that they had not yet been able to obtain from it. This opinion circulated from mouth to mouth, in all the quarters occupied by the patriots. The leaders of each section, without having any determined object, were desirous of exciting a general rising, and propelling the entire mass of the populace upon the Convention. Next day, the 12th of *Germinal* (April 1), men, women, and children, actually sallied forth in the section of the *Cité*, and beset the bakers' doors, preventing those who were there from accepting the ration, and endeavouring to draw everybody towards the *Tuileries*. The ringleaders at the same time circulated all sorts of rumours. They said that the Convention was on the point of starting for *Châlons* and leaving the people of Paris to their misery; that the section of the *Gravilliers* had been disarmed in the night; that the young men had assembled, to the number of thirty thousand, in the *Champ de Mars*, and that with their aid all the patriot sections were about to be disarmed. They forced the authorities of the section of the *Cité* to give up its drums; they took them away, and began to beat the *générale* in all the streets. The flame spread with rapidity: the population of the *Temple* and the *fauxbourg St. Antoine* turned out, and proceeding along the quays and the boulevard, directed its course towards the *Tuileries*. This formidable assemblage consisted of women, boys, and drunken men, the latter armed with bludgeons, and having this inscription on their hats—*Bread and the constitution of 1793*.

At this moment, Boissy d'Anglas was reading to the Convention a report on the various systems adopted in regard to provisions. It had but its ordinary guard around it; the mob had reached its doors; it inundated the *Carrousel* and the *Tuileries*, and obstructed all the avenues, so that the numerous patrols scattered through Paris could not come to the aid of the national representation. The crowd entered the saloon of Liberty, which preceded the hall where the Assembly met, and prepared to force its way into the latter. The ushers and the guard strove to stop them. Men, armed with cudgels, dashed forward, dispersed all who attempted to resist, rushed against the doors, burst them open, and poured like a torrent amidst the Assembly.

shouting, waving their hats, and raising a cloud of dust. *Bread! bread! The constitution of 1793!* Such was the cry of the infuriated rabble. The deputies did not leave their seats, and displayed an imposing firmness. One of them suddenly rose, and cried, *The republic forever!* All followed his example, and the mob also set up the same cry, but added, *Bread! The constitution of 1793!* The members of the left only bestowed some applause, and did not seem sorry to see the populace among them. That crowd, for which no plan had been chalked out, whose leaders wished only to make use of it to intimidate the Convention, introduced itself among the deputies, and sat down beside them, but without daring to commit any act of violence. Legendre began to speak. "If ever," said he, "malice—" He was not suffered to proceed. "Down! down!" cried the rabble: "we have no bread!" Merlin of Thionville, still as courageous as at Mayence and in La Vendée, left his seat, went down among the populace, talked to several of those men, embraced and was embraced by them, and exhorted them to pay due respect to the Convention. "To thy place!" cried some of the Mountaineers. "My place," replied Merlin, "is among the people. These men have just assured me that they have no bad intention; that they have no wish to intimidate the Convention by their number: that, on the contrary, they are ready to defend it, and that they have come hither merely to make it acquainted with their wants."—"Yes, yes," cried some of the crowd; "we want bread."

At these words shouts were heard in the saloon of Liberty: another popular billow had followed the first. It was a second irruption of men, women, and boys, shouting all at once, "Bread! bread!" Legendre would have begun again what he was going to say; but he was interrupted with cries of "Down! down!"

The Mountaineers were perfectly aware that in this state the Convention, oppressed, degraded, smothered, could neither listen, nor speak, nor deliberate, and that the very aim of the insurrection was foiled, since the desired decrees could not be passed. Gaston and Duroi, both sitting on the left, rose, and complained of the state to which the Assembly was reduced. Gaston approached the populace. "My friends," said he, "you want bread, the release of the patriots, and the constitution; but for all this we must deliberate, and we cannot if you remain here." The noise prevented Gaston from being heard. André Dumont, who had succeeded the president in the chair, in vain attempted to give the same reasons to the mob. He was not heard. Huguet, the Mountaineer, alone succeeded in gaining a hearing for a few words. "The people who are here," said he, "are not in insurrection; they are come to make a just demand—the release of the patriots. People, relinquish not your rights!" At this moment, a man went up to the bar, passing through the crowd which opened before him. It was Vanec, who commanded the section of the Cité at the epoch of the 31st of May. "Representatives," said he, "you see before you the men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May—" Here the tribunes, the populace, and the Mountain applauded most vehemently. "These men," continued Vanec, "have sworn to live free or die. Your divisions rend the country; it ought not to suffer from your animosities. Give liberty to the patriots and bread to the people. Do us justice upon Fréron's army and those gentlemen with cudgels. And as for thee, sacred Mountain," proceeded the speaker, turning towards the benches of the left, "for thee, who hast fought so many battles for the Republic, the men of the 14th of July, of the 10th of August, and of the 31st of May,

claim thee in this critical moment; thou wilt find them ever ready to support thee, every ready to spill their blood for the country." Shouts of applause accompanied the concluding words of Vanece. One voice in the assembly seemed to be raised against him, but it was scarcely distinguishable. "Let him who has anything to say against Vance, speak up," cried another. "Yes, yes," exclaimed Duhem, "let him say it aloud." The spokesmen of several sections succeeded one another at the bar, and made, but in more measured terms, similar demands to that of the Cité. Dumont, the president, replied with firmness that the Convention would attend to the wishes and wants of the people, as soon as it could resume its deliberations. "Let it do so immediately," replied several voices; "we are in want of bread." The tumult lasted thus for several hours. The president was exposed to remarks of all kinds. "Royalism is in the chair," said Choudieu* to him. "Our enemies are exciting the storm," replied Dumont; "they little think that the thunderbolt will fall upon their own heads."—"Yes," rejoined Ruamps, "that thunderbolt is your youth of the Palais-Royal."—"Bread! bread!" furiously shouted the women.

Meanwhile the tocsin was heard sounding from the Pavillon de l'Unité. The committees were actually calling together the sections agreeably to the new law of high police. Several of them had taken arms and were marching towards the Convention. The Mountaineers were well aware that no time ought to be lost in converting the wishes of the patriots into decrees; but for this purpose it was necessary to clear the hall of the intruders, and to give the assembly room to breathe. "President," cried Duhem, "exhort the good citizens to withdraw, that we may be able to deliberate." He then addressed the people. "The tocsin has rung," said he, "the *générale* has beaten in the sections; if you will not let us deliberate, the country is undone. Choudieu took a woman by the arm to lead her out. "We are in our own house," replied she angrily. Choudieu addressed the president, and told him that, if he was not capable of doing his duty and directing the hall to be cleared, he had only to give up the chair to another. He again turned to the people. "A snare is laid for you," said he; "retire that we may fulfil your wishes." The people, observing signs of impatience shown by the whole Mountain, began to withdraw. The example once set was gradually followed. The crowd diminished in the interior of the hall, and it began also to diminish on the outside. The groups of young men would not this day have been able to cope with so immense a multitude; but the numerous battalions of the faithful sections were already arriving from all quarters, and the mob retired before them. Towards evening, the hall was entirely cleared both within and without, and tranquillity restored in the Convention.†

* "In consequence of his attack on André Dumont, who presided in the Convention, and of whom he said that 'Royalism occupied the arm-chair,' Choudieu was put under arrest, and confined in the castle of Ham, but quitted it in consequence of the amnesty which terminated the session of the Convention. In the year 1806 he was living in obscurity in Holland as a bookseller."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "The insurgents soon forced their way into the assembly; drunken women and abandoned prostitutes formed the advanced guard; but speedily a more formidable band of petitioners with pikes in their hands, filled every vacant space. Having penetrated to the bar, they commenced the most seditious harangues; and ascending the benches of the members, seated themselves with the deputies of the Mountain. Everything announced the approach of a crisis. The Jacobins were recovering their former audacity, and the majority of the assembly labouring under severe apprehension, were on the point of withdrawing, when fortunately a large body of the Troupe Dorée, who had assembled at the sound

No sooner was it free from the mob, than it was proposed to continue the report of Boissy d'Anglas, which had been broken off by the irruption of the populace. The assembly did not yet feel quite secure, and it wished to prove that, when free, its first thoughts were directed to the supply of the wants of the people. After he had finished his report, Boissy proposed that an armed force should be furnished by the sections of Paris, to protect in the environs the corn coming to the capital. The decree was adopted. Prieur of La Marne proposed to commence the distribution of bread with the labouring people. This suggestion was likewise adopted. The evening was already far advanced. A considerable force was collected about the Convention. A few factious men, who still resisted, had assembled in the section of the Quinze-Vingts, a few others similarly inclined, in that of the Cité. These latter had taken possession of the church of Notre-Dame, and, as it were, intrenched themselves there. No further apprehensions however were felt, and the assembly possessed power to punish the misdeeds of the day.

Isabeau presented himself in the name of the committees, and made a report on the events of the day, the manner in which the assemblages had been formed, the direction which they had received, and the measures taken by the committees to disperse them, agreeably to the law of the 1st of Germinal. He stated that Auguis the deputy, who had been commissioned to visit the different quarters of Paris, had been stopped by the factious and wounded, and that Pénrière, who was sent to extricate him, had also been wounded by a musket-shot. At this statement cries of indignation burst forth, and vengeance was demanded. Isabeau proposed, 1, to declare that on this day the freedom of the sittings of the Convention had been violated; 2, to charge the committees to institute proceedings against the authors of that outrage. The Mountaineers, seeing what an advantage would be derived against them from an attempt which had miscarried, received this proposition with murmurs. Three-fourths of the assembly arose, desiring that it should be put to the vote: they said that it was a 20th of June against the national representation; that this day the hall of the assembly had been stormed, as the King's palace was stormed on the 20th of June; and that, if they were not severe, a 10th of August would soon be prepared for the Convention. Sergeant, a deputy of the Mountain, affected to impute this commotion to the Feuillans, to the Lameths, the Duports, who, from London, strove, he said, to excite the patriots to imprudent excesses. He was told that he was digressing. Thibaudeau, who, during this scene had withdrawn from the assembly, indignant at the outrage committed upon it, rushed to the tribune. "There it is," he exclaimed pointing to the left side, "there is the minority that is conspiring! I declare that I absented myself for four hours, because I no longer saw the national representation here. I now return, and I support the *projet*. The time of weakness is past. It is the weakness of the national representation that has always compromised it, and that has encouraged a criminal faction. The salvation of the country is this day in your hands; you will lose it if you are weak." The decree was adopted amidst applause; and those paroxysms of rage and vengeance, which are excited by the recollection of dangers that have been incurred, began to burst forth on all sides. André Dumont, who had filled the chair during that stormy scene, mounted the tribune. He complained of the threats and insults to which he of the tocsin, entered the hall, chanting in loud strains the '*Réveil du Peuple*.' The insurgents knew their masters, and though lately so clamorous, gradually withdrew from the Convention."—*Alison*. E.

had been exposed; he declared that Chales and Choudieu, pointing him out to the people, said that royalism was in the chair; that Fousseidoire had proposed the preceding day, in a group, to disarm the national guard. Fousseidoire contradicted him: but a great number of deputies asserted that they heard it. "For the rest," resumed Dumont, "I despise all those enemies who would have pointed the dagger against me. It is the chiefs whom you ought to strike. An attempt has to-day been made to save the Billauds, the Collots, the Barrères; I shall not propose to you to send them to the scaffold, for they are not yet tried, and the time of assassinations is past, but to banish them from the country, which they infect and agitate by seditions. I propose to you, this very night, the transportation of the four accused, whose cause has occupied you for several days past." This proposal was received with vehement applause. The members of the Mountain demanded a call of the Assembly, and several of them went to the bureau to sign the demand for it. "'Tis the last effort," said Bourdon, "of a minority whose treason is confounded. I propose to you, in addition, the arrest of Choudieu, Chales, and Fousseidoire." The two propositions were then decreed. Thus terminated in transportation the long proceedings against Billaud, Collot, Barrère, and Vadier.* Choudieu, Chales, and Fousseidoire, were put under arrest. But the assembly did not stop there. It was recollected that Huguet, addressing the populace while it was pouring into the hall, had exclaimed, "People, forget not your rights!" that Leonard Bourdon had presided at the popular meeting in the Rue du Vert-Bois, and that he instigated to insurrection by his incessant declamations; that Duhem openly encouraged the rioters during the irruption of the rabble; that on the preceding days, he was seen at the Payen coffee-house, in the section of the Invalides, drinking with the ringleaders of the Terrorists and inciting them to insurrection. A decree of arrest was consequently passed against Huguet, Leonard Bourdon, and Duhem. Many others were denounced; among these was Amar, the most obnoxious member of the old committee of general safety, and reputed to be the most dangerous of the Mountaineers. The Convention ordered the latter also to be arrested. In order to remove these leaders of the conspiracy, as they were called, from Paris, it was proposed

* "After Billaud-Varennes reached his place of transportation at Cayenne, his life was a continued scene of romantic adventures. He escaped to Mexico, and entered, under the name of Polycarpus Varennes, the Dominican convent at Porto Rico. Being obliged to fly the continent for the part he took in the disputes between the Spanish colonies and the mother country, Pethion, then president of Hayti, not only afforded him an asylum, but made him his secretary. After Pethion's death, Boyer refusing to employ him, he went to the United States, and died at Philadelphia in 1819."—*Universal Biography*. E.

"Collot-d'Herbois died in exile at Cayenne. He was found one day lying on the ground, with his face exposed to a burning sun, in a raging fever. The negroes who were appointed to carry him from Kouron to Cayenne, had thrown him down to perish. He expired, vomiting froth and blood, and calling upon that God whom he had so often renounced."—*Piton's Voyage to Cayenne*. E.

"Barrère was employed in obscure situations by Napoleon, and was alive at Brussels, where he was living in great poverty in 1831. It was one of his favourite positions at that time, that 'the world could never be civilized till the punishment of death was utterly abolished, for no human being had the right to take away the life of another.' This was the man who said in 1792, 'The tree of liberty cannot flourish, if it is not watered by the blood of a king.' Before the Revolution Barrère was the Marquis de Vieusac with an ample fortune."—*Falkner's Travels in Germany*. E.

"Vadier contrived to conceal himself in Paris, and thereby avoided his sentence. He continued to reside in the capital up to the law of 1816, when he was compelled to quit France. He died at Brussels in 1828 at the age of ninety-three."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

that they should be confined in the castle of Ham. The suggestion was adopted, and it was moreover decided that they should be brought to trial immediately. It was then proposed to declare Paris in a state of siege till the danger should be entirely over. General Pichegru was at this moment in Paris, and in the full lustre of his glory. He was appointed commander of the armed force during the continuance of the danger, and Barras and Merlin of Thionville were appointed his assistants. It was six o'clock in the morning of the 13th of Germinal when the assembly, exhausted with fatigue, broke up, confiding in the measures which it had taken.

The committees prepared to carry into execution without delay the decrees that had just been passed. That same morning, the three persons doomed to transportation were put into carriages, though one of them, Barrère, was extremely ill, and sent off for Brest, by way of Orleans. The same promptitude was shown in despatching the seven deputies who were to be confined in the castle of Ham. The carriages had to pass through the Champs Elysées; the patriots knew this, and a crowd had collected on their way to stop them. When the carriages came up preceded by the gendarmerie, a numerous concourse gathered round them. Some said that it was the Convention retiring to Châlons, and carrying off the money in the treasury; others said on the contrary that it was the patriot deputies unjustly torn from the bosom of the Convention, and whom no one had a right to remove from their functions. They surrounded the carriages, dispersed the gendarmerie, and conducted them to the civil committee of the section of the Champs Elysées. At the same moment, another mob rushed upon the post on duty at the Barrière de l'Etoile, seized the cannon, and pointed them upon the avenue. The officer commanding the gendarmerie attempted in vain to parley with the rioters; he was assaulted and obliged to flee. He hastened to Gros-Caillon, to demand succour; but the artillerymen of the section threatened to fire upon him unless he retired. At this moment, headed by Pichegru, several battalions of the sections and several hundred young men arrived, proud of being commanded by so celebrated a general. The insurgents fired two cannon-shot, and kept up a brisk fire of small arms. Raffet, who on that day commanded the sections, received a musket-shot close to the muzzle of the piece. Pichegru himself ran the greatest risks, and was twice aimed at. His presence, however, and the confidence which he infused into those under his command, decided the victory. The insurgents were put to flight and the vehicles proceeded without further molestation.

The assemblage in the section of the Quinze-Vingts, which had been joined by that formed at the church of Notre Dame, still remained to be dispersed. There the factious had constituted themselves a permanent assembly and were planning a new insurrection. Pichegru repaired thither, cleared the hall of the section, and completed the restoration of the public tranquillity.

On the following day he presented himself to the Convention, and informed it that its decrees were executed. Unanimous applause greeted the conqueror of Holland, who, by his presence in Paris had just rendered a fresh service to the state. "The conqueror of tyrants," replied the president, "could not fail to triumph over the factious." He received the fraternal salute and the honours of the sitting; and was exposed for several hours to the gaze of the assembly and of the public, every eye being fixed upon him alone. People did not inquire the cause of his conquests, or which of them were the effect of lucky accidents. They were struck by the results, and filled with admiration of so brilliant a career.

This daring attempt of the Jacobins, which we cannot better characterize than by calling it a 20th of June, excited redoubled irritation, and provoked fresh repressive measures. A rigid scrutiny was ordered, for the discovery of all the springs of the conspiracy, which was erroneously attributed to the members of the Mountain. These latter had no communication with the popular agitators, and their intercourse with them was confined to a few accidental meetings in coffee-houses and some encouragement in words; nevertheless, the committee of general safety was commissioned to make a report.

The conspiracy was supposed to be the more extensive, because there had been commotions in all the provinces washed by the Rhone and the Mediterranean, at Lyons, Avignon, Marseilles, and Toulon. The patriots had already been denounced as quitting the communes, where they had signalized themselves by excesses, and resorting in arms to the principal cities, either to escape the observation of their fellow-citizens, or to join their brethren there and to make common cause with them. It was asserted that they haunted the country bordering on the Rhone, that they were roving in numerous bands in the environs of Avignon, Nîmes, and Arles, and in the plains of La Craux, and committing depredations on such of the inhabitants as were reputed to be royalists. To them was imputed the death of a wealthy individual, a magistrate of Avignon, who had been robbed and murdered. At Marseilles, they were scarcely repressed by the presence of the representatives, and by the measures which had been taken to place the city in a state of siege. At Toulon they had collected in great number, and formed an assemblage of several thousand persons, nearly as the federalists had done at the time of General Cartaux's arrival. By their union with the *employés* of the marine, who had almost all been appointed by the younger Robespierre after the recapture of the place, they overawed the city. They had numerous partisans among the workmen in the arsenal, who amounted to more than twelve thousand: and taken collectively they possessed the means of committing the greatest excesses. At this moment the squadron, completely repaired, was ready to sail. Letourneur,* the representative, was on board the admiral's ship: land forces had embarked in the fleet, and the expedition was said to be destined for Corsica. The revolutionists, taking advantage of the moment when there was left only a weak garrison, which was not to be relied on, and among them they numbered many partisans, had assembled riotously, and murdered seven prisoners accused of emigration, in the very arms of the three representatives, Mariette, Ritter, and Chambon. At the close of Ventose, they attempted to repeat these outrages. Twenty prisoners, taken in an enemy's frigate, were in one of the forts; they insisted that they were emigrants, whom the government intended to pardon. They raised

* "Letourneur was born in 1751 of a respectable but not noble family, and having early made some progress in mathematics, he entered the artillery corps in 1768, and attained the rank of captain. On the breaking out of the Revolution he embraced the popular party, and was appointed deputy to the legislature. He voted for the King's death; but though attached to the Mountain, was never stained with any personal crime, and, from the downfall of the Girondins to that of Robespierre, preserved silence. In 1795 he was appointed commissioner of the fleet in the Mediterranean. In the same year he was appointed one of the Directory. In the year 1800, the Consuls appointed him prefect of the Lower Loire, whence in 1804 he was recalled."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Letourneur had been an officer of engineers before the Revolution. He was a man of narrow capacity, little learning, and a weak mind. There were in the Convention five hundred deputies better qualified for public life, than he was; but he was a man of strict probity, and left the Directory without any fortune."—*Las Cases*. E.

the twelve thousand workmen belonging to the arsenal, and surrounded the representatives, who narrowly escaped with their lives, but were fortunately quelled by a battalion which was landed from the squadron.

These occurrences, coinciding with those in Paris, increased the alarm of the government, and redoubled the severity. It had already enjoined all the members of the municipal administrations, of the revolutionary committees, and of the popular and military commissions, and all *employés* dismissed since the 9th of Thermidor, to quit the towns to which they had repaired, and to retire to their respective communes. A still more severe decree was levelled at them. They had obtained possession of arms distributed in moments of danger. It was decreed that all those who were known in France to have contributed to the vast tyranny abolished on the 9th of Thermidor should be disarmed. To each municipal assembly, or to each sectional assembly, belonged the designation of the accomplices of that tyranny, and the task of disarming them. It is easy to conceive to what dangerous persecutions this decree must expose them, at a moment when they had excited so violent a hatred.

The government did not stop there. It determined to take from them the pretended chiefs whom they had on the benches of the Mountain. Though the three principal had been condemned to transportation, though seven more, Choudieu, Chales, Foussedoire, Leonard Bourdon, Huguet, Duhem, and Amar, had been sent to the castle of Ham, still it was thought that others quite as formidable were left. Cambon, the dictator of the finances, and the inexorable adversary of the Thermidorians, whom he never forgave for daring to attack his integrity, appeared troublesome at least. He was even supposed to be dangerous. It was asserted that on the morning of the 12th he had said to the clerks of the treasury, "There are three hundred of you here, and in case of danger you will be able to make resistance"—words which he was likely enough to have uttered, and which would prove his conformity of sentiments, not his complicity, with the Jacobins. Thuriot, formerly a Thermidorian, but who had again become a Mountaineer since the readmission of the seventy-three and twenty-two, and a deputy possessing great influence, was also considered as a chief of the faction. Under the same head were placed Crassous, who had become one of the most energetic supporters of the Jacobins; Lesaye-Sénault, who had contributed to cause their club to be shut up, but who had since taken alarm at the reaction; Lecointre of Versailles, the declared adversary of Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, and who had rejoined the Mountain since the return of the Girondins; Maignet, the incendiary of the South; Hentz, the terrible proconsul of La Vendée; Levasseur of La Sarthe, one of those who had contributed to the death of Philippeaux, and Granet of Marseilles, accused of being the instigator of the revolutions of the South. It was Tallien, who designated them, and who, after picking them out in the very tribune of the assembly, insisted on their being arrested like their seven colleagues and sent with them to Ham. Tallien's desire was complied with, and they were doomed to suffer the same imprisonment.

Thus this movement of the patriots caused them to be persecuted, disarmed throughout all France,* sent to their respective communes, and to lose a score of Mountaineers, some of whom were transported and others confined.

* "Many of the provinces of France became scenes of counter-revolutionary excesses, of the same character, and almost as terrible, as those of the revolutionary committees themselves. Massacres in mass, private assassinations, were the order of the day. Thus the infliction of cruelty and terror went its round, and was not confined to any particular class or

Every movement of a party that is not strong enough to conquer serves only to accelerate its ruin.

The Thermidorians, after they had punished persons, attacked things. The commission of seven, charged to report upon the organic laws of the constitution, declared without reserve that the constitution was so general that it wanted framing anew. A commission of eleven was then appointed to present a new plan. Unfortunately the victories of their adversaries, instead of reducing the revolutionists to order, only tended to inflame them still more, and to excite them to fresh and dangerous efforts.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

PEACE WITH HOLLAND, PRUSSIA, AND TUSCANY—NEGOTIATIONS WITH LA VENDÉE AND BRETAGNE; INTRIGUES OF THE ROYALIST AGENTS; FEIGNED PEACE—STATE OF AUSTRIA AND OF ENGLAND; THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CAMPAIGN.

DURING these melancholy events, the negotiations at Basle had been interrupted for a moment by the death of Baron de Goltz. The most sinister rumours were immediately circulated. One day, it was said, the powers will never treat with a republic constantly threatened by factions; they will leave it to perish in the convulsions of anarchy, without fighting and without acknowledging it. Another day, the very contrary was asserted. Peace, it was said, is concluded with Spain; the French armies will go no farther: we are treating with England, we are treating with Prussia, but at the expense of Sweden and Denmark, who are about to be sacrificed to the ambition of Pitt and Catherine, and who will be repaid in this manner for their friendship to France. We see that malice, differing in its reports, always imagined the very contrary to that which was most consistent with the interest of the republic; it supposed ruptures where peace was wished for, and peace where victories were desired. At another time again, it was pleased to report that any peace was for ever impossible, and that a protest on this subject had been placed in the hands of the committee of public welfare by the majority of the members of the Convention. It was a new sally of Duhem's that had given rise to this rumour. He pretended that it was a mere shuffling to treat with a single power, and that peace ought not to be granted to any till they should come to demand it all together. He had delivered a note on this subject to the committee of public welfare, and it was this that had given rise to the rumour of a protest.

The patriots, on their part, circulated reports not less annoying. They alleged that Prussia was spinning out the negotiations, for the purpose of getting Holland included in one common treaty with herself, in order to keep her under her influence, and to save the stadtholdership. They complained

side, but was the consequence of the maddening spirit and delirium of the time, and the hatred of the different factions towards each other."—*Hazlitt*. E.

that the fate of that republic remained so long unsettled; that the French there enjoyed none of the advantages of conquest; that the assignats were there taken at not more than half their value, and from the soldiers only; that the Dutch merchants had written to the Belgian and French merchants, that they were ready to transact business with them, but only on condition of being paid in advance, and in specie; that the Dutch had allowed the stadtholder to go off with just what he pleased, and had sent part of their wealth to London in ships belonging to the East India Company. Many difficulties had, in fact, arisen in Holland, either on account of the conditions of the peace, or owing to the excitement of the patriotic party. The committee of public welfare had sent thither two of its members, capable by their influence of terminating all the differences which had arisen. For fear of prejudicing the negotiation, it had begged the Convention to excuse it from stating either their names or the object of their mission. The Assembly had complied, and they had set out immediately.

It was natural that such important events and such high interests should excite hopes and fears, and contrary reports. But, in spite of all these rumours, the conferences were continued with success. Count Hardenberg* had succeeded Baron de Goltz at Basle, and the conditions were nearly arranged on both sides.

Scarcely had these negotiations commenced when the empire of facts was sensibly felt, and required modifications in the powers of the committee of public welfare. A perfectly open government which could not conceal anything, could not decide anything of itself, could do nothing without a public deliberation, would be incapable of negotiating a treaty with any power, how frank soever it might be. For treating, signing suspensions of arms, neutralizing territories, secrecy is most especially necessary; for a power sometimes negotiates long before it suits it to avow that fact: this is not all; there are frequently articles which must absolutely remain unknown. If a power promises, for example, to unite its forces with those of another, if it stipulates either the junction of an army, or that of a squadron, or any concurrence whatever of means, this secret becomes of the utmost importance. How could the committee of public welfare, renewed in the proportion of

* "Charles Augustus, Baron and afterwards Prince Hardenberg, Prussian chancellor of state, was born in 1750, and, after having completed his studies at Leipsic and Gottingen, entered into the civil service of his country in 1770. He passed several years in travel, particularly in England, and in 1778 was made a privy councillor, but a misunderstanding with one of the English princes induced him to resign his place in 1782 and to enter the service of Brunswick. The duke sent him to Berlin in 1786 with the will of Frederick II. which had been deposited with him. A few years afterwards Count Hardenberg was made Prussian minister of state, and then cabinet minister. In 1795 he signed the treaty of peace between the French republic and Prussia, on the part of the latter. At the commencement of the present century, Berlin became the centre of many negotiations between the northern powers, in which Hardenberg played a conspicuous part. In consequence of the disasters which Prussia met with in her contests with Napoleon, he resigned his post, but in the year 1806 once more resumed the portfolio. In 1810 the King of Prussia appointed him prime minister. In 1814 he signed the peace of Paris, and was created prince. He went to London with the sovereigns, and was one of the most prominent actors at the congress of Vienna. He was subsequently the active agent in all matters in which Prussia took part. While on a journey in the north of Italy, he fell sick at Pavia, and died in 1822. Prince Hardenberg was an active minister of the Holy Alliance; but his abolition of feudal services and privileges in Prussia will always be remembered to his honour. He patronized the sciences munificently; loved power, but was just in his administration. He wrote 'Memoirs of his own Times from 1801 to the peace of Tilsit.' He was twice married."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

one-fourth every month, obliged to render an account of everything, and not possessing the energy or the boldness of the old committee—how could it have negotiated, especially with powers ashamed of their blunders, reluctant to admit their defeat, and all insisting on either leaving secret conditions, or not publishing their treaty until it should be signed! The necessity which it felt for sending two of its members to Holland, without making known either their names or their mission, was a first proof how essential an ingredient secrecy is in diplomatic operations. It presented, in consequence, a decree which gave rise to fresh rumours, and which conferred on it the powers indispensably necessary for treating.

A curious spectacle for the theory of governments is that of a democracy, surmounting its indiscreet curiosity, its distrust of power, and, constrained by necessity, granting to a few individuals the faculty of even stipulating secret conditions. This the National Convention did. It conferred on the committee of public welfare the power of concluding armistices, neutralizing territories, negotiating treaties, stipulating their conditions, drawing them up, and even signing them, without reserving to itself any more than was its due, that is, the ratification. It did still more. It authorized the committee to sign secret articles, on the sole condition that these articles should contain nothing derogatory to the open articles, and should be published as soon as the interest of secrecy ceased to exist. Invested with these powers, the committee prosecuted and concluded the negotiations commenced with different states.

The peace with Holland was at length signed under the influence of Rewbel,* and especially of Sieyes, who were the two members of the committee recently sent to that country. The Dutch patriots gave a brilliant reception to the celebrated author of the first declaration of rights, and paid him a deference which put an end to many difficulties. The conditions of peace, signed at the Hague on the 27th of Floreal (May 16), were the following: The French republic acknowledged the republic of the United Provinces as a free and independent power, and guaranteed its independence and the abolition of the stadtholdership. There was to be an alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two republics during the present war. This offensive and defensive alliance was to be perpetual between the two republics in all cases of war against England. That of the United Provinces placed immediately at the disposal of France twelve ships of the line and eighteen frigates, to be employed principally in the German Ocean and the Baltic. It gave, moreover, in aid of France half its land army, which indeed had dwindled almost to nothing, and required to be completely reorganized. As to the demarcations of territory, they were fixed as follows: France was to keep all Dutch Flanders, so as to complete her territory towards the sea, and to extend it to the mouths of the rivers. Towards the Meuse and Rhine, she was to have possession of Venloo and Maestricht and all the country to the south of Venloo, on both sides of the Meuse. Thus the republic relinquished

* "Rewbel," said Napoleon, "born in Alsace, was one of the best lawyers in the town of Colmar. He possessed that kind of intelligence which denotes a man skilled in the practice of the bar. His influence was always felt in deliberations; he was easily inspired with prejudices; did not believe much in the existence of virtue; and his patriotism was tinged with a degree of enthusiasm. He bore a particular hatred to the Germanic system; displayed great energy in the Assemblies, both before and after the period of his being a magistrate; and was fond of a life of application and activity. He had been a member of the Constituent Assembly and of the Convention. Like all lawyers he had imbibed from his profession a prejudice against the army."—*Las Cases*. E.

the idea of extending itself on this point to the Rhine, which was reasonable. On this side, in fact, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, blend in such a manner that there is no precise boundary. Which of these arms ought to be considered as the Rhine? We cannot tell, and on this point all is matter of convention. Besides, in this quarter, France is not threatened by any hostility but that of Holland, an hostility far from formidable, so that a marked boundary is no longer a necessary guarantee. Lastly, the territory allotted by nature to Holland consisting of tracts formed by alluvions carried to the mouths of the rivers, France, in order to extend herself to one of the principal streams, must have seized three-fourths at least of those tracts, and reduced nearly to nothing the republic which she had just liberated. The Rhine does not become a boundary for France in regard to Germany till near Wesel, and the possession of the two banks of the Meuse to the south of Venloo left that question untouched. The French republic, moreover, reserved to itself a right, in case of war towards the Rhine or Zealand, of putting garrisons into the fortresses of Grave, Bois-le-Duc, and Bergen-Op-Zoom. The port of Flushing was to belong in common to both. Thus all precautions were taken. The navigation of the Rhine, the Meuse, the Scheldt, the Hondt, and all their branches, was declared thenceforward and forever free. Besides these advantages, an indemnity of one hundred millions of florins was to be paid by Holland. To compensate the latter for her sacrifices, France promised, at the general pacification, indemnities of territory taken from the conquered countries, and in a situation most suitable for the clear demarcation of the reciprocal boundaries.

This treaty rested on the most reasonable basis. The conqueror showed himself in it equally generous and skilful. It has been vainly argued that, in attaching Holland to her alliance, France exposed her to the loss of half her vessels detained in the ports of England, and especially of her colonies, left defenceless to the ambition of Pitt. Holland, if left neutral, would neither have recovered her shipping nor retained her colonies, and Pitt would still have found a pretext for seizing them on behalf of the stadtholder. The mere retaining of the stadtholdership, without saving in a certain manner the Dutch ships or colonies, would have deprived English ambition of all pretext; but was the retaining of the stadtholdership, with the political principles of France, with the promises given to the Batavian patriots, with the spirit which animated them, or with the hopes conceived by them when they opened their gates to us, either possible, consistent, or even honourable?

The conditions with Prussia were more easy to settle. Bischoffwerder had just been thrown into confinement. The King of Prussia, delivered from mystics, had conceived a perfectly new ambition. He no longer aspired to save the principles of general order, but to become the mediator of universal pacification. The treaty with him was signed at Basle on the 16th of Germinal (April 5, 1795). In the first place, it was agreed that there should be peace, amity, and good understanding, between his majesty the King of Prussia and the French republic; that the troops of the latter should evacuate that part of the Prussian territories which they occupied on the right bank of the Rhine; that they should continue to occupy the Prussian provinces on the left bank, and that the lot of those provinces should not be definitively fixed till the general pacification. From this last condition it was very evident that the republic, without yet speaking out positively, thought of giving itself the boundary of the Rhine; but that, till it should have gained fresh victories over the states of the Empire and Austria, it deferred the solution of the difficulties to which this important determination must

have given rise. Not till then would it be able either to eject the one, or to give indemnities to the others. The French republic engaged to accept the mediation of the King of Prussia for the purpose of reconciling it with the princes and states of the German empire; it even engaged, for the space of three months, not to treat as enemies such of the princes of the right bank in whose behalf his Prussian majesty should interest himself. This was a sure way to induce the whole empire to solicit peace through the mediation of Prussia.

Accordingly, immediately after the signing of this treaty, the cabinet of Berlin caused its determination and the motives which had swayed it, to be solemnly communicated to the Empire. It declared to the diet that it tendered its good offices to the Empire if it were desirous of peace; and, if the majority of the states refused it, to such of them as should be obliged to treat for their individual safety. Austria, on her part, addressed some very severe remarks to the diet: she said that she desired peace as much as any one, but that she believed it to be impossible; that she would choose the fit moment for treating; and that the states of the Empire would find many more advantages in relying upon old Austrian faith than upon perjured powers, which had violated all their engagements. The diet, to give itself the air of preparing for war, at the same time that it solicited peace, decreed the quintuple contingent for the ensuing campaign, and stipulated that the states which could not furnish soldiers, should be released from the obligation on paying two hundred and forty florins per man. At the same time, it decided that Austria, having just contracted with England for the continuance of the war, could not be the mediatrix of peace, and resolved to confide that mediation to Prussia. There was nothing more to be settled but the form and the composition of the deputation.

Notwithstanding this strong desire to treat, the Empire could not well do so *en masse*; for it must have required for its members stripped of their territories restitutions which France could not make without renouncing the line of the Rhine. But it was evident that, in this impossibility to treat collectively, each prince would throw himself into the arms of Prussia, and through her mediation make his separate peace.

Thus the republic began to disarm its enemies and to force them to peace. None were bent upon war but those who had sustained great losses, and who had no hopes of recovering by negotiation what they had lost by arms. Such could not fail to be the dispositions of the princes of the left bank despoiled of their territories, of Austria, deprived of the Netherlands, of Piedmont, ejected from Savoy and Nice. Those, on the contrary, who had had the good sense to preserve their neutrality, congratulated themselves every day on their prudence, and the profits which it brought them. Sweden and Denmark were about to send ambassadors to the Convention. Switzerland, which had become the *entrepôt* of the trade of the continent, persisted in its wise arrangements, and addressed, through M. Ochs, these sensible observations to Barthelemy,* the envoy: "Switzerland is necessary to France, and

* "François Barthelemy, nephew of the celebrated author of the 'Travels of Anacharsis,' was brought up under the direction of his uncle, and at the commencement of the Revolution was sent as ambassador to England, to notify to the court that Louis XVI. had accepted the constitution. In 1791 he went to Switzerland in the same character; in 1795 he negotiated and signed a peace with Prussia, and in the same year a similar treaty with Spain. In 1797 he was elected into the Directory, but was involved in the downfall of the Clichyan party. After the Revolution of the 18th of Brumaire, Barthelemy became a member of the conservative senate, and was soon afterwards called to the Institute."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

France to Switzerland. There is, in fact, every reason to suppose that, but for the Helvetic confederation, the wrecks of the ancient kingdoms of Lorraine, Burgundy, and Arles, would not have been united with the French dominions; and one can scarcely help believing that, but for the powerful diversion and decided interference of France, the efforts made to stifle Helvetic liberty in its cradle would have proved successful." The neutrality of Switzerland had in fact recently rendered an eminent service to France, and contributed to save her. To these observations M. Ochs added others not less elevated: "People," said he, "will perhaps some day admire that sentiment of natural justice, which, inducing us to abhor all foreign influence in the choice of our own forms of government, forbids us for that very reason to set ourselves up for judges of the mode of public administration chosen by our neighbours. Our forefathers neither censured the great vassals of the German empire for having swallowed up the imperial power, nor the royal authority of France for having curbed the great vassals. They successively saw the French nation represented by the States-general; the Richelieus and the Mazarins seize absolute power; Louis XIV. appropriate to himself the entire power of the nation; and the parliaments aspire to share the public authority in the name of the people; but never were they heard, with rash voice, recalling the French government to this or that period of its history. The happiness of France was their wish, her unity their hope, and the integrity of her territory their support."

These elevated and just principles were a severe censure of the policy of Europe, and the results which Switzerland reaped from them were a very striking demonstration of their wisdom. Austria, jealous of her commerce, strove to cramp it by a cordon; but Switzerland complained to Wurtemberg and the neighbouring states, and obtained justice.

The Italian powers wished for peace, such of them at least whose imprudence was likely to expose them some day to disastrous consequences. Piedmont, though exhausted, had lost enough to desire to have recourse once more to arms. But Tuscany, forced in spite of herself to give up her neutrality by the English ambassador, who, threatening her with an English squadron, had allowed her but twelve hours to decide, was impatient to resume her part, especially since the French were at the gates of Genoa. The grand-duke had consequently opened a negotiation, which terminated in a treaty, the easiest to conclude of any. Good understanding and friendship were re-established between the two states, and the grand-duke restored to the republic the corn which had been taken from the French in his ports, at the moment of the declaration of war. This restitution he had made of his own accord, even before the negotiation. This treaty, beneficial to France for the trade of the South, and especially that in corn, was concluded on the 21st of Pluviose (February 9).

Venice, who had withdrawn her envoy from France, intimated that she was about to appoint another, and to despatch him to Paris. The Pope expressed regret for the outrages committed on the French. The Court of Naples, led astray by the passions of an insensate queen and the intrigues of England, was far from thinking of negotiating, and promised ridiculous succours to the coalition.

Spain still had need of peace, and seemed to be only waiting to be forced into it by new reverses.

A negotiation, not less important perhaps for the moral effect which it was likely to produce, was that begun at Nantes with the insurgent provinces. We have seen that the chiefs of La Vendée, divided among themselves,

almost deserted by their peasants, accompanied only by a few determined warriors, pressed on all sides by the republican generals, compelled to choose between an amnesty and utter destruction, had been led to treat for peace. We have seen that Charette had agreed to an interview near Nantes; that the pretended Baron de Cormatin, Puisaye's major-general, had come forward as the mediator of Bretagne; that he travelled with Humbert, wavering between the wish to deceive the republicans, to concert with Charette, to seduce Canclaux, and the ambition to be the pacificator of those celebrated provinces. The common rendezvous was appointed at Nantes. The conferences were to begin at the castle of La Jaunaye, a league from that city, on the 24th of Pluviose (February 12).

Cormatin, on his arrival at Nantes, was anxious to put Puisaye's letter into the hands of Canclaux; but this man, who reckoned upon tricking the republicans, was not clever enough even to keep this most dangerous letter from their knowledge. It was discovered and published, and he was obliged to declare that the letter was spurious, that he was not the bearer of it, and that he had come in all sincerity to negotiate a peace. By these professions he became more deeply implicated than ever. He dropped the part of a skilful diplomatist, duping the republicans, conferring with Charette, and seducing Canclaux; that of peace-maker only was now left him. He saw Charette, and found him compelled by his position to treat for the moment with the enemy. From that instant, Cormatin fell to work in good earnest to bring about a peace. It was agreed that it should be a feigned one, and that, till England should fulfil her promises, they should appear to submit to the republic. They intended to obtain for the moment the best possible conditions. As soon as the conferences were opened, Cormatin and Charette delivered a note in which they demanded freedom of religion, sufficient pensions for the support of all the ecclesiastics of La Vendée, exemption from military service and taxes for ten years, in order to repair the calamities of the war, indemnities for all devastations, the discharge of the engagements contracted by the generals for the supply of their armies, the re-establishment of the old territorial divisions of the country, and its former mode of administration, the formation of territorial guards under the command of the existing commanding generals, the removal of all the republican armies, the exclusion of all the inhabitants of La Vendée who had left the country as patriots, and of whose property the royalists had taken possession, and lastly, a general amnesty for the emigrants as well as the Vendéans. Such demands were absurd and could not be admitted. The representatives granted freedom of religion, indemnities for those whose cottages had been destroyed, exemption from service for the young men of the present requisition, in order to repeople the country, the formation of territorial guards under the direction of the administration to the number of two thousand only; the payment of the bonds signed by the generals to the amount of two millions. But they refused the re-establishment of the old territorial divisions and the old administrations, the exemption from taxes for ten years, the removal of the republican armies, and the amnesty for the emigrants; and they required the restoration of their property to the Vendean patriots. They stipulated moreover that all these concessions should be introduced not into a treaty but into ordinances (*arrêtés*) issued by the representatives on mission, and that the Vendean generals, on their part, should sign a declaration recognising the republic and promising to submit to its laws. A last conference was fixed for the 29th of Pluviose (February 17,) for the truce was to end on the 30th.

It was proposed that, before peace was concluded, Stofflet should be

invited to these conferences. Several royalist officers wished this because they thought that it was not right to treat without him; the representatives wished it also, because they were desirous of including all La Vendée in the same negotiation. Stofflet was directed by the ambitious Bernier, who was far from being favourably disposed towards a peace that must deprive him of all his influence. Stofflet, moreover, disliked playing the second part, and he saw with vexation this whole negotiation begun and carried on without him. He consented, nevertheless, to attend the conferences, and he repaired to La Jaunaye with a great number of his officers.

The tumult was great. The partisans of peace and those of war were much exasperated against one another. The former gathered round Charette; they said that those who wished to continue the war were men who never went into action; that the country was ruined and reduced to extremity; that the foreign powers had done nothing for them, and that it was extremely improbable any succours would ever come from them. They added, (but this they merely whispered to one another,) that they must wait and gain time by a feigned peace, and that if England ever performed her promises they would be quite ready to rise. The partisans of war said, on the contrary, that, if the republicans offered them peace, it was only to disarm them, then violate all promises, and sacrifice them with impunity; that, if they were to lay down their arms for a moment, they should depress the courage of their people, and render any insurrection impracticable for the future; that, since the republic negotiated, it was a proof that it was also reduced to extremity; that, by waiting a moment and displaying firmness a little longer, they should be enabled to attempt great things with the assistance of the foreign powers; that it was unworthy of French gentlemen to sign a treaty with the secret intention of not fulfilling it; and that, moreover, they had no right to recognise the republic, for that would be to deny the rights of the princes for whom they had so long been fighting.

Several very animated conferences took place, at which considerable irritation was manifested on both sides. For a moment indeed violent threats were exchanged by the partisans of Charette and those of Stofflet, and they had nearly come to blows. Cormatin was not the least ardent of the partisans of peace. His fluency of speech, his agitation of body and mind, his quality of representative of the army of Bretagne, had drawn attention to him. Unfortunately for him, he had about him a person named Solilhac, whom the central committee of Bretagne had directed to accompany him. Solilhac, astonished to see Cormatin play so different a part from that which he had been directed, and which he had promised to perform, observed to him that he was deviating from his instructions, and that he had not been sent to treat for peace. Cormatin was extremely embarrassed. Stofflet and the partisans of war triumphed, when they learned that Bretagne was thinking rather of contriving a delay and of concerting with La Vendée than of submitting. They declared that they would never lay down their arms, since Bretagne had determined to support them. On the morning of the 29th of Pluiose (February 17) the council of the army of Anjou met in a separate room in the castle of La Jaunaye, to adopt a definitive determination. The chiefs of Stofflet's division drew their swords, and swore to cut the throat of the first who should talk of peace; they decided upon war. Charette, Sapinaud, and their officers, in another room, decided upon peace. At noon they were both to meet the representatives of the people in a tent pitched in the plain. Stofflet, not daring to declare to their faces the determination which he had adopted, sent to them to say that he should not accede to their proposals. About noon the meeting

was to take place. The representatives left the detachment which accompanied them at the distance agreed upon, and proceeded to the tent. Charette left his Vendéans at the same distance, and brought with him only his principal officers to the rendezvous. Meanwhile, Stofflet was seen mounting a horse, with some furious partisans who accompanied him, and galloping off, waving his hat, and shouting *Vive le Roi!* In the tent where Charette and Sapinaud were conferring with the representatives, there was nothing more to discuss, for the ultimatum of the representatives was accepted beforehand. The declarations agreed upon were reciprocally signed. Charette, Sapinaud, Cormatin, and the other officers, signed their submission to the laws of the republic; the representatives gave the ordinances containing the conditions granted to the Vendean chiefs. The greatest politeness prevailed on both sides, and everything seemed to promise a sincere reconciliation.

The representatives, with a view to give great *éclat* to the submission of Charette, prepared for him a magnificent reception at Nantes. The greatest joy pervaded that entirely patriot city. People flattered themselves that the destructive civil war was at length brought to a conclusion. They exulted in seeing a man so distinguished as Charette return into the bosom of the republic, perhaps to devote his sword to its service. On the day appointed for his formal entry, the national guard and the army of the West were under arms. All the inhabitants, full of joy and curiosity, thronged to see and to do honour to the celebrated chief. He was received with shouts of *The republic for ever! Charette for ever!* He wore his uniform of Vendean general and the tricoloured cockade. Charette was harsh, distrustful, artful, intrepid. All this was discernible in his features and in his person. Of middle stature, a small bright eye, a nose turned up in the Tartar style, and a wide mouth, gave him an expression the most singular and the most accordant with his character.* Each of those who ran to see him strove to divine his sentiments. The royalists fancied that they could read embarrassment and remorse in his face. The republicans thought him overjoyed and almost intoxicated with his triumph. Well he might be, in spite of the embarrassment of his position, for his enemies procured him the fairest and the first reward that he had yet received for his exploits.

No sooner was this peace signed, than preparations were made for reducing Stofflet and for compelling the Chouans to accept the conditions granted to Charette. The latter appeared to be sincere in his proceedings. He circulated proclamations in the country, to induce all the inhabitants to return to their duty. The people were overjoyed at this peace. The men who had irrevocably devoted themselves to war were formed into territorial guards, and the command of them was left to Charette. These were to constitute the police of the country. This was an idea of Hoche's, which had been disfigured to satisfy the Vendean chiefs, who, harbouring at once secret schemes and distrust, wished to keep the men most inured to war under their own orders. Charette even promised assistance against Stofflet, in case the latter, pressed in Upper Vendée, should fall back upon the Marais.

* "Charette was slight and of a middle height, and had a fierce air and severe look. He may justly be considered as one of the causes of the ruin of his party. His jealousy of d'Elhée and Bonchamp, who had greater political and military talents than he, disunited the forces of the royalists and injured their success; while even in his own army his severity alienated his troops; and his harshness towards priests, whom he had the indiscretion to remove from him, destroyed the enthusiasm so necessary in a war like that which he had undertaken. Such was the public interest he excited throughout France, that shortly after his death, his waistcoat and pantaloons were sold for twenty-seven guineas."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

General Canclaux was immediately despatched in pursuit of Stofflet. Leaving only a corps of observation around Charette's country, he marched the greater part of his troops upon Layon. Stofflet, with a view to produce a sensation by a grand stroke, made an attempt on Chalonne, which was spiritedly repulsed, and fell back upon St. Florent. He proclaimed Charette a traitor to the cause of royalty, and pronounced sentence of death upon him. The representatives, who knew that such a war was to be terminated not merely by the employment of arms, but by giving the ambitious an interest in its cessation, by affording succour to men destitute of resources, had also distributed money. The committee of public welfare had opened a credit in their favour on its secret funds. They gave 60,000 francs in specie, and 365,000 in assignats, to various officers of Stofflet's. His major-general, Trotouin, received 100,000 francs, half in money, half in assignats, and separated from him. He wrote a letter addressed to the army of Anjou, exhorting them to peace, and urging such reasons as were most likely to have an effect upon them.

While such means were employed upon the army of Anjou, the representatives who had been engaged in the pacification of La Vendée repaired to Bretagne, to induce the Chouans to enter into a similar negotiation. Cornatin accompanied them. He was now attached in good earnest to the system of peace, and he was ambitious of making a triumphal entry into Rennes, as Charette had done at Nantes. Notwithstanding the truce, many acts of pillage had been committed by the Chouans. Being generally mere robbers, without attachment to any cause, caring very little about the political views which had induced their chiefs to sign a suspension of arms, they took no pains to observe it, and thought of nothing but obtaining booty. Some of the representatives, on seeing the conduct of the Bretons, began to distrust their intentions, and were already of opinion that they must renounce all idea of peace. Of these Boursault was the most decided. On the other hand, Bollet, a zealous peace-maker, conceived that, notwithstanding some acts of hostility, an accommodation was possible, and that mild means only ought to be employed. Hoche, hurrying from cantonnments to cantonnments, eighty leagues apart, never giving himself a moment's rest, placed between the representatives who were in favour of war and those who were in favour of peace, between the Jacobins of the towns, who accused him of weakness and treason, and the royalists who charged him with barbarity—Hoche was filled with disgust, though his zeal was by no means quenched. "You wish me another campaign of the Vosges," he wrote to one of his friends; "how would you make such a campaign against the Chouans and almost without an army?" This young officer saw his talents wasted on an ungrateful war, while generals, altogether inferior to himself, were immortalizing themselves in Holland and on the Rhine, at the head of the finest armies of the republic. He nevertheless prosecuted his task with ardour, and with a profound knowledge of men and of his own situation. We have seen that he had already given the most judicious advice, and recommended, for example, the indemnification of the insurgents who had remained peasants, and the enrolment of such as the war had made soldiers. A better acquaintance with the country had enabled him to discover the true means of appeasing the inhabitants, and of again attaching them to the republic. "We must continue," said he, "to treat with the Chouan chiefs. Their sincerity is very doubtful, but we must keep faith with them. We shall thus gain by confidence those who only need to be made easy on that point. We must gain by commissions those who are ambitious—by money those who are necessitous: we should thus

divide them among themselves; and we should commit the police to those whom we can trust, by giving them the command of the territorial guards, the institution of which has just been suffered. For the rest, we should distribute twenty-five thousand men in several camps to watch the whole country; place along the coasts a number of gun-boats which must be kept in continual motion; and transfer the arsenals, the arms, and the ammunition, from the open towns to the forts and defended places. As for the inhabitants, we must employ the influence of the priests with them, and grant some relief to the most distressed. If we could succeed in diffusing confidence by means of the priests, *chouannerie* would fall immediately." "Circulate," he thus wrote to his general officers on the 27th of Ventose, "circulate the salutary law which the Convention has just passed respecting the freedom of religion, and preach up yourselves religious toleration. The priests, certain that you will not disturb them in the exercise of their ministry, will become your friends, were it only in order to be quiet. Their character inclines them to peace: visit them, tell them that the continuance of the war will render them liable to be annoyed not by the republicans, who respect religious opinions, but by the Chouans, who acknowledge neither God nor law, and who want to domineer and to plunder without ceasing. Some of them are poor, and in general they are very selfish; do not neglect to offer them some succour, but without ostentation, and with all the delicacy of which you are capable. Through them you will learn all the manœuvres of their party, and you will induce them to keep their peasants at home and to prevent their fighting. You must be aware that, to attain this end, mildness, amenity, and frankness are requisite. Prevail upon some of the officers and soldiers to attend respectfully some of their ceremonies, taking care never to disturb them. The country expects of you the greatest devotedness; all the means by which you can serve it are good, if they accord with the laws and with republican honour and dignity." To this advice, Hoche added the recommendation not to take anything from the country for the supply of the armies for some time at least. As for the projects of the English, he proposed to thwart them by taking the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and raising a *chouannerie* in England, that they might have something to occupy their attention at home. He was thinking of Ireland; but he wrote that on this subject he would enter into a verbal explanation with the committee of public welfare.

These means, chosen with judgment and employed in more than one place with great address, had already been completely successful. Bretagne was thoroughly divided; all the Chouans who had appeared at Rennes were caressed, paid, satisfied, and persuaded to lay down their arms. The others, more obstinate, reckoning upon Stofflet and Puisaye, were for persisting in carrying on the war. Cormatin continued to run from one to the other, with a view to bring them together at La Prévalaye, and to induce them to treat. Notwithstanding the ardour which he manifested to pacify the country, Hoche, who had discerned his character and his vanity, distrusted him, and suspected that his word given to the republicans would not be better kept than that given to the royalists. He watched him with great attention, to ascertain whether he laboured sincerely and without any secret design in the work of reconciliation.

Secret intrigues were destined to combine with all these circumstances in bringing about the pacification so earnestly desired by the republicans. We have already seen Puisaye in London, striving to prevail on the English cabinet to concur in his projects: we have seen the three French princes on the continent, one waiting at Arnheim for a part to enact, another fighting on

the Rhine, the third in his quality of regent, corresponding from Verona with all the cabinets, and keeping up a secret agency in Paris. Puisaye had followed up his schemes with equal activity and skill. Without waiting to be introduced by the old Duke d'Harcourt, the useless ambassador of the regent in London, he addressed himself directly to the British minister. Pitt, who, invisible to those emigrants who swarmed in the streets of London and beset him with plans and applications for relief, welcomed the organizer of Bretagne, and placed him in communication with Wyndham, the minister at war, a zealous friend of monarchy and anxious to support or to re-establish it in every country. The plans of Puisaye, maturely investigated, were adopted *in toto*. An army, a squadron, money, arms, and immense supplies of ammunition, were promised for a landing on the coast of France; but Puisaye was required to keep the matter secret from his countrymen, and especially from the old Duke d'Harcourt, the envoy of the regent. Puisaye, who had no higher wish than to do everything by himself, was impenetrable to the Duke d'Harcourt, to the other agents of the princes in London, and above all to the Paris agents, who corresponded with the very secretary of the duke. Puisaye merely wrote to the Count d'Artois, applying for extraordinary powers, and proposing that he should come and put himself at the head of the expedition. The Prince sent the powers, and promised to come and take the command in person. The plans of Puisaye were soon suspected, in spite of his endeavours to keep them secret. All the emigrants repulsed by Pitt, and kept aloof by Puisaye, were unanimous. Puisaye, in their opinion, was an intriguer, sold to the perfidious Pitt, and meditated most suspicious projects. This opinion, disseminated in London, was soon adopted at Verona by the counsellors of the regent. Since the affair of Toulon, that little court had harboured a great distrust of England: and particular uneasiness was felt as soon as she proposed to make use of one of the princes. On this occasion it did not fail to ask with a sort of anxiety what she meant to do with M. le Comte d'Artois, why the name of Monsieur was not introduced in her plans, if she conceived that she could do without him, &c. The agents in Paris, holding their mission from the regent, sharing his sentiments concerning England, having been unable to obtain any communication from Puisaye, used the same language respecting the enterprise which was preparing in London. Another motive contributed still more to make them disapprove it. The regent thought of having recourse to Spain, and purposed removing to that country, that he might be nearer to La Vendée and to Charette, who was his hero. The Paris agents, on their part, had entered into communication with an emissary of Spain, who had prevailed upon them to make use of that power, and promised that it would do for Monsieur and for Charette what England intended to do for the Count d'Artois and for Puisaye. But it was necessary to wait till Monsieur could be conveyed from the Alps to the Pyrenees by the Mediterranean, and till a considerable expedition could be prepared. The intriguers of Paris were therefore wholly in favour of Spain. They pretended that the French were less shy of her than of the English, because her interests were less opposed to theirs; that, moreover, she had gained Tallien, through his wife, the daughter of Cabarus,* the Spanish banker; they even dared to assert that

* "Count François Cabarus, born in 1752, was destined for commerce by his father, and obtained the charge of a soap-manufactory near Madrid. Here he became acquainted with several eminent and literary characters, and suggested some financial regulations to the Spanish minister of finance, which were adopted with the greatest success. In 1782 he established the bank of San Carlos, and a company to trade with the Philippine islands. In the year

they were sure of Hoche, so little did they stick at imposture to give importance to their schemes. But Spain, her ships and her troops, were much less powerful, according to them, than the intrigues which they pretended to set on foot in the interior. Placed in the heart of the capital, they saw a movement of indignation manifest itself against the revolutionary system. This movement must be excited, said they, and if possible turned to the account of royalism: but to this end, it would have been requisite for the royalists to show themselves as little formidable as possible, for the Mountain was regaining strength from all the apprehensions inspired by counter-revolution. A victory won by Charette, a landing of the emigrants in Bretagne, would have been sufficient to restore to the revolutionary party the influence which it had lost, to make unpopular the Thermidorians, whom the royalists had need of. Charette had just made peace; but it was requisite that he should hold himself in readiness to take up arms again; it was requisite that Anjou and Bretagne should also appear to submit for a time; that, during this time, the heads of the government and the generals should be won, that the armies should be suffered to pass the Rhine and to advance into Germany; and then that the lulled Convention should be all at once surprised, and royalty proclaimed in La Vendée, in Bretagne, and in Paris itself. An expedition from Spain, bringing over the regent, and concurring with these simultaneous movements, might then decide the victory of royalty. As for England, they meant to ask her for nothing but money—for these gentry could not do without that—and to deceive her afterwards. Thus each of the thousand agents employed for the counter-revolution indulged in his own particular revery, devised means according to his own position, and aspired to be the principal restorer of monarchy. Falsehood and intrigue were the means of most of them, and money was their principal ambition.

With such ideas, it was natural that the Paris agency, while Puisaye was planning in London to carry the Count d'Artois at the head of an expedition to Bretagne, should strive, on the contrary, to thwart any expedition of the kind, to pacify the insurgent provinces, and to cause a feigned peace to be signed. By favour of the truce granted to the Chouans, Lemaitre, Brottier, and Laville-Heurnois, had just opened communications with the insurgent provinces. The regent had directed them to transmit letters to Charette. They intrusted them to an old naval officer, deprived of his commission and in want of employment. They instructed him, at the same time, to promote the pacification by exhorting the insurgents to temporize, to wait for succours from Spain and for a movement in the interior. This emissary, Duverne de Presle, repaired to Rennes, where he forwarded the regent's letters to Charette, and then recommended to every one a temporary submission. He was not the only one whom the Paris agents sent on this errand; and very soon, the ideas of peace, already generally circulated in Bretagne, spread still farther. People everywhere said that they must lay down their arms, that England was deceiving the Royalists, that they had everything to expect from the Convention, that it was itself about to re-establish monarchy, and that in the treaty signed with Charette there were secret articles, stipulating that the young orphan in the Temple, Louis XVII., should soon be acknowledged as king. Cornatin, whose position had become extremely perplexing,

1790 Cabarus was arrested, in 1792 he was released and made a nobleman, and in 1797 appointed minister plenipotentiary at the congress of Rastadt. He died in 1810 in the office of minister of finance, to which he had been appointed by King Joseph Bonaparte."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

and who had disobeyed the orders of Puisaye and of the central committee, found in the system of the Paris agents an excuse and an encouragement for the conduct which he pursued. It even appears that he was led to hope for the command of Bretagne in the place of Puisaye. With great pains he at length succeeded in bringing together the principal Chouans at La Prévalaye, and the conferences began.

At this juncture, Messrs. de Tinténiaç* and de la Roberie were sent from London by Puisaye, the former to bring the Chouans powder, money, and intelligence of a speedy expedition, the second to carry to Charette, his uncle, notice to hold himself in readiness to second the descent in Bretagne, and both to cause the negotiations to be broken off. They attempted to land with a few emigrants near the Côtes du Nord; the Chouans, apprized of their coming, had hastened to the spot; they had had an action with the republicans and been beaten; Messrs. de la Roberie and de Tinténiaç had escaped by a miracle; but the truce was compromised, and Hoche, who began to distrust the Chouans, and suspected the sincerity of Cormatin, thought of ordering him to be apprehended. Cormatin protested his sincerity to the representatives, and induced them to decide that the truce should not be broken. The conferences at La Prévalaye continued. An agent of Stofflet's came to take part in them. Stofflet, beaten, pursued, reduced to extremity, stripped of all his resources by the discovery of the little arsenal which he had in a wood, had at length begged to be permitted to treat, and sent a representative to La Prévalaye. This was General Beauvais. The conferences were extremely warm, as they had been at La Jaunaye. General Beauvais still advocated the system of war, in spite of the desperate situation of the chief who sent him; and he alleged that Cormatin, having signed the peace of La Jaunaye and acknowledged the republic, had lost the command with which Puisaye had invested him, and had no right to deliberate. M. de Tinténiaç, who, in spite of all the dangers, had reached the place where the conferences were held, would have broken them off in Puisaye's name and returned immediately to London; but Cormatin and the partisans of peace prevented him. Cormatin at length decided the majority to agree to a negotiation, by representing that they should gain time by an apparent submission, and lull the vigilance of the republicans. The conditions were the same as those granted to Charette: freedom of religion, indemnities for those whose property had been laid waste, exemption from the requisition, and the institution of territorial guards. There was an additional condition in the treaty, namely, a million and a half for the principal chiefs. Cormatin was of course to receive his share of that sum. Cormatin, says General Beauvais, that he might not cease for an instant to be guilty of insincerity, at the moment of signing, laid the sword upon his hand, and swore to take up arms again on the first occasion, and he recommended to each to maintain till fresh orders the established organization and the respect due to all the chiefs.

The royalist chiefs then repaired to La Mabilaye, a league from Rennes, to sign the treaty at a formal meeting with the representatives. Many would have declined going, but Cormatin prevailed upon them to attend. The

* "M. de Tinténiaç was, in character and talents, one of the most distinguished men that appeared during the civil war in La Vendée. He was also remarkable for his intrepid and enterprising nature. At one time he swam across the Loire, holding his despatches between his teeth; and it is asserted, that being once in the middle of the town of Nantes, and finding himself near the ferocious Carrier, he escaped, by threatening to blow out his brains."—*Memoirs of the Marchioness de La Rochejaquelein*. E.

meeting took place with the same formalities as at La Jaunaye. The Chouans had desired that Hoche might not be present, on account of his extreme distrust: this was agreed to. On the 1st of Floreal (April 20), the representatives signed the same ordinances as at La Jaunaye, and the Chouans signed a declaration by which they recognised the republic and submitted to its laws.

On the following day, Cormatin made his entry into Rennes, as Charette had done at Nantes. The bustle in which he had kept himself, and the importance which he had arrogated, caused him to be considered as the chief of the Breton royalists. To him was attributed everything—both the exploits of that band of unknown Chouans who had mysteriously traversed Bretagne, and that peace which had been so long desired. Applauded by the inhabitants, caressed by the women, supplied with a round sum in assignats, he reaped all the profit and all the honours of the war, as though he had long waged it. He had however only just landed in Bretagne before he undertook to play this singular part. Nevertheless, he dared no longer write to Puisaye; he could not venture to leave Rennes or trust himself in Bretagne, for fear of being shot by the malecontents. The principal chiefs returned to their divisions, wrote to Puisaye that they had been deceived, that he had only to come, and they would rise at the first signal and fly to meet him. A few days afterwards, Stofflet finding himself deserted, signed a peace at St. Florent on the same conditions.

At length, after the two Vendées and Bretagne had submitted, Charette received the regent's first letter: it was dated the 1st of February. The prince called him the second founder of the monarchy, spoke of his gratitude, of his admiration, of his desire to join him, and appointed him lieutenant-general. These intimations arrived too late. Charette, deeply moved, replied immediately that the letter with which he had just been honoured filled his soul with a transport of joy; that his attachment and his fidelity would still be the same; that necessity alone had obliged him to yield, but that his submission was only apparent; that when *the parts should be bound better together*,* he would again take up arms, and be ready to die before the face of his prince and in the most glorious of causes.

Such was the first pacification of the insurgent provinces. As Hoche had suspected, it was but apparent; yet, as he had also foreseen, it might be made prejudicial to the Vendean chiefs, by habituating the country to repose and to the laws of the republic, and by calming or directing into another channel that ardour for fighting which animated some men. Notwithstanding what Charette wrote to the regent, and what the Chouans intimated to Puisaye, all ardour was likely to be extinguished in their hearts, after a few months' tranquillity. These underhand dealings were but proofs of insincerity, excusable no doubt in the excitement of civil wars, but which take away from those who exhibit them all right to complain of the severities of their adversaries. The representatives and the republican generals were most scrupulous in the fulfilment of the conditions granted. It is assuredly superfluous to demonstrate the absurdity of the rumour then circulated and even repeated since, that the treaties which had been signed contained secret articles, and that these articles comprehended a promise to seat Louis XVII. on the throne; as if representatives could have been so mad as to enter into

* "Even at this period it is evident that there existed over all the west of France powerful elements of resistance, and if they had been united under one head, and seconded by the allied powers, it was by no means impossible to have restored the royal cause."—*Jomini. E.*

such engagements; as if it had been possible that they could consent to sacrifice, to a few partisans, a republic which they persisted in upholding against all Europe! Besides, none of the chiefs, in their letters to the princes or to the different royalist agents, ever ventured to advance such an absurdity. Charette, subsequently tried for having violated the conditions made with him, dared not avail himself of this powerful excuse of an article that was never carried into execution. Puisaye, in his *Memoirs*, considers the assertion to be equally frivolous and false: and we should not here have referred to it, had it not been repeated by a great number of writers.

This peace afforded another advantage besides that of leading to the disarming of the country. Concurring with that of Prussia, Holland, and Tuscany, and with the intentions manifested by several other states, it produced a very great moral effect. The republic was recognised at one and the same time by its enemies at home and abroad, by the coalition, and by the royalist party itself.

Among the decided enemies of France, there were only left Austria and England. Russia was too distant to be dangerous; the empire was on the point of being dismembered, and was incapable of supporting the war; Piedmont was exhausted; Spain, taking little share in the chimerical hopes of the intriguing royalists, sighed for peace; and the anger of the court of Naples was as impotent as ridiculous. Pitt, notwithstanding the unparalleled triumphs of the republic, notwithstanding a campaign unexampled in the annals of war, was not shaken; and his strong understanding perceived that so many victories ruinous to the continent were in no respect detrimental to England. The stadtholder, the princes of Germany, Austria, Piedmont, Spain, had lost in this war part of their territories: but England had acquired an incontestable superiority at sea. She was mistress of the Mediterranean and of the Ocean; she had seized half the Dutch fleet; she forced the navy of Spain to exhaust itself against that of France; she strove to possess herself of our colonies; she had already taken all those of the Dutch, and secured for ever her Indian empire. For this purpose she still needed some time of war and of political aberrations on the part of the continental powers: it was therefore to her interest to excite hostilities by affording succour to Austria, by rousing the zeal of Spain, by preparing fresh commotions in the southern provinces of France. So much the worse for the belligerent powers if they were beaten in a new campaign: but England had nothing to fear; she would pursue her course on the seas, in India, and in America. If, on the other hand, the powers were victorious, she would be a gainer by restoring to Austria the Netherlands, which she particularly disliked to see in the hands of France. Such were the sanguinary but deep calculations of the English minister.

Notwithstanding the losses which England had sustained, either by prizes, by the defeats of the Duke of York, or by the enormous expenses which she had incurred, and the sums which she had given to Prussia and Piedmont, she still possessed resources superior to the idea which the English entertained of them, and to the idea entertained of them by Pitt himself. She complained bitterly, it is true, of the numerous captures, of the dearth, and of the high price of all articles of consumption. The English merchant-vessels, having alone continued to traverse the sea, had naturally run much greater risks of being taken by privateers than those of other nations. The insurances, in which a great deal of business was done, rendered them daring, and very often they would not wait for convoys. This it was that gave so

many advantages to our cruisers. As for the dearth, it was general all over Europe. On the Rhine, about Frankfort, a bushel of rye cost fifteen florins. The enormous consumption of the armies, the multitude of hands taken from agriculture, the troubles in unhappy Poland,* which had this year furnished scarcely any corn, had occasioned this extraordinary dearth. Besides, transport from the Baltic to England was rendered almost impossible since the French were masters of Holland. It was to the New World that Europe had been obliged to resort for provisions; she lived at this moment on the surplus produce of those virgin lands which the North Americans had just brought into cultivation. But freight was high, and bread had risen in England to an enormous price. That of meat had increased proportionably. Spanish wool ceased to arrive, since the French occupied the ports of Biscay, and the manufacture of cloth was likely to be interrupted. Thus England, while in labour with her future greatness, suffered severely. The workmen struck in all the manufacturing towns; the people called aloud for peace, and petitions were presented to parliament, subscribed by thousands of signatures, imploring an end to this disastrous war. Ireland, agitated on account of concessions which had been withdrawn from it, was about to add fresh embarrassments to those in which the government was already involved.

In this arduous situation, Pitt discovered motives and means for continuing the war. In the first place, it flattered the passions of his court; it flattered even those of the English nation, which cherished a deadly hatred against France, that could always be revived amidst the severest sufferings. In the next, notwithstanding the losses of commerce (losses which proved, however, that the English alone had continued to frequent the seas), he saw English commerce increased during the last two years by the exclusive supply of all the markets of India and America. He had ascertained that the exports had amazingly increased since the commencement of the war, and he already had a glimpse of the future prosperity of the English nation. He found in loans an expedient, at the fecundity of which he was himself astonished. The funds had not fallen; the loss of Holland had but little affected them, because, the event being foreseen, an enormous quantity of capital had been transferred from Amsterdam to London. The Dutch commercial men, though patriots, had nevertheless no confidence in events, and had sought to place their wealth in safety by transporting it to England. Pitt had talked of a new loan to a considerable amount, and in spite of the war, the offers for it were more numerous than ever. Experience has since proved that war, while it forbids commercial speculations and admits of no speculations but in the public funds, facilitates loans instead of rendering them more difficult. This must happen still more naturally in a country which, having no neighbours, never sees in war a question of existence, but merely a question of trade and markets. Pitt resolved, therefore, by means of the abundant capital of his nation, to supply Austria with funds, to strengthen his navy, to increase his land forces, for the purpose of sending them to India

* "Abandoned by all the world, distracted by internal divisions, destitute alike of fortresses and resources, crushed in the grasp of gigantic enemies, the patriots of unhappy Poland, consulting only their own courage, resolved to make a last effort to deliver it from its enemies. But the tragedy was soon at an end. Warsaw capitulated, the detached parties of the patriots melted away, and Poland was no more! In November, 1794, Suwarrow made his triumphal entry into the capital. King Stanislaus was sent into Russia, where he ended his days in captivity, and the final partition of the monarchy was effected."

—*Alison*. E.

or America, and to give considerable succours to the French insurgents. He concluded a subsidiary treaty with Austria, like that which he had made in the preceding year with Prussia. That power had soldiers, and promised to keep on foot at least two hundred thousand effective men; but she was in want of money. She could no longer open loans either in Switzerland, in Frankfort, or in Holland. England engaged not to furnish the funds, but to guarantee the loan which she proposed to open in London. To guarantee the debts of a power like Austria is very much like undertaking to pay them; but the operation in this form was much more easy to justify in parliament. The loan was for 4,600,000*l.* (115 millions of francs) at 5 per cent. interest. Pitt opened at the same time a loan of 18 millions sterling on account of England at 4 per cent. The eagerness of capitalists was extreme; and, as the Austrian loan was guaranteed by the English government, and bore a higher interest, they required that for two-thirds taken in the English loan they should have one-third given them in the Austrian. Pitt, having thus made sure of Austria, strove to awaken the zeal of Spain, but he found it extinct. He took into his pay the emigrant regiments of Condé, and he told Puisaye that, as the pacification of La Vendée diminished the confidence inspired by the insurgent provinces, he would give him a squadron, the *matériel* for an army, and emigrants formed into regiments, but no English soldiers, and that if, as letters from Bretagne stated, the dispositions of the royalists were not changed, and if the expedition proved successful, he would endeavour to render it decisive by sending an army. He then resolved to raise the number of seamen from eighty to one hundred thousand. For this purpose he devised a sort of conscription. Every merchant-vessel was obliged to furnish one seaman for every seven of her crew: it was a debt which it was but fair that commerce should pay for the protection which it received from the royal navy. Agriculture and manufactures were likewise under obligations to the navy, which insured them markets; in consequence, each parish was also obliged to furnish one seaman. In this manner he secured the means of making an extraordinary addition to the strength of the English navy.* The English men-of-war were very inferior in construction to the French ships; but the immense superiority in number, the excellence of the crews, and the skill of the officers, put rivalry entirely out of the question.

With all these means combined, Pitt presented himself to the parliament. The opposition had this year gained an accession of about twenty members. The partisans of peace and of the French Revolution were more animated than ever, and they had strong facts to oppose to the minister. The language which Pitt lent to the crown, and which he himself held during this session, one of the most memorable of the English parliament on account of the importance of the questions and the eloquence of Fox and Sheridan, was extremely specious. He admitted that France had obtained unexampled triumphs, but these triumphs, instead of discouraging her enemies, ought on the contrary, he said, to impart to them more firmness and perseverance. It was still England against which France bore a grudge; it was her constitution, her prosperity, that she was striving to destroy; it was decidedly far from prudent, far from honourable, to shrink from such a rancor-

* "England now augmented her naval force to a hundred thousand seamen: one hundred and eight ships of the line were put into commission, and the land forces were raised to a hundred and fifty thousand men. New taxes were imposed, and notwithstanding the most vehement debates, Parliament concurred in the necessity, now that we were embarked in the contest, of prosecuting it with vigour."—*New Annual Register*. E.

ous animosity To lay down her arms at that moment above all, would discover, he said, a disastrous weakness. France, having no other foes than Austria and the Empire to combat, would overwhelm them; she would then come back, relieved from her continental enemies, and fall upon England, who, thenceforth single-handed, would have to sustain a tremendous shock. It was right to take advantage of the moment, while several powers were yet in the field, to crush in concert the common enemy, to oblige France to retire within her own limits, to wrest from her the Netherlands, and Holland, to drive back into her own bosom her armies, her commerce, and her mischievous principles. Moreover, it required only one more effort to overwhelm her. She had conquered, it was true, but only by exhausting herself, by employing barbarous means, which had spent themselves by their very violence. The *maximum*, *requisitions*, *assignats*, terror, had spent themselves in the hands of the chiefs of France. All these chiefs had fallen by striving to conquer at such a price. One more campaign, then, said Pitt, and Europe, England, will be avenged and secured from a sanguinary revolution. Were there any whom these reasons of honour, of safety, or of policy, failed to touch? were there any still bent on making peace? he would tell them that it would not be possible. The French demagogues would repel it with that ferocious pride which they had displayed even before they were victorious. And in order to treat with them where was one to find them? where look for the government amid those bloodthirsty factions, urging each other on to power and disappearing as soon as they had attained it? how hope for solid conditions in negotiating with such transient depositories of a still disputed authority? It was, therefore, not honourable, it was imprudent, it was impossible to negotiate. England still possessed immense resources; her exports had wonderfully increased; her commerce sustained losses which proved its boldness and its activity; her navy had become formidable, and her great capitalists came spontaneously to offer themselves in abundance to the government, for the purpose of continuing this just and necessary war.

Such were the epithets which Pitt had given to this war from the outset, and which he affected to give it still. It is evident that amidst these reasons of declamation he could not assign the real motives; that he could not confess by what Machiavelian ways he aimed at conducting England to the highest pinnacle of power. Men shrink from the avowal of such an ambition before the face of the world.

Hence the opposition replied victoriously to the false reasons which he was obliged to assign in default of the real ones. We were told at the end of last session, said Fox and Sheridan, that one more campaign would be sufficient: that the allies had already several fortresses, from which they were to sally forth in the spring and annihilate France. But what are the facts? The French have conquered Flanders, Holland, the whole left bank of the Rhine, excepting Mayence, part of Piedmont, the greater part of Catalonia, and the whole of Navarre. Where is such a campaign to be found in the annals of Europe? They have taken, we are told, some fortresses. Show us a war in which so many fortified places have been reduced in a single campaign! If the French, struggling against all Europe, have had such success, what advantages are they not likely to gain in a conflict with Austria and England left almost alone; for the other powers are either no longer able to second us, or have made peace! We are told that they are exhausted; that the assignats, their sole resource, have lost all their value; that their present government has ceased to possess its former energy. But

the Americans saw their paper-money fall ninety per cent., and yet they were not conquered. But this government, when it is energetic, we are told is barbarous; now that it is become humane and moderate, it is said to possess no energy. We are told of our resources, of our great wealth; but the people are perishing of want, and unable to pay for either bread or meat; they are loudly demanding peace. That wonderful wealth, which seems to be created by enchantment—is it real? Can treasures be created out of paper? All those systems of finance conceal some frightful error, some immense void, which will suddenly appear. We go on lavishing our wealth on the powers of Europe; we have already wasted it on Piedmont and on Prussia; we are again going to waste it on Austria. Who will guarantee us that this power will be more faithful to her engagements than Prussia? Who will guarantee us that she will not break her promise and treat, after taking our money? We are exciting an infamous civil war; we are arming the French against their native country, and yet to our shame these French, acknowledging their error and the wisdom of their new government, have just laid down their arms. Shall we go and fan the expiring embers of *La Vendée*, for the purpose of producing a tremendous conflagration there? We are told of the barbarous principles of France. Is there in those principles anything more anti-social than our conduct towards the insurgent provinces? All the means of war are, therefore, equivocal or culpable. Peace, we are assured, is impossible. France hates England. But when did the violence of the French against us break forth? Was it not when we manifested the guilty intention of wresting from them their liberty, of interfering in the choice of their government, of exciting civil war among them? Peace, we are further told, would spread the pestilence of their principles. But Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, the United States, are at peace with them. Is their constitution destroyed? Peace, it is added, is impossible with a tottering government, a government that is incessantly changing. But Prussia and Tuscany have found some one to treat with; Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States, know to whom to address themselves in their relations with France; and yet we cannot negotiate with her! We ought then to have been told on commencing the war, that we should not make peace before a certain form of government had been re-established among our enemies; before the republic had been abolished among them; before they had submitted to the institutions which it pleased our fancy to give them.

Amidst this clash of reasons and of eloquence, Pitt pursued his course, and, without ever assigning his real motives, obtained all that he desired: loans, naval conscription, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. With his treasures, his navy, the two hundred thousand men belonging to Austria, and the desperate courage of the French insurgents, he resolved to make a new campaign this year, certain at any rate to rule the seas, if victory on the continent should adhere to the enthusiastic nation which he was fighting.

These negotiations, these conflicts of opinion in Europe, these preparations for war, prove of what importance our country then was in the world. At this juncture, ambassadors were seen to arrive all at once from Sweden, from Denmark, from Holland, from Prussia, from Tuscany, from Venice, and from America. On their arrival in Paris they called upon the president of the Convention, whom they found lodging sometimes in a second or third story, and whose simple and polite reception had succeeded the ancient introductions at court. They were then ushered into that famous hall, where, on humble benches, and in the simplest costume, sat that Assembly which,

from the might and the grandeur of its passions, appeared no longer ridiculous but terrible. They had an arm-chair opposite to that of the president; they spoke seated; the president replied in the same manner, calling them by the titles specified in their credentials. He then gave them the fraternal salute, and proclaimed them representatives of the power by which they were sent. They had a tribune set apart for them, where they could witness those stormy discussions, which excited in strangers as much curiosity as terror. Such was the ceremonial observed in regard to the ambassadors of foreign powers. Its simplicity befitted a republic, receiving without pomp, but with decency and respect, the envoys of monarchs whom it had vanquished. The name of Frenchmen was then a glorious name. It was ennobled by splendid victories, and by the purest of all, those gained by a nation in defence of its existence and of its liberty.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

LAST CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE MOUNTAINEERS AND THE THERMIDORIANS—INSURRECTION OF PRAIRIAL AND MURDER OF FERAUD—EXECUTION OF ROMME, GOUJON, DUQUESNOI, DURAI, BOURBOTTE, AND SOUBRANY—DESTRUCTION OF THE PATRIOT PARTY—BOLDNESS OF THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY PARTY—SCALE OF REDUCTION FOR THE ASSIGNATS.

THE events of Germinal had produced the usual consequence of an uncertain action for the two parties which divided France; those two parties had become the more violent in consequence, and the more intent on destroying one another. In the whole of the South, and particularly at Avignon, Marseilles, and Toulon, the revolutionists, more menacing and more audacious than ever, foiling all the efforts that were made to disarm them or to send them back to their communes, continued to demand the release of the patriots, the death of all returned emigrants, and the constitution of 1793. They corresponded with the partisans whom they had in every province; they called them to their aid; they exhorted them to collect at two principal points, Toulon for the South, Paris for the North. When they should be strong enough at Toulon, they would raise the departments, they said, and advance to join their brethren in the north. This was precisely the plan adopted by the federalists in 1793.

Their adversaries, whether royalists or Girondins, had become bolder, since the government, attacked in Germinal, had given the signal for persecutions. Masters of the administrations, they made a terrible use of the decrees passed against the patriots. They imprisoned them, as accomplices of Robespierre's, or as having had the management of the public money without rendering any account of it. They disarmed them, as having participated in the tyranny abolished on the 9th of Thermidor; or, lastly, they haunted them from place to place, as having quitted their communes. It was in the South itself that these hostilities against the unfortunate patriots were most active; for violence always provokes equal violence. In the de-

partment of the Rhone, a terrible reaction was in contemplation. The royalists, being obliged to flee from the cruel violence of 1793, returned through Switzerland, crossed the frontier, entered Lyons with false passports, talked there of the King, of religion, of past prosperity, and availed themselves of the recollection of the massacres, to bring back to monarchy a city which had become wholly republican. Thus the royalists looked towards Lyons for aid, as the patriots did towards Toulon. It was said that Pécy had returned and was concealed in the city, upon which he had, by his valour, brought all its calamities. A multitude of emigrants, collecting at Basle, at Berne, and at Lausanne, showed themselves more presumptuously than ever. They talked of their speedy return; they said that their friends governed; that they would soon seat the son of Louis XVI. on the throne, procure themselves to be recalled, and their property to be restored to them; and that with the exception of some Terrorists and some military officers whom it would be necessary to punish, everybody would eagerly contribute to this restoration. At Lausanne, where all the youth were enthusiastic admirers of the French Revolution, they were annoyed but were forced to hold their tongues. In other places, they were suffered to talk: people despised these vain boastings, to which they were pretty well accustomed for six years past; but they were shy of some of them, who had pensions from the Austrian police for acting as spies in the inns upon travellers who should use indiscreet language. It was towards this quarter too, that is, near Lyons, that companies were formed, which, calling themselves companies of the Sun, and companies of Jesus, were to scour the country or to penetrate into the towns, and put to death the patriots who had retired to their estates or were confined in the prisons.* The transported priests also returned by this frontier, and had already spread themselves over all the eastern provinces; they declared all that had been done by the priests who had taken the oath to be null and void; they rebaptized children, remarried couples, and excited in the people a hatred and contempt of the government. They took care to keep near the frontier in order to recross it at the first signal. Those who had not suffered transportation, and who enjoyed in France a pension for their support and the free exercise of their religion, abused the tolerance of the government as much as the transported priests. Dissatisfied at having to say mass in houses either hired or lent, they stirred up the people and instigated them to seize the churches, which had become the property of the communes. A great number of disturbances had taken place on this subject, and force had been required to compel submission to the decrees. In Paris, the journalists in the pay of royalism, stimulated by Lemaître, wrote with more boldness than ever against the Revolution, and almost openly preached up monarchy. Racroix, the author of the *Spectateur*, had been acquitted of the charges preferred against him; and since then the herd of libellers had ceased to be afraid of the revolutionary tribunal.

Thus the two parties were arrayed against each other, and ready for a decisive engagement. The revolutionists, resolved to strike the blow of which the 12th of Germinal had been merely the threat, conspired openly. They

* "Companies of Jesus and Companies of the Sun took the place of the Companies of Marat, and exacted as severe a retribution. At Lyons, at Aix, at Tarascon, at Marseilles, they slew all those confined in the prisons who had participated in the revolutionary transactions, pursued those who had escaped into the streets, and without any other form or notice than the reproach, 'Behold a Matavin!' (the nickname they gave to their opponents,) slew them, and threw them into the river. At Tarascon they precipitated them from a high tower on a rock which bordered on the Rhine."—*Hazlitt*. E.

hatched plots in every quarter, since they had lost their principal chiefs who alone framed plans for the whole party. An association was formed at the house of a man named Lagrelet, in the Rue de Bretagne. The plan was to collect several mobs, and to put Cambon, Maribon-Montant, and Thuriot, at the head of them; to despatch some of them to the prisons to deliver the patriots, others to the committees to seize them, and others again to the Convention to extort decrees from it. When once masters of the Convention, the conspirators purposed to oblige it to reinstate the imprisoned deputies, to annul the condemnation passed upon Billaud-Varennes, Collot-d'Herbois, and Barrère; to exclude the seventy-three, and immediately to proclaim the constitution of 1793. Everything was prepared, even to the crowbars for breaking open the prisons, the rallying tickets for recognising the conspirators, and a piece of stuff to hang out at the window of the house from which all the orders were to be issued. A letter, concealed in a loaf and addressed to a prisoner, was intercepted. In this letter it was said, "On the day that you will receive some eggs half white and half red, you will hold yourself in readiness. The day fixed was the 1st of Floreal. One of the conspirators betrayed the plan, and communicated the secret and the details to the committee of general safety. The committee immediately caused all the chiefs who were pointed out to be apprehended, but unfortunately this did not derange the plans of the patriots; for at that time every one was a chief, and people were conspiring in a thousand places at once*. Rovère, who formerly deserved the name of a Terrorist, in the time of the old committee of public welfare, and now a valiant reactor, presented a report on this plot to the Convention, and inveighed vehemently against the deputies who were to be put at the head of the assemblages. Those deputies were utter strangers to the plot, and their names had been used without their knowledge, because the conspirators had need of them, and reckoned upon their being well disposed to the plot. Already condemned by a decree to be confined at Ham, they had not obeyed, but withdrawn themselves from the operation of that decree. At the instigation of Rovère, the assembly decided that, if they did not surrender themselves immediately, they should be transported on the sole ground of their disobedience. This abortive project plainly indicated that an event was near at hand.

As soon as the journals had made known this new plot of the patriots, a great agitation was manifested at Lyons and the rage against them was redoubled. At this moment, a noted Terrorist denouncer, prosecuted by virtue of the decree passed against the accomplices of Robespierre, was put upon his trial at Lyons. The newspapers containing Rovère's report on the plot of the 29th of Germinal had just arrived. The people of Lyons began to assemble; most of them had to deplore either the ruin of their fortune or the death of relatives. They beset the hall of the tribunal. Boisset, the representative, mounted his horse; they surrounded him, and each began to enumerate the complaints that he had to make against the man who was

* "Paris was full of conspirators, for the Convention had lost its popularity, because it had evinced so little disposition to relieve the sufferings of the people, which had now become absolutely intolerable. The conspiring anarchists profited by this preferment, and did their utmost to augment it, because that class reap no harvest but in the fields of misery. France, exhausted by every species of suffering, had lost even the power of uttering a complaint; and we had all arrived at such a point of depression, that death, if unattended by pain, would have been wished for, by even the youngest human being. But it was ordained that many months and years should still continue in that state of horrible agitation, the true foretaste of the torments of hell."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

upon his trial. The promoters of disturbance, the companies of the Sun and of Jesus, availing themselves of this manifestation of public feeling, excited a tumult, repaired to the prisons, broke them open, and murdered seventy or eighty prisoners, reputed Terrorists.* The national guard made some efforts to prevent this massacre, but showed perhaps less zeal than it would have displayed, had it not harboured such violent resentment against the victims of that day.

Thus no sooner was the Jacobin plot of the 29th of Germinal made public, than the counter-revolutionists replied to it by the massacre at Lyons on the 6th of Floreal. The sincere republicans, though they saw the plans of the Terrorists, were nevertheless alarmed at those of the counter-revolutionists. Hitherto they had been wholly occupied in preventing a new terror, and had felt no apprehension of royalism. Royalism, in fact, appeared very remote after the executions of the revolutionary tribunal and the victories of our armies; but when they beheld it, driven as it were from La Vendée, returning by Lyons, forming companies of assassins, pushing on seditious priests into the heart of France, and dictating in Paris itself publications filled with the violence of the emigrants, they changed their opinion and thought that, to the rigorous measures adopted against the tools of terror, it would be right to add others against the partisans of royalty. In the first place, to leave those without pretext who had suffered from excesses and demanded vengeance for them, they caused the tribunals to be enjoined to exert more activity in the prosecution of persons charged with peculation, abuse of authority, and oppressive acts. They then set about devising the measures most capable of curbing the royalists. Chenier, known for his literary talents and his avowedly republican opinions, was directed to draw up a report on this subject. He drew an energetic picture of France, of the two parties which disputed the empire over her, and especially of the seditious manœuvres of the emigrants and the clergy, and he proposed to direct every returned emigrant to be immediately delivered up to the tribunals, in order that he might be dealt with according to law; to consider as an emigrant every banished person who had returned to France and should be still there at the expiration of one month; to punish with six months' imprisonment all who should violate the law relative to the exercise of religion, and who should attempt to take possession of the churches by force; to condemn to banishment every writer who should instigate to outrages against the national representation or to the restoration of royalty; lastly, to oblige all the authorities charged with disarming the Terrorists to assign the motives for disarming them.

All these measures were adopted, excepting two which occasioned some observations. Thibaudeau considered the proposition as imprudent which recommended the punishment of violators of the law relative to religious worship with six months' imprisonment; he justly remarked that the churches were fit for one purpose only, that of religious ceremonies; that the people devout enough to attend mass in private meeting-houses would always feel extremely sore at being deprived of those edifices in which it was formerly held; that, in declaring the government exempted for ever from the expense

* "One prison at Lyons was set on fire by the infuriated mob, and the unhappy inmates all perished in the flames. The people, exasperated with the blood which had been shed by the revolutionary party, were insatiable in their vengeance; they invoked the name of a parent, brother, or sister, when retaliating on their oppressors; and while committing murder themselves, exclaimed with every stroke, 'Die, assassins!' Many innocent persons perished, as in all popular tumults, during these bloody days."—*Alison*. E.

of all religious worship, it ought to have restored the churches to the Catholics, to prevent regrets, commotions, and perhaps a general rising as in Vendée. Thibaudeau's observations were not favourably received; for it was feared lest, in restoring the churches to the Catholics, even though to be kept up at their own cost, the assembly might restore ceremonies to the old clergy which were a part of its power. Tallien, who had become a journalist with Fréron, and who, either from this reason or from an affectation of justice, was induced to protect the independence of the press, opposed the penalty of banishment against writers. He insisted that this was an arbitrary plan and left too great latitude for severities against the press. He was right; but, in that state of open war with royalism, it was perhaps of importance that the Convention should declare itself strongly against those libellers who strove to bring back France so soon to monarchical ideas. Louvet, that fiery Girondin, whose distrust had done so much injury to his party, but who was one of the most sincere men in the assembly, hastened to reply to Tallien, and besought all the friends of the republic to forget their dissensions and their reciprocal grievances, and to unite against their oldest enemy, the only real one they had—namely, royalty. The testimony of Louvet in favour of violent measures was least suspicious of all, for he had braved the most cruel proscription to oppose the system of revolutionary means. The whole assembly applauded his frank and noble declaration, voted that his speech should be printed and sent to every part of France, and adopted the article to the great confusion of Tallien, who had chosen such a wrong time for supporting a just and true maxim.

Thus, at the same time that the Convention ordered the prosecution and the disarming of the patriots, and their return to their communes, it renewed the laws against the emigrants and the exiled priests, and instituted penalties against the opening of the churches and against royalist pamphlets. But penal laws are feeble guards against parties ready to rush upon one another. Thibaudeau was of opinion that the organization of the committees of government since the 9th of Thermidor was too weak and too relaxed. This organization, established at the moment when the dictatorship was just overthrown, had been devised only under the dread of a new tyranny. Thus excessive tension of all the springs had been followed by extreme relaxation. The restoration of their influence to all the committees, for the purpose of destroying the too predominant influence of the committee of public welfare, had led to skirmishing, to delays, and to a complete enfeebling of the government. In fact, if a disturbance occurred in a department, the established routine required that the committee of general safety should first be made acquainted with it: that committee summoned the committee of public welfare, and in certain cases, that of legislation; it was necessary to wait till these committees were complete before they could assemble, and then that they should have time to confer together. Thus their meetings were rendered almost impossible, and too numerous to act. If it was requisite merely to send twenty men by way of guard, the committee of general safety, charged with the police, was obliged to apply to the military committee. Now it began to be felt how wrong it was to be so exceedingly afraid of the tyranny of the old committee of public welfare, and to take such precautions against a danger that was thenceforward chimerical. A government thus organized could but very feebly resist the factions conspiring against one another, and oppose to them only a powerless authority. Thibaudeau proposed, therefore, a simplification of the government. He moved that all the committees should be confined to the mere proposition of laws, and that the measures

of execution should all be assigned to the committee of public welfare; that the latter should combine the police with its other functions, and that consequently the committee of general safety should be abolished; that, lastly, the committee of public welfare, charged thus with the whole government, should be increased to twenty-four members, in order that it might be adequate to the extent of its new duties. The cowards in the assembly, who were always ready to arm themselves against impossible dangers, cried out against this plan, and said that it was a renewal of the old dictatorship. The discussion being opened, each proposed his plan. Those who had the mania for reverting to constitutional means, or to the division of powers, proposed to create an executive power out of the assembly, in order to separate the execution from the voting of the law. Others were for selecting the members of this power from the assembly, but for depriving them, so long as they held their office, of any legislative vote.

After long digressions, the assembly felt that, having but two or three months longer to exist, that is to say, only just the time requisite for making a constitution, it was ridiculous to waste it in framing a provisional constitution, and especially to renounce its dictatorship at a moment when it had more need of strength than ever. All the propositions tending to a division of the powers were in consequence rejected; but the assembly had too great a dread of Thibaudeau's plan to adopt it. It contented itself therefore with merely clearing the track of the committees a little more. It was decided that they should be confined to the mere proposition of laws; that the committee of public welfare alone should possess the powers of execution, but that the police should remain with the committee of general safety: that the meetings of committees should take place only by the deputation of commissioners; and lastly, the assembly, in order to guard itself still more against that formidable and so much dreaded committee of public welfare, decided that it should be deprived of the initiative of the laws, and never be capable of making propositions tending to proceedings against any deputy.

While the assembly took these means for restoring a little energy to the government, it continued to pay attention to those financial questions, the discussion of which had been interrupted by the events of the month of Germinal. The abolition of the *maximum*, of requisitions, of the sequestration, of the whole apparatus of forced means, in giving back things to their natural movement, had rendered the fall of the assignats more rapid. The sales being no longer forced, and the prices having again become free, goods had risen in an extraordinary manner and consequently the assignats had fallen in proportion. The communications with foreign countries being re-established, the assignat had again entered into comparison with foreign paper, and its inferiority had been rapidly manifested by the continually increasing fall of the exchange. Thus the fall of the paper-money was complete in every respect; and, agreeably to the ordinary law of velocities, the rapidity of this fall was increased by its very rapidity. Every too abrupt change in the value of effects produces hazardous speculations, that is, jobbing. As such change never happens but from the effect of some derangement either political or financial, as consequently production suffers, as manufactures and commerce are impeded, this kind of speculation is almost the only one that is left; and then, instead of fabricating or of transporting new commodities, people hasten to speculate on the variations in price of those which exist. Instead of producing, they gamble with what is produced. Stockjobbing, which had risen to such a pitch in the months of April, May, and June, 1793, when the defection of Dumouriez, the insurrection of La Vendée, and the federalist coalition, had occasioned so considerable a fall in the assignats, again appear-

ed with greater violence than ever in Germinal, Floreal, and Prairial, year III (April and May, 1795). With the horrors of scarcity the scandal of unbounded gambling was thus combined, which again contributed to increase the dearness of commodities and the depreciation of paper.* The procedure of the gamblers was the same as in 1793, the same that it always is. They bought goods, which, rising in relation to the assignat with singular rapidity, increased in value in their hands, and procured them in a few moments a considerable profit. Thus all wishes, all efforts, tended to the fall of paper. There were articles, which were sold and resold thousands of times without ever being removed. People even speculated, as usual, with what they did not possess. They bought a commodity of a seller, who had it not, but who engaged to deliver it at a specified time: when that time arrived, the seller could not deliver it, but he paid the difference between the price at which he sold and the current price of the day, if the commodity had risen; he received that difference, if it had fallen. It was at the Palais Royal, already so obnoxious to the people as the haunt of the *gilded youth*, that the jobbers met. It was impossible to pass through it without being followed by dealers, carrying in their hands stuffs, gold snuff-boxes, silver plate, rich jewellery. It was at the Chartres coffee-house that all the speculators in the metallic substances assembled. Though gold and silver were no longer considered as merchandise, and though, since 1793, they were forbidden upon very severe penalties to be sold against assignats, the traffic in them was nevertheless carried on almost openly. The louis was sold for 160 livres in paper; and in an hour the price was made to fluctuate from 160 to 200, and even 210 livres.

Thus a frightful dearth of bread, an absolute want of fuel, in weather that was still severe in the middle of spring, an excessive rise in the prices of all commodities, the impossibility of procuring them with a paper that was sinking from day to day; amidst all these evils an unbridled jobbing, accelerating the depreciation of the assignats by its speculations, and affording a spectacle of the most scandalous gambling, and sometimes of sudden fortunes springing up out of the general distress—such was the vast theme of grievances presented to the patriots for exciting the people to commotion.† It behoved the government, as well for the relief of the public distresses, as for preventing a commotion, to redress these grievances—but therein lay the everlasting difficulty.

One expedient was deemed indispensable, as we have seen, to raise the assignats by withdrawing them from circulation; but, in order to withdraw them, it was necessary to sell the domains, and people persisted in shutting their eyes to the real difficulty, that of furnishing purchasers with the means of paying for one-third of the territory. The Assembly had rejected violent means, that is to say, the demonetisation and the forced loan; but it hesitated between the two voluntary means, namely, a lottery and a bank. The proscription of Cambon decided the preference in favour of the plan of Johannot, who had proposed the latter. But, till this chimerical expedient could be made to succeed, an expedient which, even if it did succeed, never

* "The rapidity of the decline of the assignat gave rise to numerous speculations on the exchange of Paris; and the people in the midst of the horrors of famine, were exasperated by the sight of fortunes made out of the misery which they endured."—*Alison*. E.

† "The daily crowds which were in the habit of assembling on account of the distribution of bread, and of the popular fermentation, did not allow the Convention to perceive the preparations that the patriots were making for a general commotion, nor consequently to organize any measures with respect to it."—*Mignet*. E.

could raise the assignats to a par with money, the greatest evil, that of a difference between a nominal value and the real value still existed. Thus the creditor of the state, or other persons, took the assignat at par, and could only pay it away again for one-tenth at most. Proprietors, who had let their lands, received but one-tenth of the rent. Instances were known of farmers who paid their rent with a sack of corn, a fat hog, or a horse. The treasury, in particular, sustained a loss which contributed to the ruin of the finances, and consequently of the paper itself. It took the assignat at its nominal value from the taxpayer, and received per month about fifty millions, which were at most only worth five. To supply this deficit, and to cover the extraordinary expenses of the war, it was obliged to issue assignats to the amount of not less than eight hundred millions per month, on account of their great depreciation. The first thing to be done, until measures should be devised for withdrawing and raising them, was to re-establish the relation between their nominal value, and their real value, so that the republic, the creditor of the state, the land-owner, the capitalist, in short, all persons paid in paper, might not be ruined.

Johannot proposed an expedient, namely to return to metals as the measure of value. The worth of the assignats in proportion to gold and silver was to be ascertained every day, and they were no longer to be received but at that rate. A person to whom one thousand francs were owing was to be paid ten thousand in assignats, if the assignats were worth only one-tenth of the metals. Taxes, rents, income of all kinds, the purchase-money of the national domains, were to be paid in specie or in assignats at their current value. An objection was made to this adoption of specie as the general standard of all property, in the first place, from an old grudge against metals, which were charged with having ruined paper, and, in the next, because the English, having a great quantity of them, could, it was said, make them vary at pleasure, and would thus be masters of the course of the assignats. These reasons were very paltry; but they decided the Convention to reject metals as the standard of worth. Jean-Bon St.-André then proposed to adopt corn, which among all nations was the essential standard of value to which all other effects must bear a proportion. Thus the quantity of corn that could be procured for any sum at the time of making a bargain was to be calculated, and such an amount was to be paid in assignats as would be required to purchase at the moment the same quantity of corn. The person who owed rent or taxes to the amount of one thousand francs, at a time when one thousand francs represented one hundred quintals of corn, was to pay the current value of one hundred quintals of corn in assignats. But to this an objection was urged. The calamities of the war and the losses of agriculture had caused the price of corn to rise considerably in proportion to all other articles of consumption or merchandise, and it was worth four times as much. According to the existing currency of the assignats, it ought to have cost but ten times as much as in 1790, namely, one hundred francs per quintal; but it really cost four hundred. The person who owed one thousand francs in 1790 would owe at that moment ten thousand francs if he paid according to the standard of specie, and forty thousand if he had to pay according to the standard of corn; so that he would have to give a value which had become four times too great. The Assembly was, therefore, puzzled what standard of value to adopt. Raffron proposed that from the 30th of the month assignats should fall one per cent. every day. An immediate outcry was raised that this would be a bankruptcy, as if it were not one to reduce the assignats to the standard of specie or of corn, that is, to saddle them at once with a

loss of ninety per cent. At the instigation of Bourdon, who talked continually of financial matters without understanding them, a decree was passed, declaring that the Convention would not listen to any proposition tending to bankruptcy.

The reduction of the assignat to the currency must, however, have been attended with one most serious inconvenience. If, in all payments, either of taxes, or rent, or debts due, or for national domains, the assignat were to be taken no longer but at the standard to which it was daily sinking, the fall would have no end, for nothing could stop it. In the actual state of things, in fact, the assignat, being still capable of serving, from its nominal value, for the payment of taxes, of rents, of all sums due, had an employment which still gave a certain reality to its value; but if it was to be taken everywhere only at the standard of the day, it must sink indefinitely and without limit. The assignat issued to-day for one thousand francs, might to-morrow be worth but one hundred francs, but one franc, but one centime; it would, indeed, no longer ruin any one, either private individuals or the state, for all would take it merely for what it was worth: but its value, being in no case compulsory, would instantly sink to nothing. There was no reason why a nominal thousand millions should not fall to one real franc, and then the resource of paper-money, still indispensable to the government, would be entirely cut off.

Dubois-Crancé, considering all these plans as dangerous, opposed the reduction of the assignats to the currency, and overlooking the sufferings of those who were ruined by payment in paper, merely proposed to levy the land-tax in kind. The state might thus secure the means of subsisting the armies and the great communes, and spare the issue of three or four thousand millions in paper, which it expended in procuring supplies. This plan, which at first appeared attractive, was afterwards rejected upon mature examination: it became necessary to seek some other.

Meanwhile the evil was daily increasing: riots broke out in all parts on account of provision and fuel; bread was put up for sale at the Palais Royal at twenty-two francs per pound; and boatmen, at one of the passages of the Seine, had offered forty thousand francs for a service for which they formerly paid one hundred. A kind of despair seized every one: people cried out that an end must be put to this state of things, and that measures of some sort must absolutely be devised. In this distressing situation, Bourdon of the Oise, a very ignorant financier, who talked upon all these questions like one possessed, hit no doubt by accident on the only suitable expedient for getting out of the dilemma. It would have been difficult, as we have seen, to reduce the assignats to the currency, for nobody could tell whether specie or corn ought to be taken for a standard, and besides, it would have been stripping them immediately of all their value and exposing them to a depreciation without end. To raise by absorbing them would have been just as difficult, for that would have required the sale of the domains, and to find purchasers for so great a quantity of immovable property would have been almost impossible.

There was, however, one way of selling the domains, and that was, to place them within the reach of purchasers, by requiring only such a value as they could give for them in the existing state of the public fortune. The domains were then sold by auction: the consequence was, that offers were proportioned to the depreciation of paper, and that it was necessary to give in assignats five or six times the price of 1790. Still it was paying but half the value which land realized in money at that period; but it was far too

much for the present time, for land was in reality not worth half, nor a fourth, of what it was in 1790. There is nothing absolute in value. A thing is worth no more than it will fetch in exchange for other objects. In America, in extensive continents, lands are of little value, because their mass is far superior to that of moveable capital. Such was in some measure the case in France in 1795. It was requisite therefore to insist no longer on the fictitious value of 1790, but to be content with that which could be obtained in 1795, for the real value of a thing is just as much as can be paid for it.

In consequence, Bourdon of the Oise suggested that the domain should be disposed of, without sale and by mere verbal agreement, to any one who should offer three times the value of 1790 in assignats. In case of competition the preference was to be given to the first applicant. Thus a property valued at one hundred thousand francs in 1790 was to be sold for three hundred thousand. Assignats having fallen to one-fifteenth of their value, three hundred thousand francs represented in reality but twenty thousand effective francs: a purchaser, therefore, paid twenty thousand francs for a property which in 1790 was worth one hundred thousand. This was not losing four-fifths if no more could be obtained for it. Besides, had the sacrifice been real, it would have been wrong to hesitate, for the advantages were immense.

In the first place, it obviated the inconveniences of the reduction to the current value, which would have destroyed the paper. We have seen, in fact, that the assignat reduced to the current value in payment for everything, even of the domains, would cease to have any fixed value whatever, and that it would fall to nothing. When, on the contrary, it could be paid for domains on giving thrice the valuation of 1790, it would have a fixed value, for it would represent a certain quantity of land; as it would always be capable of procuring that, it would always have the value of it, and not perish any more than it. Thus the annihilation of the paper would be avoided. But there was another advantage: it is proved by what happened two months afterwards that all the domains might have been sold immediately, on condition of paying for them in paper thrice their value in 1790. All the assignats, or almost all, might thus have been withdrawn; those which should remain out, would have recovered their value; the state would have had it in its power to issue more and to make fresh use of this resource. It is true that, in demanding only thrice the valuation of 1790, it would be obliged to give much more land in order to withdraw the circulating mass of paper; but it would still have enough left to supply new extraordinary wants. Moreover, the taxes, now reduced to nothing, because they were paid in depreciated assignats, would recover their value if the assignat were either withdrawn or raised. The domains, consigned immediately to individual industry, would begin to be productive both for the owners and for the treasury; in short, the most frightful catastrophe would be averted, for the just relation of values would be re-established.

The plan of Bourdon of the Oise was adopted, and preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution; but the storm which had been so long gathering, and of which the 12th of Germinal had been only a forerunner, had become more threatening than ever: it had overspread the horizon and was ready to burst. The two adverse parties acted each in its own way. The counter-revolutionists, predominating in certain sections, got up petitions against the measures recommended in Chenier's report, and particularly against that which punished with banishment the abuse of the press by the royalists. The patriots, on their part, reduced to extremity,

were meditating a desperate project. The execution of Fouquier-Tinville, condemned with several jurymen of the revolutionary tribunal for the manner in which he had performed his functions, had increased their irritation to the highest pitch. Though discovered in their plan of the 29th of Germinal, and recently thwarted in an attempt to place all the sections in permanent deliberation upon pretext of the dearth, they were nevertheless conspiring in various populous quarters. They had finally formed a central committee of insurrection, the seat of which was in the Rue Mauconseil between the quarters of St. Denis and Montmartre. It was composed of old members of the revolutionary committees and various persons of the same kind, almost all unknown out of their own quarter. The plan of insurrection was sufficiently marked out by all the occurrences of the same nature: to put the women in front, to cause them to be followed by an immense concourse, to surround the Convention by such a multitude as to prevent its being relieved, to force it to turn out the seventy-three, to recall Billaud, Collot, and Barrère, to release the deputies confined at Ham, to put in force the constitution of 1793, and thus give a new commune to Paris, to recur anew to all the revolutionary measures, the *maximum*, requisitions, &c.—such was the plan entertained by all the patriots.* They embodied it in a manifesto, consisting of eleven articles, and published it in the name of the sovereign people which had resumed its rights. They caused it to be printed and circulated in Paris in the evening of the 30th of Floreal (May 19). It enjoined the inhabitants of Paris to repair in a body to the Convention, with this inscription upon their hats—*Bread and the constitution of 1793!* The whole night between the 30th of Floreal and the 1st of Prairial (May 19 and 20) was passed in uproar, shouts, and threats. The women ran about the streets, declaring that they must go the next day to the Convention, that it had put Robespierre to death merely to step into his place, that it starved the people, protected the shopkeepers who sucked the blood of the poor, and sent all the patriots to the scaffold. They encouraged one another to march in the front, because, they said, the armed force would not dare fire upon women.

Accordingly, next morning, at daybreak, there was a general tumult in the fauxbourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau, in the quarter of the Temple, in the Rues St. Denis and St. Martin, and more particularly in the Cité. The patriots caused all the bells which they could get at to be rung; they beat the *générale*, and fired cannon. At the same moment, the tocsin sounded in the Pavillon de l'Unité, by order of the committee of general safety, and the sections assembled; but those who were in the plot had assembled very early, and were already marching in arms long before the others were roused by the signal. The mob, which kept constantly increasing, advanced slowly towards the Tuileries. A great number of women, intermixed with drunken men, shouting *Bread and the constitution of 1793!* Bands of ruffians armed with pikes, sabres, and all sorts of weapons, a torrent of the lowest rabble, lastly, some battalions of the sections regularly armed, composed this concourse, and marched without order towards the point indicated

“The patriots resolved to make one last attempt to establish a new municipality to serve as a common centre; to seize upon the barriers, the telegraph, the alarm-gun, the tocsin, and the drums; and not to stop until they had secured subsistence and repose, happiness and liberty to the French nation. They invited the cannoniers, the gendarmes, and the troops, horse and foot, to enrol themselves under the banners of the people; and they marched upon the Convention.”—*Mignet*. E.

to all—the Convention. About ten o'clock they reached the Tuileries, beset the hall of the Assembly, and closed all the outlets.

The deputies, hastily assembled, were at their post. The members of the Mountain, who were not in communication with that obscure committee of insurrection, had not been forewarned, and, like their colleagues, knew nothing of the commotion except by the shouts of the populace and the pealing of the tocsin. They even suspected that the committee of general safety had laid a snare for the patriots, and excited them to riotous proceedings that it might have occasion for persecuting them. No sooner had the Assembly met, than Isabeau the deputy read the manifesto of the insurrection. The tribunes, occupied very early by the patriots, immediately rang with boisterous applause. On seeing the Convention thus surrounded, a deputy exclaimed, that it would know how to die at its post. "Yes! yes!" cried all the deputies, rising immediately. One of the tribunes, filled with persons of a class superior to the others, applauded this declaration. At this moment the uproar increased on the outside; the living waves of the populace were heard roaring: the deputies, meanwhile, succeeded each other in the tribune, offering various observations. All at once, a swarm of women rushed into the tribunes, trampling over those who occupied them, and shouting *Bread! bread!* Vernier, the president, put on his hat, and commanded silence, but they continued shouting *Bread! bread!* Some shook their fists at the Assembly, others laughed at its distress. A great number of members rose for the purpose of speaking; they could not make themselves heard. They desired the president to enforce respect for the Convention; the president endeavoured to do so, but without success. André Dumont, who had presided with firmness on the 12th of Germinal, succeeded Vernier in the chair. The uproar continued; the shouts of *Bread! bread!* were repeated by the women who had taken possession of the tribunes. André Dumont declared that he would have them turned out: he was greeted with yells on the one hand, and with applause on the other. At this moment the noise of violent blows given to the door on the left of the bureau were heard, and the tumult of a multitude striving to break it open. The hinges of the door creaked, and pieces of plaster began to fall. In this perilous situation the president addressed a general, who had appeared at the bar with a company of young men, to present a very discreet petition in the name of the section of Bon-Consil. "General," said he, "I charge you to protect the national representation, and I appoint you provisional commandant of the armed forces." The Assembly, by its applause, confirmed the appointment. The general declared that he would die at his post, and withdrew to fly to the scene of the combat. At this moment, the noise that was made at one of the doors ceased, and some degree of quiet was restored. André Dumont, addressing the tribunes, enjoined all the good citizens who occupied them to withdraw, declaring that force would be immediately employed to clear them. Many citizens went out, but the women remained, shouting as before. Presently, the general charged by the president to protect the Convention returned with an escort of fusiliers and a number of young men, who had provided themselves with postboys' whips. They went up to the tribunes, and, laying about them with their whips, soon cleared them of the women, who fled with tremendous screams, amidst the loud applause of part of the spectators.

No sooner were the tribunes cleared, than the noise at the left-hand door redoubled. The mob had returned to the charge; it made a fresh attack on the door, which could not withstand the violence, and was burst open and

broken. The members of the Convention retired to the upper benches; the gendarmerie forming a line around them for their protection. Armed citizens of the sections immediately entered the hall by the right-hand door to turn out the populace. They drove it back at first and seized some women; but they were soon repulsed in their turn by the victorious populace. Fortunately, the section of Grenelle, which was the first to hasten to the assistance of the Convention, arrived at this moment and furnished a useful reinforcement. Anguis, the deputy, was at its head, with drawn sword. "Forward!" he cried. His men closed, advanced, crossed bayonets, and drove back, without wounding, the multitude of the assailants, who gave way at the sight of the arms. One of the rioters was seized by the collar, dragged to the foot of the bureau, searched, and his pockets were found full of bread. It was now two o'clock. Quiet being somewhat restored in the Assembly, it declared that the section of Grenelle had deserved well of the country. All the foreign ambassadors had repaired to the tribune which was reserved for them, as if to share, in some measure, the dangers of the Convention, and witnessed this scene. It was decreed that mention should be made in the bulletin of their courageous devotedness.

Meanwhile the crowd around the hall kept increasing. No more than two or three sections had yet had time to come up and to throw themselves into the national palace, but they could not withstand the constantly increasing host of the assailants. Others arrived, but they could not penetrate into the interior. They had no communication with the committees, they had received no orders, they knew not what use to make of their arms. At this moment the mob made a fresh attempt on the saloon of liberty, and penetrated to the broken door. Shouts of *To arms!* were renewed, and the force within the hall hastened to the door which was threatened. The president put on his hat; the Assembly continued calm. The parties closed with one another, and a battle ensued before the very door. The defenders of the Convention crossed bayonets. The assailants on their part fired, and the balls struck the walls of the hall. The deputies rose, crying *The Republic for ever!* Fresh detachments arrived, crossed from right to left, and assisted to repel the attack. The firing became brisker; the combatants charged, intermingled, and fought hand to hand with swords. But an immense crowd in the rear of the assailants propelled them, and pushed them in spite of themselves upon the bayonets, overthrowing all the obstacles that opposed it, and penetrating into the Assembly. Feraud, a young deputy, full of courage and self-devotion, who had recently returned from the army of the Rhine, and had been for a fortnight running about in the vicinity of Paris to hasten the arrival of supplies, flew to meet the rioters, and besought them not to advance farther. "Kill me," cried he, baring his bosom; "you must pass over my body before you shall enter." According, he threw himself on the ground to endeavour to stop them; but the furious wretches, without heeding him, stepped over his body and rushed towards the bureau. It was now three o'clock. Drunken women, men armed with swords, pikes, and muskets, having on their hats the words, *Bread—the constitution of 93!* filled the hall. Some seated themselves on the lower benches which the deputies had left on retiring to the upper ones; others covered the floor, placed themselves before the bureau, or ascended the small flights of steps leading to the president's chair. A young officer of the sections, named Mally, who was standing on the steps of the bureau, snatched the inscription which was on the hat of one of these men. He was instantly fired at, and fell wounded in several places. At this moment, all the pikes, all the bayo-

nets, were turned towards the president. A fence of iron was placed around his head. It was Boissy-d'Anglas who had succeeded André Dumont; he remained calm and immovable. Feraud, who had risen, hastened to the foot of the tribune, tore his hair, beat his breast for grief, and, on perceiving the danger of the president, rushed towards him for the purpose of covering him with his own body. One of the pikemen pulled him back by the coat; an officer, with a view to release Feraud, struck with his fist the man who held him; the latter returned the blow by firing a pistol-shot which wounded Feraud in the shoulder. The unfortunate young man fell; he was dragged away, trampled upon, carried out of the hall, and his dead body consigned to the populace.*

Boissy-d'Anglas continued calm and unshaken during this frightful transaction; bayonets and pikes still surrounded his head. At this moment commenced a scene of confusion which baffles description. Every one attempted to speak, and shouted to no purpose to make himself heard. The drums beat to restore silence; but the mob, enjoying the uproar, bawled, stamped, and shook with delight, on seeing the state to which that sovereign assembly was reduced. It was not in this manner that the events of the 31st of May had been effected, when the revolutionary party, headed by the commune, the staff of the sections, and a great number of deputies, to receive and give the word, surrounded the Convention with a mute and armed multitude, and, besieging without breaking into it, obliged it to pass, with an apparent dignity, the decrees which it desired to obtain. On the present occasion there were no arrangements for acting in concert, or for extorting at least the apparent sanction of the wishes of the patriots. A gunner, surrounded by fusiliers, ascended the tribune, for the purpose of reading the plan of insurrection. His voice was every moment drowned by shouts, by abuse, and by the rolling of the drums. A man attempted to address the multitude. "My friends," said he, "we are all here for the same cause. The danger is pressing, we want decrees: allow your representatives to pass them."

Shouts of "Down! down!" were the only reply; Rhul, the deputy, a venerable looking old man, and a zealous Mountaineer, endeavoured to say a few words from his place, with a view to obtain silence; but he was interrupted by fresh vociferations. Romme, an austere man, a stranger to the insurrection, like the whole Mountain, but who desired that the measures demanded by the people might be adopted, and saw with pain that this tremendous confusion would be without result, like that of the 12th of Germinal—Romme asked leave to speak, as did Duroi also from the same motive; but neither of them could obtain it. The tumult recommenced and lasted for more than another hour. During this scene, a head was brought in on the point of a bayonet. The deputies fixed their eyes on it with horror; they could not recognise it. Some said that it was the head of Fréron, others that it was Feraud's. It was in fact the head of Feraud, which some ruffians had cut off and stuck upon the point of a bayonet. They carried it about in the hall, amidst the yells of the rabble. Their fury against the president, Boissy-d'Anglas, was again excited; again he was in danger; his head was encompassed with bayonets; pieces were levelled at him on all sides; he was threatened with a thousand deaths.†

* "Feraud was one of the most devoted and intrepid members of the Convention. It has been justly observed that it was his tragical end which contributed more than anything else to the final downfall of the Mountain."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "On this memorable morning we were awakened by loud shouts in the streets; the tocsin sounded to arms, and another day of blood was added to the calendar which took its

It was already seven in the evening. Apprehensions were felt in the Assembly lest this mob, among which were sanguinary ruffians, should proceed to the last extremities, and murder the representatives of the people amidst the darkness of night. Several members of the centre begged certain Mountaineers to speak and to exhort the multitude to disperse. Vernier told the rioters that it was late, that they ought to think of retiring, and that they were likely to expose the people to the want of bread by delaying the expected arrivals. "It is humbug," replied the mob; "you have told us that tale these three months." Several voices were then successively raised amidst the crowd. One demanded the release of the patriots and of the arrested deputies; another the constitution of 93; a third, the apprehension of all the emigrants; a multitude of others, the permanence of the sections, the re-establishment of the commune, the appointment of a commander of the armed Parisian force, domiciliary visits to search for hidden articles of consumption, assignats at par, &c. One of these men, who succeeded in gaining a hearing for a few moments, insisted on the immediate appointment of a commander of the Parisian armed force, and that Soubrany should be chosen. Lastly, another, not knowing what to demand, cried out, *The arrest of the rogues and the cowards!* and for half an hour he kept repeating from time to time, *The arrest of the rogues and the cowards!*

One of the ringleaders, at length aware of the necessity of doing something, proposed to make the deputies descend from the upper benches on which they had seated themselves, to collect them in the middle of the hall, and to make them deliberate. The suggestion was instantly adopted. They were thrust from their seats, forced to descend, and driven like a flock of sheep into the space between the tribune and the lower benches. Here they were surrounded by men who enclosed them with a chain of pikes. Vernier took

date from 1789. Enough has already been said of this dreadful day. I recollect that terror reigned everywhere. The conspirators had promised a day of pillage to the three faubourgs, and particularly to that of St. Antoine. The whole population of this last district was in arms. They were in extreme misery. There was greater reason to dread the issue of this, than of any preceding insurrection. It was not a castle or a court against which the animosity of the people was directed; but everything elevated above the lowest grade of society was marked out for proscription. This it was that saved France and the Convention. All those who had anything to lose enrolled themselves into corps, which were very superior to unorganized masses, acting without plan, and apparently without leaders. While the most frightful scenes were passing in the Convention, the respectable inhabitants of Paris shut themselves up in their houses, concealed their valuables, and awaited with fearful anxiety the result. Towards evening, my brother, whom we had not seen during the day, came home to get something to eat; he was almost famished, not having tasted food since the morning. Disorder still raged, and we heard the most appalling cries in the streets, mingled with the roll of the drums. The faubourg St. Antoine, which had been regularly armed, in pursuance of the proposition of Tallien, excited the most serious alarm. My brother had scarcely finished his hasty repast, when Bonaparte arrived to make a similar demand on our hospitality. He also told us he had tasted nothing since the morning, for all the restaurateurs were closed. He contented himself with what my brother had left; and while eating he told us the news of the day. It was most appalling! My brother had informed us but of part. He did not know of the assassination of the unfortunate Feraud, whose body had been cut almost piecemeal. 'They took his head,' said Napoleon, 'and presented it to poor Boissy-d'Anglas, and the shock of this fiend-like act was almost death to the president in the chair. Truly,' added he, 'if we continue thus to sully our Revolution, it will be a disgrace to be a Frenchman.—*Duchess d'Abrantes.*—E.

"With the view of terrifying Boissy-d'Anglas, the wretches held up to him the bloody head of Feraud; he turned aside with horror; they again presented it, and he bowed before the remains of the martyr; nor would he quit the chair till compelled by the efforts of his friends; and the insurgents, awed with respect, allowed him to retire unmolested."—*Lucretelle.* E.

the chair, instead of Boissy-d'Anglas, who was exhausted with fatigue after so perilous a presidency of six hours. It was now nine o'clock. A sort of deliberation was held; it was agreed that the populace should remain covered, and that the deputies alone should take off their hats in token of approbation or disapprobation. The Mountaineers began to hope that the decrees might be passed, and prepared to speak. Romme, who had already spoken once, demanded a decree for the release of the patriots. Duroi said that, ever since the 9th of Thermidor, the enemies of the country had exercised a baneful reaction: that the deputies arrested on the 12th of Germinal had been illegally arrested, and that they ought to be recalled. The president was required to put these various propositions to the vote; hats were taken off, and cries of *Adopted! adopted!* were raised amidst a tremendous uproar, though nobody could distinguish whether the deputies had really given their votes or not. Goujon succeeded Romme and Duroi, and said that it was necessary to insure the execution of the decrees; that the committees absented themselves; that it was right to inquire what they were doing; that they ought to be summoned to give an account of their operations; and that an extraordinary commission ought to be instituted in their stead. Herein lay, in fact, the peril of the day. Had the committees continued free to act, they could have come and delivered the Convention from its oppressors. Albitte, the elder, observed that the deliberation was not carried on with sufficient order, that the bureau was not formed, and that they ought to form one. The bureau was immediately composed. Bourbotte demanded the arrest of the journalists. An unknown voice was raised, and said that, in order to prove that the patriots were not cannibals, they ought to abolish the punishment of death. "Yes, yes," cried another, "except for the emigrants and the forgers of assignats." This proposition was adopted in the same form as those which had preceded. Duquesnoi, reverting to Goujon's proposition, renewed the demand for the suspension of the committees, and the appointment of an extraordinary commission of four members. Bourbotte, Prieur of La Marne, Duroi, and Duquesnoi were immediately selected. These four deputies accepted the functions deputed to them. Let them be ever so perilous, they were determined, they said, to fulfil them, or to die at their post. They withdrew for the purpose of repairing to the committee and possessing themselves of all the powers. There lay the difficulty, and on the result of this operation depended entirely the fortune of the day.

It was nine o'clock. Neither the insurrectional committee nor the committees of the government appear to have acted during this long and awful day. All that the former had had the spirit to do was to urge the populace upon the Convention; but, as we have already observed, obscure chiefs, such as are left in the end of a party, having at their disposal neither the commune, nor the staff of the sections, nor a commandant of the armed force, nor deputies, had not been able to direct the insurrection with the prudence and the vigour requisite to insure success. They had instigated furious wretches, who had perpetrated atrocious outrages, but not done anything that they ought to have done. No detachment had been sent to suspend and paralyze the committees, to open the prisons, and to deliver the resolute men whose succour would have been so serviceable. They had merely possessed themselves of the arsenal, which the gendarmerie of the tribunals, composed entirely of Fouquier-Tinville's soldiery, had given up to the first comers. Meanwhile, the committees of the government, surrounded and defended by the *gilded youth*, had been exerting all their efforts to assemble

the sections. This was no easy task, with the tumult that prevailed, with the consternation that had seized many of them, and even the ill-will that was manifested by some. They had at the outset collected two or three, whose efforts, as we have seen, had been repulsed by the assailants. They had subsequently succeeded in bringing together a greater number, thanks to the zeal of the section Lepelletier, formerly called Filles St. Thomas, and they were preparing towards night to seize the moment when the people, wearied out, should begin to disperse, to fall upon the rioters and to deliver the Convention. Foreseeing clearly that, in this long period of durance, the mob would have wrung from the Assembly the decrees which it was unwilling to pass, they had adopted a resolution declaring that they should not consider as authentic the decrees issued on that day. These arrangements being made, Legendre, Anguis, Chénier, Delecloi, Bergoeng, and Kervelegan, had repaired, at the head of strong detachments, to the Convention. On their arrival, they agreed to leave the doors open, that the mob, pressed on one side, might be able to retreat on the other. Legendre and Delecloi had then undertaken to penetrate into the hall, to mount the tribune in spite of all dangers, and to warn the rioters to retire. "If they will not comply," said those deputies to their colleagues, "charge, without concerning yourselves about us. Keep pushing on, even though we should perish in the fray."

Legendre and Delecloi actually penetrated into the hall, at the moment when the four deputies appointed to form the extraordinary commission were retiring. Legendre ascended the tribune, assailed with insults and blows, and began to speak amidst hooting. "I exhort the Assembly to remain firm," said he, "and the citizens who are here to withdraw."—"Down! down!" was the cry. Legendre and Delecloi were obliged to retire. Duquesnoi then addressed his colleagues of the extraordinary commission, and desired them to follow him, in order to suspend the committees which, as they saw, were adverse to the operations of the Assembly. Soubrany urged them to lose no time. All four were then going out, but they met the detachment headed by Legendre, Kervelegan, and Anguis, the representatives, and Raffet, the commandant of the national guard. Prieur of La Marne asked Raffet if he had obtained the president's order for entering. "I am not accountable to you," replied Raffet advancing. The mob was then ordered to retire; the president enjoined it to do so in the name of the law: it replied with yells. The bayonets were immediately lowered; the detachment entered; the unarmed rabble gave way, but armed men among the crowd resisted for a moment. They fled, shouting, "This way, sans-culottes!" Part of the patriots returned at this cry, and charged with fury the detachment which forced its way in. They obtained a momentary advantage: Kervelegan was wounded in the hand. Bourbotte, Peyssard, and Gaston, the Mountaineers, shouted "Victory!" But the charge-step was heard in the outer hall; a considerable reinforcement had arrived, who rushed upon the insurgents, repulsed, and pursued them with swords and fixed bayonets. They fled, crowding to the doors, clambering up the tribunes, or escaping by the windows. The hall was at length cleared. It was now midnight.

* "Legendre, with some of his adherents, penetrated with fixed bayonets into the hall, where the conspirators were still engaged in active consultation, and Legendre called out, 'In the name of the law, I command the armed citizens to retire.' For some time, the insurgents refused, but the arrival soon afterwards of battalions, which entered at all the doors, intimidated them, and they finally evacuated the hall with the disorder of flight."—*Mignet*. E.

The Convention, delivered from the assailants who had carried violence and death into its bosom, took a short time to recover itself. Tranquillity was at length restored. "It is then true," exclaimed a member, "that this Assembly, the cradle of the republic, had once more well-nigh been its tomb. Fortunately, the crime of the conspirators is prevented. But, representatives, you would not be worthy of the nation, if you were not to avenge it in a signal manner." Applause burst from all sides, and, as on the 12th of Germinal, the night was spent in punishing the misdeeds of the day; but facts of a different kind of importance called for measures of a different sort of severity. The first thing done was to repeal the decrees proposed and passed by the rioters. "Repeal is not the proper word," it was observed to Legendre, who had made this motion. "The Convention did not, could not vote, while one of its members was murdered before its face. All that has been done was not its act, but that of the ruffians who controlled it, and of some guilty representatives who made themselves their accomplices." All that had been done was then declared null and void. The secretaries burned the minutes of the decrees passed by the rioters. The eyes of the deputies sought those of their colleagues who had spoken during that terrible sitting. They were pointed out with the finger—they were called upon with vehemence. "There is no longer," said Thibaudeau, "any hope of reconciliation between us and a factious minority. Since the sword is drawn, we must fight this faction, and avail ourselves of circumstances for restoring peace and security for ever to this Assembly. I move that you decree forthwith the arrest of those deputies, who, betraying their duty, have endeavoured to realize the wishes of rebellion and moulded them into laws. I propose that the committees immediately submit to you the severest measures against those representatives unfaithful to their country and to their oaths." They were then named. There were Rhul, Romme, and Duroi, who had commanded silence for the purpose of opening the deliberation; Albitte, who had proposed the appointment of a bureau; Goujon and Duquesnoi,* who demanded the suspension of the committees, and the formation of an extraordinary commission of four members; Bourbotte and Prieur of La Marne, who, with Duroi and Duquesnoi, had accepted appointments to that commission; Soubrany, whom the rebels nominated commandant of the Parisian army; and Peyssard, who shouted victory during the combat. Duroi and Goujon attempted to speak. They were prevented—they were called assassins; a decree was instantly issued against them, and it was suggested that they ought not to be allowed to escape, as most of those had done against whom a decree had been passed on the 12th of Germinal. The president directed the gendarmerie to secure them and bring them to the bar. Romme, who did not come forward, was sought for; Bourdon pointed him out, and he was dragged to the bar with his colleagues. Vengeance did not stop there. It aimed at reaching all the Mountaineers who had rendered themselves conspicuous by extraordinary missions in the departments. "I demand," cried one voice, "the arrest of Lecarpentier, the executioner of La Manche."—"Of Pinet the elder," cried another, "the executioner of the people of Biscay."—"Of Borie," cried a third, "the devastator of the South, and of Fayau, one of the exterminators of La Vendée." These propositions were decreed, with shouts of "The Convention for ever! the republic for ever!"—"Let us have no more half measures," said Tallien. "The aim

* "Goujon was a man who, since the opening of the Convention, had rendered himself remarkable for his private virtues and republican sentiments; Duquesnoi also was distinguished by his statesmanlike qualities."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

of the movement of this day was to re-establish the Jacobins, and particularly the commune: we must destroy what remains of them; Pache and Bouchotte ought to be arrested. This is only the prelude to the measures which the committee will submit to you. Vengeance, citizens, vengeance against the murderers of their colleagues and of the national representation! Let us profit by the unskilfulness of these men, who fancy themselves the equals of those who overthrew the throne, and strive to rival them; of these men, who aim at producing revolutions and can produce nothing but riots. Let us profit by their unskilfulness; let us lose no time in punishing them, and thus put an end to the Revolution." The proposition of Tallien was applauded and adopted. In this paroxysm of vengeance there were voices which denounced Robert Lindet, whose virtues and whose services had hitherto protected him from the fury of the reaction. Lehardi demanded the arrest of *that monster*; but so many voices were raised to extol Lindet's humanity, to attest that he had saved communes and whole departments, that the order of the day was adopted. After these measures, the disarming of the Terrorists was again ordained. It was decreed that, on the following Quintidi, the sections should assemble, and proceed immediately to the *disarming of the assassins, of the quaffers of blood, of the robbers, and of the agents of the tyranny which preceded the 9th of Thermidor*. They were even authorized to cause all those to be apprehended who ought in their opinion to be brought before the tribunals. It was decided at the same time that, till a new order, women should not be admitted into the tribunes. It was now three in the morning. The committees sent word that all was quiet in Paris, and the sitting was adjourned to ten o'clock.

Such was the insurrection of the 1st of Prairial. No day of the revolution had exhibited so fearful a spectacle.* If, on the 31st of May and the 9th of Thermidor, cannon had been pointed at the Convention, still the place of its sittings had not been invaded, stained with blood spilt in battle, traversed by balls, and sullied by the murder of a representative of the people. The revolutionists had this time acted with the awkwardness and violence of a party long beaten, deprived of accomplices in the government from which it is excluded, robbed of its chiefs, and directed by obscure, compromised, and desperate men. Without knowing how to make use of the Mountain, without even apprizing it of the movement, they had endangered and exposed to the scaffold, upright deputies, strangers to the excesses of terror, attached to the patriots by the fear of reaction, and who had spoken merely to prevent greater calamities, and to accomplish some wishes which they shared.

The rioters, however, seeing the fate that awaited them all, habituated, moreover, to revolutionary conflicts, were not people to disperse all at once. They assembled on the following day at the commune, proclaimed themselves in permanent insurrection, and endeavoured to rally around them the sections devoted to their cause.† But, conceiving that the commune was not

* "From the affair of this terrible day, one of the most terrible that had occurred during the Revolution, it is very clear that an immense physical force and a determinate design are not sufficient to insure success; but that chiefs and an authority to support and direct an insurrection are also requisite. One single legal power now only existed; and the party which possessed its favour triumphed."—*Mignet*. E.

† "These disorderly risings of the common people might be mischievous, but they were no longer formidable. They wanted the clubs, they wanted the terrible municipality, with Henriot at its head, knocking at the gates of the Convention, and crying out with a voice of thunder and a front of brass, 'the sovereign People is at hand.' They wanted public opinion on their side; and, above all, they wanted Prussian manifestoes and the dread of the

a good post, though it was situated between the quarter of the Temple and the city, they deemed it preferable to establish the centre of the insurrection in the faubourg St. Antoine. Thither they removed in the middle of the day, and prepared to renew their attempt. This time they strove to act with more order and caution. They despatched three battalions, completely armed and organized: they were those of the sections of the Quinze-Vingts, of Montreuil, and of Popincourt, all three composed of stout working men, and directed by intrepid chiefs. They advanced alone, without the concurrence of people which accompanied them on the preceding day, met some of the sections which adhered to the Convention, but were not strong enough to stop them, and in the afternoon drew up with their cannon before the National Palace. The sections of Lepelletier, of the Butte-des-Moulins, and others, immediately ranged themselves opposite, to protect the Convention. It was, nevertheless, doubtful, in case a battle should ensue, whether victory would favour the defenders of the national representation. Unfortunately, too, for them, the gunners, who in all the sections were working men and warm revolutionists, abandoned the other sections drawn up before the Palace, and went with their cannon to join those of Popincourt, Montreuil, and the Quinze-Vingts. Shouts of "To arms!" were heard. The muskets were loaded on both sides, and everything seemed to forebode a bloody conflict. The dull rolling of the guns was heard in the Assembly. Many of its members rose to speak. "Representatives!" exclaimed Legendre, "be calm, and remain at your post. Nature has decreed that we must all die: whether a little sooner or a little later is of no consequence. Good citizens are ready to defend you. Meanwhile, the most becoming motion is to keep silence." The whole Assembly again seated itself, and showed the same imposing calmness as it had displayed on the 9th of Thermidor, and on so many other occasions in the course of this stormy session. Meanwhile, the adverse forces were face to face in the most threatening attitude. Before they came to blows, some persons exclaimed that it was a frightful thing for good citizens to slaughter one another, that they ought at least to come to some explanation, and endeavour to accommodate matters. They left their ranks and stated their grievances. Members of the committees, who were present, introduced themselves among the battalions of the hostile sections, talked to them, and, finding that much might be effected by conciliatory means, they sent to the Assembly to desire that twelve of its members might be deputed to fraternize. The Assembly, regarding this step as a kind of weakness, was by no means disposed to assent to it; still, as it was assured that the committees deemed it serviceable for preventing the effusion of blood, the twelve members were sent, and introduced themselves to the three sections. The ranks were soon broken on both sides, and became intermixed. The uncultivated man of the lower class is always sensible of the amicable demonstrations of the man who is placed above him by dress, language, and manners. The soldiers of the three adverse battalions were touched, and declared that they would neither spill the blood of their fellow-citizens, nor violate the respect due to the National Convention. The ring-leaders, nevertheless, insisted on obtaining a hearing for their petition. General Dubois, commanding the cavalry of the sections, and the twelve representatives sent to fraternize, consented to introduce at the bar a deputation of the three battalions.

Allied Powers hanging imminent over Paris, and threatening them with military execution and lasting servitude. The brain pressed on that nerve, started into sudden phrensy; otherwise, it was tame and light enough."—*Hazlitt*. E.

They accordingly did present it, and solicited a hearing for the petitioners. Some of the deputies were for refusing it; at last, however, it was granted. "We are commissioned to demand of you," said the spokesman, the constitution of 1793, and the release of the patriots." At these words the tribunes began to hoot and to shout, "Down with the Jacobins!" The president imposed silence on these interrupters. The speaker continued, and said that the citizens assembled before the Convention were ready to retire into the bosom of their families, but that they would die rather than forsake their post, if the claims of the people were not listened to. The president replied with firmness to the petitioners that the Convention had just passed a decree relative to articles of consumption, and he would read it to them. He actually did read it, and then added that the Assembly would consider of their demands, and judge in its wisdom what it ought to decide upon. He invited them to the honours of the sitting.

Meanwhile, the three hostile sections were still mingled with the others. They were told that their petitioners had been received, that their demands would be investigated and that they must await the decision of the Convention. It was eleven o'clock. The three battalions found themselves surrounded by the immense majority of the citizens of the capital; the day, moreover, was far advanced, especially for working men; and they resolved to retire to their faubourgs.

This second attempt of the patriots had not been more successful than the former. They nevertheless remained assembled in the faubourgs, keeping up their hostile attitude, and not yet desisting from the demands which they had made. Since the morning of the 3d, the Convention had passed several decrees which circumstances required. To impart more unity and energy to the employment of these means, it gave the direction of the armed force to the representatives, Gillet, Aubry,* and Delmas, and authorized them to resort to arms for the purpose of maintaining the public tranquillity: it decreed the penalty of six months' imprisonment for any one who should beat the drum without order, and of death for such as should beat the *générale* without being authorized to do so by the representatives of the people. It ordered the formation of a military commission for the immediate trial and execution of all the prisoners taken from the rioters on the 1st of Prairial. It converted into a decree of accusation the decree of arrest issued against Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, Prieur of La Marne, Romme, Soubrany, Goujon, Albitte the elder, Peyssard, Lecarpentier of La Manche, Pinet the elder, Borie, and Fayau. It came to the same decision respecting the deputies arrested on the 12th and 16th of Germinal, and enjoined the committees to present to it a report respecting the tribunal that was to try them all.

The three representatives lost no time in collecting in Paris the troops dispersed in the environs to protect the arrivals of corn: they made the sec-

* "François Aubry, member of the Convention, voted for the King's death. In the year 1795 he entered into the committee of public safety, and in this station took an active part in the measures which occupied the government till the days of Prairial. At the time of the division between the Directory and the Councils, he made himself remarkable in the party called that of Clichy. Being afterwards involved in the fall of his party, he was condemned to banishment and put on board at Rochefort. He contrived to escape from Guiana in the year 1798 in a canoe, with Pichegru and several other exiles. He arrived at Demerara where he died of vexation and illness at the age of forty-nine. Aubry, before the Revolution, was a captain of artillery. He was one of the most active members of the council of Five Hundred, but was too much addicted to pleasure."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

tions attached to the Convention remain under arms and kept around them a great number of the young men who had never quitted the committees during the whole insurrection. The military commission entered upon its functions the very same day. The first person whom it tried was the murderer of Feraud, who had been apprehended on the preceding day. It sentenced him to death, and directed that his execution should take place in the afternoon of the same day, the 3d. The culprit was actually conveyed to the scaffold; but, the patriots being apprized of the circumstance, some of the most resolute of them assembled round the place of execution, rushed upon the scaffold, dispersed the gendarmerie, delivered the condemned man, and carried him off to the fauxbourg. They put themselves under arms, pointed their cannon upon the Place de la Bastille, and thus awaited the consequence of the daring deed.

As soon as this event was known to the Convention, it decreed that the fauxbourg St. Antoine should be summoned to give up the condemned, and to surrender its arms and its cannon, and that, in case of refusal, it should be immediately bombarded. At this moment, it is true, the force which had been collected gave the Convention a right to use more imperative language. The three representatives had found means to bring together three or four thousand troops of the line; they had besides twenty thousand men of the armed sections, to whom the fear of seeing the Reign of Terror re-established imparted great courage, and lastly, the devoted troop of the young men. They immediately invested General Menou with the command of this collective force, and prepared to march against the fauxbourg. On that same day, while they were advancing, the *gilded youth* determined, by way of bravado, to be the first to enter the Rue St. Antoine. This rash band consisted of a thousand or twelve hundred persons. The patriots suffered them to advance without opposing any resistance, and then surrounded them on all sides. These daring youths soon saw in their rear the formidable battalions of the fauxbourg; they perceived at the windows a multitude of incensed women, ready to hurl upon them a shower of stones; and they concluded that they were about to atone for their imprudent bravado. Luckily for them, the armed force was approaching; besides, the inhabitants of the fauxbourg had no intention to murder them; and they permitted them to leave their quarter after giving some of them a thrashing. At this moment General Menou came up with twenty thousand men: he caused all the outlets of the fauxbourg to be occupied, and especially those which communicated with the patriot sections. He ordered the cannon to be pointed and the insurgents to be summoned. A deputation appeared, and came to receive his ultimatum, which consisted in requiring the delivery of the arms and the murderer of Feraud. The manufacturers and all the peaceable and wealthy people of the fauxbourg, dreading a bombardment, lost no time in using their influence over the population, and decided the three sections to surrender their arms. Those of Popincourt, the Quinze-Vingts, and Montreuil according delivered up their cannon and promised to search for the culprit who had been rescued. General Menou returned in triumph with the cannon of the fauxbourg, and from that moment the Convention had nothing to fear from the patriot party. Overthrown for ever, it figured thenceforward only as undergoing vengeance.

The military commission immediately began to try all the prisoners that could be taken. It doomed to death some gendarmes who had sided with the rebels, some working men, and shopkeepers, members of revolutionary committees, and taken in the fact on the 1st of Prairial. In all the sections,

the disarming of the patriots and the apprehension of the most conspicuous individuals commenced; and, as one day was not sufficient for this operation, permanence was granted to the sections to enable them to continue it.

But it was not in Paris alone that the despair of the patriots produced an explosion. In the South it broke forth in not less melancholy events. We have seen them, to the number of seven or eight thousand, taking refuge in Toulon, surrounding the representatives several times, wresting from them prisoners accused of emigration, and striving to involve the workmen of the arsenal, the garrison, and the crews of the ships, in their revolt. The squadron was ready to sail, and they wished to prevent it. The crews of the ships which had come from Brest to join the Toulon division, for the expedition which was meditated, were wholly adverse to them, but they could rely on the sailors belonging to the port of Toulon. They chose nearly the same time as the patriots of Paris. Charbonnier, the representative, who had solicited leave of absence, was accused of being their secret director. They rose on the 25th of Floreal, marched upon the commune of Souliés, seized fifteen emigrant prisoners, returned in triumph to Toulon, and nevertheless consented to give them up to the representatives. But, in the following days, they assembled riotously, roused the workmen in the arsenal, secured the arms which it contained, and surrounded Brunel, the representative, to extort from him an order for the release of the patriots. Nion, the representative, who was on board the fleet, hastened ashore, but the rioters were victorious. The two representatives were forced to sign the order for release. Brunel, ashamed of having given way, blew out his brains; Nion sought refuge on board. The insurgents then thought of marching for Marseilles, to excite a rising, they said, of the whole South. But the representatives on mission at Marseilles caused a company of artillery to be posted on the route, and took every precaution to prevent the execution of their designs. On the 1st of Prairial, they were masters of Toulon, without the power, it is true, of extending themselves farther, and striving to gain the crews of the squadron, one part of which resisted them, while the other, composed entirely of seamen of Provence, appeared decided to join them.

The report of these events was submitted to the Convention on the 8th of Prairial. It could not fail to produce fresh excitement against the Mountaineers and the patriots. It was said that the events in Toulon and Paris were concerted; the Mountaineer deputies were accused of being their secret organizers, and they were persecuted with redoubled fury. The arrest of Charbonnier, Escudier, Ricord, and Salicetti,* accused all four of agitating the South, was immediately ordered. The deputies placed under accusation

* "On the 21st of this month, my mother expected a party of friends to dinner. Bonaparte was to be one of the guests. It was six o'clock. One of our friends had arrived, and my mother was conversing with him in the drawing-room, when Mariette came and whispered to her that there was somebody in her chamber who wished to speak with her alone. My mother immediately rose and went to her chamber, and beheld near the window a man half concealed by a curtain. He made a sign to her with his hand. My mother called me, and, desiring me to shut the door, advanced towards the stranger, whom, to her astonishment, she discovered to be Salicetti. He was as pale as death; his lips were as white as his teeth; and his dark eyes appeared to flash fire. He was truly frightful. 'I am ordered to be arrested,' he said to my mother in an under-tone, 'and, if found, I shall be condemned to death. Madame Permon,' he continued, 'may I rely on your generosity? Will you save me? I need not, I am sure, remind you that I once saved your son and husband.' My mother took Salicetti by the hand, and concealed him in the next room, which was my bed-chamber."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

on the 1st of Prairial, and whose judges were not yet appointed, were treated with aggravated severity. They were handed over, without any regard to their quality of representatives of the people, to the military commission constituted for trying the abettors and accomplices of the insurrection of the 1st of Prairial. The only one excepted was old Ruhl, whose discretion and virtues were attested by several members. Pache, the ex-mayor, Andouin, his son-in-law, Bouchotte, formerly minister at war, and his assistants, Daubigny and Hassenfratz, were sent to the tribunal of Eure and Loire, as were likewise the principal agents of Robespierre's police, Heron, Marchand, and Clémence. It would have been supposed that the sentence of transportation, pronounced against Billaud, Collot, and Barrère had acquired the force of a definitive judgment; no such thing. In these days of rigour, that punishment was deemed too mild; it was decided that they should be tried anew and sent before the tribunal of the Lower Charente, that they might be consigned to the fate destined for all the chiefs of the Revolution. Hitherto the remaining members of the old committees appeared to be pardoned; the signal services of Carnot, Robert Lindet, and Prieur of the Côte-d'Or, seemed to protect them from their enemies: they were now denounced with terrific violence by Henri Larivière, the Girondin. Robert Lindet, defended by a great number of members acquainted both with his merits and with his services, was nevertheless ordered to be put under arrest. "Carnot was the man who *organized victory*," cried a multitude of voices. The furious reactors durst not pass a decree against the conqueror of the coalition. No notice was taken of Prieur of the Côte-d'Or. As for the members of the old committee of general safety, all those who had not before been apprehended were now arrested. David, whose genius had obtained his acquittal, was arrested with Jagot, Elie Lacoste, Lavicomterie, Dubarran, and Bernard of Saintes. The only exception made was in favour of Louis of the Bas-Rhin, whose humanity was too well known. Lastly, the report already ordered against all those who had executed missions, and who were called proconsuls, was demanded immediately. Proceedings were commenced against Artigoyte, Mallarmé, Javognes, Sergeant, Monestier, Lejeune, Allard, Lacoste, and Bandot. Preparations were made for investigating successively the conduct of all those who had fulfilled any missions whatever. Thus none of the heads of that government which had saved France was pardoned: members of committees, deputies on mission, were all subjected to the general law. Carnot alone was spared, because the esteem of the armies commanded forbearance towards him; but Lindet, a citizen quite as useful and more generous, was struck, because victories did not protect him against the baseness of the reactors.

There was assuredly no need of such sacrifices to satisfy the manes of young Feraud: it should have sufficed that touching honours were paid to his memory. The Convention decreed a funeral sitting for him. The hall was hung with black; all the representatives went in full dress and in mourning. Soft and mournful music opened the sitting. Louvet then delivered a panegyric on the young representative, so devoted, so courageous, so soon torn away from his country. A monument was voted to perpetuate the memory of his heroism. Advantage was taken of this occasion to order a commemorative festival in honour of the Girondins. Nothing could be more just. Victims so illustrious, though they had compromised their country, deserved homage; but it would have been sufficient to scatter flowers on their tombs; they needed not to be sprinkled with blood. It was nevertheless spilt in torrents, for no party, not even that which takes humanity for

its motto, is wise in its vengeance. It seemed in fact as though the Convention, not content with its losses, was determined itself to add new ones to them. The accused deputies, confined at first in the castle of Taureau, to prevent any attempt on their behalf, were brought to Paris, and proceedings against them commenced with the greatest activity. The aged Rhul, who had alone been excepted from the decree of accusation, spurned this pardon; he considered liberty as undone, and put an end to his life with a dagger. Moved by so many melancholy scenes, Louvet, Legendre, and Fréron, proposed that the deputies delivered up to the commission should be sent before their natural judges; but Rovère, formerly a Terrorist, and now a flaming royalist, and Bourdon of the Oise, implacable as a man who has been frightened, insisted on the execution of the decree, and caused it to be confirmed.

The deputies were brought before the commission on the 29th of Prairial. In spite of the most assiduous researches, no fact proving their secret connivance with the insurgents had been discovered. Difficult, indeed, would it have been to discover any, for they knew nothing of the movement, nay, they knew nothing of one another: Bourbotte alone was acquainted with Goujon, from having met with him during a mission to the armies. It was merely proved that, when the insurrection was accomplished, they desired to give the sanction of law to some of the wishes of the people. They were nevertheless condemned; for a military commission, to which a government sends accused persons of importance, never knows how to send them back to it absolved. The only one acquitted was Forestier. He had been associated with the condemned, though not a single motion had been made by him in the noted sitting. Peyssard, who had merely uttered a cry during the combat, was sentenced to transportation. Romme, Goujon, Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, and Soubrany, were condemned to death. Romme was a simple and austere man; Goujon was young, handsome, and endowed with excellent qualities; Bourbotte, as young as Goujon, combined extraordinary courage with the most polished education; Soubrany, formerly a noble, was sincerely devoted to the cause of the Revolution. At the moment when their sentence was pronounced, they delivered to the secretary, letters, packets, and portraits, to be transmitted to their families. They were ordered to be removed, and placed in a particular room till they should be conducted to the scaffold. That journey they hoped to spare themselves. They had left among them only one knife and one pair of scissors, which they had concealed in the lining of their clothes. In going down stairs, Romme was the first who stabbed himself, and, fearing that he had not done it effectually, he inflicted several more wounds in the breast, the throat, and the face. He delivered the knife to Goujon, who, with steady hand, gave himself a mortal blow, and fell lifeless. From the hand of Goujon, the instrument of liberation passed to those of Duquesnoi, Duroi, Bourbotte, and Soubrany. The last three had unfortunately not succeeded in inflicting mortal wounds; they were dragged, streaming with blood, to the scaffold.* Soubrany, weltering

* "One day my brother returned home dreadfully agitated. He had witnessed an awful scene. Romme, Soubrany, Duroi, Duquesnoi, Goujon, and Bourbotte, were condemned. During their trial they had exhibited the most admirable fortitude, feeling, and patriotism. The conduct of Romme in particular, is said to have been sublime. When sentence was pronounced on them, they surveyed each other calmly; and on descending the staircase which was lined with spectators, Romme looked about, as if seeking somebody. Probably the person who had promised to be there had not the courage to attend. 'No matter,' said he, 'with a firm hand this will do. Vive la Liberté!' Then drawing from his pocket a

in his blood, nevertheless retained, in spite of his sufferings, the composure and proud attitude for which he had always been distinguished. Duroi was exceedingly mortified at having failed to accomplish his purpose. "Enjoy," he exclaimed, "enjoy your triumph, messieurs royalists!" Bourbotte retained all the serenity of youth, and talked with imperturbable calmness to the people. At the moment when he was about to receive the fatal stroke, it was perceived that the blade had not been drawn up; it was necessary to put the instrument to rights: he availed himself of this interval to utter a few words more. He declared that none could die more devoted to his country, and more anxious for its prosperity and liberty. There were but few spectators at this execution. The period of political fanaticism was past; the work of slaughter was no longer carried on with that fury which formerly rendered people insensible. All hearts revolted on learning the details of this execution, and the Thermidorians reaped from it merited disgrace. Thus, in that long succession of conflicting ideas, all had their victims. The very ideas of clemency, humanity, reconciliation, had their holocausts; for in revolutions none can remain unstained by human blood.

Thus was the Mountaineer party entirely destroyed. The patriots had just been conquered at Toulon. After a very bloody battle, fought on the road to Marseilles, they had been obliged to give up their arms, and to surrender the place on which they hoped to support themselves for raising France. They were, therefore, no longer an obstacle; and, as usual, their fall occasioned that of several revolutionary institutions. The celebrated tribunal, which had been almost reduced, since the law of the 8th of Nivose, to an ordinary tribunal, was abolished. All the accused were delivered to the criminal tribunals, trying according to the procedure of 1791; conspirators alone were to be tried according to the procedure of the 8th of Nivose, and without appeal. The word revolutionary, as applied to institutions and establishments, was suppressed. The national guards were reorganized on the old footing; working men, domestic servants, citizens in narrow circumstances, the populace, in short, were excluded from them; and thus the duty of watching over the public tranquillity was committed anew to that class which was most interested in maintaining it. In Paris, the national guard, organized by battalions, by brigades, and commanded alternately by each *chef de brigade*, was placed under the direction of the military committee. Lastly, the concession most ardently desired by the Catholics, the restitution of the churches, was granted; they were restored to them on condition that they should maintain them at their own cost. This measure, though the result of the reaction, was at the same time supported by men of the most enlightened minds. They deemed it very proper to pacify the Catholics, who would never think that they had recovered the freedom of worship, so

very large penknife, or perhaps it might more properly be called a small poniard, he plunged it into his heart, and, drawing it out again, gave it to Goujon, who in like manner, passed it to Duquesnoi. All three fell dead instantly, without uttering a groan. The weapon of deliverance, transmitted to Soubrany by the trembling hands of Duquesnoi, found its way to the noble hearts of the rest; but they were not so fortunate as their three friends. Grievously wounded, but yet alive, they fell at the foot of the scaffold, which the executioner made them ascend, bleeding and mutilated as they were. Such barbarity would scarcely have been committed by savages. My brother stood so near to Romme, to whom he wished to address a few words of friendship and consolation, that the blood of the unfortunate man spouted on him. Yes, my brother's coat was stained with the scarcely cold blood of a man who, only a few days before, was seated in the very chamber, perhaps in the very chair, in which Albert was then sitting!"—*Duchess d'Abrantes.* E.



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long as they had not possession of the edifices in which they had been accustomed to celebrate its ceremonies.

The financial discussions interrupted by the events of Prairial were still the most urgent and the most arduous. The Assembly had resumed them, as soon as tranquillity was restored. It had anew decreed that there should be but one sort of bread, to deprive the lower classes of an occasion to censure the luxury of the rich; it had also ordered statements of the quantity of corn in the country, to secure the surplus of each department for the supply of the armies and great communes; lastly, it had repealed the decree permitting the *frée* traffic in gold and silver. Thus the pressure of circumstances had brought it back to some of those revolutionary measures which had been so violently attacked. Jobbing had been carried to the highest pitch of mania. There were no longer bakers, butchers, grocers, following their distinct trades; everybody bought and sold bread, meat, grocery, oil, &c. The garrets and cellars were filled with goods and eatables, in which every one speculated. At the Palais Royal white bread was sold at the rate of twenty-five or thirty francs per pound. The monopolists fell upon the markets and bought up all the fruits and vegetables brought by the country-people, for the purpose of selling them again immediately at a higher price. People went and bought standing crops, or herds of cattle, in order to speculate afterwards on a rise in the prices of them. The Convention forbade monopolists to appear in the markets before a certain hour. It was obliged to decree that the licensed butchers alone should have a right to buy cattle; and that corn could not be bought before it was cut. Thus everything was turned upside down: everybody, not excepting persons the most averse to speculation of every kind, was on the watch for every variation of the assignat, in order to make the loss fall upon another, and to obtain for himself a higher value for an article of consumption or a commodity.

We have seen that among the various projects, either for reducing the assignat to the current value or for levying the taxes in kind, the Convention had preferred that of selling the domains, not by auction, but at thrice their value in 1790. This was, as we have observed, the only mode of selling them; for sale by auction raised the price of the domains in proportion to the fall of the assignat, that is, to such a height as to be beyond the reach of the public. As soon as the law was passed, the quantity of offers was extraordinary. When it was known that it was sufficient to make the first offer, in order not to pay more for domains than thrice the value of 1790 in assignats, people thronged from all parts. For some estates there were several hundred offers; at Charenton there were three hundred and sixty for a domain which had formerly belonged to the Fathers of Mercy; and so many as five hundred were made for another. The inns in the country were crowded. Mere clerks, men of no property, but who happened to have sums in assignats in their hands at the moment, hastened away to make offers for domains. As they were obliged to pay down no more than one-sixth, and the remainder in several months, they bought with small sums very considerable estates, with a view to sell them again at a profit to those who had made less haste. Owing to this eagerness, domains which were not known by the administrations to have become national property, were pointed out as such. The plan of Bourdon of the Oise was therefore completely successful, and there was reason to hope that great part of the domains would soon be sold; and that the assignats would be either withdrawn or raised in value. It is true that by these sales the republic sustained losses which, calculated in figures, were considerable. The valuation of 1790, founded on the apparent revenue,

was frequently inaccurate; for the possessions of the clergy and all those of the order of Malta were let very low; the farmers paid a certain amount over and above the rent by way of *douceur*, which was frequently equal to four times the rent. A farm, let ostensibly at 1000 francs, produced in reality 4000; according to the estimate of 1790 this estate was worth 25,000 francs; it might therefore be bought for 75,000 in assignats, which were worth in reality only 7500 francs. At Honfleur, salt magazines, the building of which had cost more than 400,000 livres, were sold in reality for 22,500. According to this calculation the loss was great; but there was no help for it, unless it had been reduced by demanding four or five times the value of 1790, instead of three.

Rewbel and a great number of deputies could not comprehend this; they considered only the apparent loss. They alleged that it was a wanton waste of the treasures of the republic, which was thus deprived of its resources. An outcry was raised on all sides: those who did not understand the question, and those who saw with pain the property of the emigrants disposed of, united to obtain a suspension of the decree. Balland and Bourdon of the Oise warmly defended it; they were unable to assign the essential reason, namely, that it was useless to ask more for domains than the buyers could afford to give; but they asserted, what was very true, that the numerical loss was not so great in reality as it appeared to be; that 75,000 francs in assignats were worth no more than 7500 in specie, but that specie was worth thrice as much as formerly, and that 7500 francs represented certain 15,000 or 20,000 francs in 1790. They said also that the actual loss was counterbalanced by the advantage of putting an end immediately to that financial catastrophe, of withdrawing or raising the assignats, of putting a stop to jobbing in merchandise by diverting the paper to lands, of giving up forthwith the mass of the national domains to individual industry, and lastly, of taking away all hope from the emigrants.

The decree was nevertheless suspended. The administrations were ordered to continue to receive orders, that all the national possessions might thus be denounced from private interest, and that a more accurate statement of them might be drawn up. A few days afterwards, the decree was repealed altogether, and it was decided that the national domains should continue to be sold by auction.

Thus, after discovering the way to put an end to the crisis, the government abandoned it, and fell back into the frightful distress from which it might have extricated itself. Meanwhile, as nothing was done to raise the assignats, it was not possible to persist in the cruel fallacy of their nominal value, which was ruining the republic and the individuals paid in paper. It was absolutely necessary to return to the proposition already made to reduce the assignats. The proposal to reduce them to the currency of money was rejected, because the English, it was said, abounding in specie, would be masters of the currency; neither would the government consent to reduce them to the standard of corn, because the price of corn had risen considerably; it had refused to take time for a standard, and to reduce paper a certain amount every month, because that, it was alleged, would be demonetising and committing bankruptcy. All these reasons were frivolous, for it would demonetise in what way soever it proceeded, whether it chose money, corn, or time, to determine the reduction of the paper. The bankruptcy did not consist in reducing the value of the assignat between private individuals, for that reduction had already taken place, and to recognise it was only to prevent robbery; but the bankruptcy, if there was any, consisted in

re-establishing the principle of auction in the sale of the domains. What the republic had promised, indeed, was not that the assignats should be worth this or that sum between private individuals, for this did not depend upon it; but that they should procure a certain quantity of domains. Now, when the sale by auction was re-established, the assignat would no longer procure a certain quantity of domains; it became impotent in regard to domains as in regard to articles of consumption; it experienced the same fall from the effect of competition.

A different standard from money, corn, or time, was chosen for reducing the assignat, namely the quantity of issues. It is true in principle that the increase of the circulating medium produces a proportionate increase in the prices of all commodities. Now, if an article was worth one franc when there were two thousand millions of money in circulation, it must be worth two when there were four, three when there were six, four when there were eight, five when there were ten. Supposing the present circulation of assignats to amount to ten thousand millions, people would at this moment be obliged to pay five times as much for anything as when there were only two thousand millions. A scale of proportion was established, commencing from the period when there were but two thousand millions of assignats in circulation, and it was decided that in all payments made in assignats one-fourth should be added for every 500 millions added to the circulation. Thus for a sum of 2000 francs, stipulated for when there were 2000 millions in circulation and paid when there were 2500 millions, 2500 francs were to be paid; 3000 francs were to be paid for it when there were 3000 millions: and lastly, 10,000 francs at the present moment, when there were 10,000 millions.

Those who considered the demonetisation as a bankruptcy were not likely to be satisfied with this measure, for instead of demonetising in the proportion of specie, corn, or time, it demonetised in that of the issues, which amounted to the same thing, with the exception of one inconvenience, which was here found in addition. Thanks to the new scale, each issue would diminish the value of the assignat by a fixed and known quantity. In issuing five hundred millions the state would take from the holder of the assignat a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, and so on, of what he possessed.

This scale, however, which had its inconveniences like all the other reductions to the course of specie or of corn, ought at least to have been applied to all transactions; but the government durst not venture upon this step, it was applied to the taxes and their arrears. A promise was given that it should be applied to the public functionaries when their number should have been reduced, and to the creditors of the state, when the first receipts of the taxes should admit of their being paid on the same footing. The government durst not extend the benefit of the scale to creditors of all kinds, to the owners of houses in town or country, the proprietors of forges, &c. The only class of persons favoured were the landowners. The farmers, making excessive profits upon the articles of consumption, and paying by means of the assignats only a tenth or a twelfth of the amount of their rent, were obliged to pay it according to the new scale. They were to furnish a quantity of assignats proportionate to the quantity issued since the time when their rent became due.

Such were the measures adopted for the purpose of trying to check jobbing, and to put an end to the fluctuation in the value of all things. They consisted, as we have seen, in forbidding speculators to forestall the consumer

in the purchase of eatables and articles of consumption, and in proportioning the payments in assignats to the quantity of paper in circulation.

The closing of the Jacobins in Brumaire had begun the ruin of the patriots, the event of the 12th of Germinal had advanced it, but it was completed by that of Prairial.* The mass of the citizens, who were hostile to them, not from royalism but from the dread of a new Terror, were more inveterate than ever, and treated them with the utmost severity. All who had ardently served the Revolution were imprisoned or disarmed. Acts as arbitrary as had ever been exercised towards the suspected, were committed in regard to them. The prisons were crowded, as before the 9th of Thermidor, but they were crowded with revolutionists. The number of the prisoners amounted not as then to nearly one hundred thousand persons, but to twenty or twenty-five thousand. The royalists triumphed. The disarming or imprisonment of the patriots, the execution of the Mountaineer deputies, the proceedings commenced against a great number of others, the suppression of the revolutionary tribunal, the restitution of the churches to the Catholic religion, and the recomposition of the national guard, were all measures that filled them with joy and hope. They flattered themselves that they should soon oblige the Revolution to destroy itself, and that they should see the republic shut up, or put to death, all those who had founded it. To accelerate this movement, they intrigued in the sections, they excited them against the revolutionists, and instigated them to the greatest excesses. A vast number of emigrants returned, either with false passports or upon pretext of soliciting their erasure. The local administrations, renewed since the 9th of Thermidor, and filled with men either weak or hostile to the republic, lent themselves to all the official falsehoods required of them. Whatever was done to mitigate the lot of those who were called the victims of terror was by them deemed allowable. They thus furnished a multitude of enemies of their country with the means of returning to tear it in pieces. At Lyons, and in the whole of the South, the royalist agents continued to appear again secretly. The companies of Jesus and of the Sun had committed fresh murders. Ten thousand muskets, destined for the army of the Alps, had been distributed to no purpose among the national guard of Lyons; it had done nothing, and suffered a great number of patriots to be slaughtered on the 25th of Prairial. Human bodies had again floated down the Saone and the Rhone. At Nimes, Avignon, and Marseilles, similar massacres had taken place. In the last city, the mob had gone to Fort St. Jean, and there renewed the horrors of September against the prisoners.

The ruling party in the Convention, composed of Thermidorians and Girondins, while defending itself against the revolutionists, kept an eye on the royalists, and felt the necessity of curbing them. It immediately obtained a decree that the city of Lyons should be disarmed by a detachment of the army of the Alps, and that the authorities, who had suffered the patriots to be murdered, should be removed. At the same time the civil committees of the sections were enjoined to revise the lists of imprisoned persons, and to order the release of those who were confined without sufficient motives. The sections, excited by intriguing royalists, immediately bestirred themselves.

* "The patriots, in consequence of this last blow were entirely excluded from the government of the State. The revolutionary committees who formed their assemblies were destroyed; the cannoniers who constituted their troops were disbanded; the constitution of 1793, which was their code, was abolished; and the government of the multitude was at an end. From this period the middle class resumed the conduct of the Revolution out of doors."
—*Mignet*. E.

They went and addressed threatening petitions to the Convention, complaining that the committee of general safety was liberating Terrorists and putting arms into their hands again. The sections of Lepelletier and of the Théâtre Français (Odeon), always the most violent against the revolutionists, asked if the Assembly meant to raise again the overthrown faction, and if it was to cause Terrorism to be forgotten that people began to talk about royalism to France.

To these petitions, often far from respectful, persons interested in disorder added such rumours as were most likely to agitate the public mind. They reported that Toulon had been delivered up to the English; that the Prince of Condé and the Austrians were about to enter by Franche-Comté, while the English were to land in the West; that Pichegru was dead; that articles of consumption would soon be very scarce, because the free trade in them was about to be restored; lastly, that there had been a general meeting of the committees, which, alarmed at the public dangers, had deliberated on the re-establishment of the system of Terror. The journals devoted to royalism excited and circulated all these reports; and, amidst this general agitation, it might truly be said that the reign of anarchy was come. The Thermidorians and the counter-revolutionists were wrong when they gave the name of anarchy to the system which had preceded the 9th of Thermidor: that system had been a frightful dictatorship; but anarchy had begun from the time that two factions, nearly equal in strength, were combating one another, while the government was not powerful enough to put them down.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

STATE OF THE ARMIES—TREASON OF PICHEGRU—THE QUIBERON EXPEDITION—PEACE WITH SPAIN—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.

THE situation of the armies was but little changed, and, though half the summer was gone, no important event had occurred. Moreau had been appointed to the command of the army of the North, encamped in Holland: Jourdan to that of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, placed upon the Rhine towards Cologne; Pichegru to that of the army of the Rhine, cantoned from Mayence to Strasburg. The troops were in a state of penury, which had been greatly increased by the relaxation of all the springs of the government, and by the ruin of paper money. Jourdan had no bridge equipage for crossing the Rhine, nor a horse to draw his artillery and baggage. Kleber, before Mayence, had not a fourth of the train necessary for besieging that place. The soldiers all deserted to the interior. Most of them thought that they had done enough for the republic, in carrying its victorious banners to the Rhine. The government knew not how to feed them; neither did it know how to rekindle and find employment for their ardour by great operations. It durst not bring back by force those who deserted their colours. It was known that the young men of the first requisition, who had returned into the interior, were neither sought after nor punished; nay, in Paris, they were in favour with the committees, and frequently formed their volunteer soldiery. The number of desertions was consequently considerable; the armies had lost a fourth of their effective strength, and there ensued that general relaxation which detaches the soldier from the service, renders the officers discontented, and puts their fidelity in jeopardy. Aubry, the deputy, charged as a member of the committee of public welfare with the *personnel* of the army, had effected in it an absolute reaction against all the patriot officers, in favour of those who had not served in the two glorious years 1793 and 1794.

If the Austrians had not been so demoralized, this would have been the time for them to revenge their reverses; but they were reorganizing themselves behind the Rhine, and durst not attempt anything for preventing the only two operations undertaken by the French army—the siege of Luxemburg and that of Mayence. Those two fortresses were the only points retained by the coalition on the left bank of the Rhine. The fall of Luxemburg would complete the conquest of the Netherlands and render it definitive; that of Mayence would deprive the Imperialists of a *tête-de-pont*, which always enabled them to cross the Rhine in safety. Luxemburg, blockaded during the whole winter and spring, surrendered on account of famine on the 6th of Messidor (June 24). Mayence could not be reduced without a siege, but artillery was wanting; it was necessary to invest the place on both banks, and for this purpose either Jourdan or Pichegru must cross the Rhine—a difficult operation in presence of the Austrians, and impracticable without bridge equipage. Thus our armies, though victorious, were stopped by the Rhine, which they could not pass for lack of means; and they, like all the

parts of the government, felt the effects of the weakness of the ruling administration.

On the frontier of the Alps, our situation was still less satisfactory. On the Rhine, we had at least made the important conquest of Luxemburg, but we had fallen back on the Italian frontier. Kellermann commanded the two armies of the Alps; they were in the same state of penury as all the others; and they had been weakened not only by desertion but by various detachments. The government had planned a ridiculous *coup-de-main* upon Rome. With a view to revenge the murder of Basseville, it had put ten thousand men on board the Toulon squadron, the damages of which had been completely repaired by the old committee of public welfare, with the intention of sending them to the mouth of the Tiber, for the purpose of levying a contribution on the papal city, and of then returning with all speed to their ships. Fortunately, an action with Lord Hotham,* after which both squadrons sheered off equally damaged, had prevented the execution of this plan. The division taken from the army of Italy had been sent back to it; but it had been found necessary to despatch a corps to Toulon, to quell the Terrorists, and another to Lyons, to disarm the national guard, which had suffered the patriots to be murdered. In this manner the two armies of the Alps had been deprived of part of their force, in presence of the Piedmontese and the Austrians, strengthened by ten thousand men from the Tyrol. General Devins, taking advantage of the moment when Kellermann had just detached one of his divisions for Toulon, had actually attacked his right towards Genoa. Kellermann, unable to resist a superior effort, had been obliged to fall back. Still occupying with his centre the Col de Tende, on the Alps, he had ceased to extend himself by his right to Genoa, and had taken a position behind the line of Borghetto. There was one great disadvantage in no longer communicating with Genoa, on account of the trade in corn, which would have to encounter great obstacles as soon as the Riviera di Ponente should be occupied by the enemy.

In Spain nothing decisive had taken place. Our army of the Eastern Pyrenees still occupied Catalonia as far as the banks of the Fluvia. Useless actions had been fought on the banks of that river, without enabling the French to take a position beyond it. At the Western Pyrenees, Moncey was organizing an army thinned by disease, with the intention of entering Guipuscoa, and advancing into Navarre.

Though our armies had lost nothing except in Italy, though they had even reduced one of the strongest fortresses in Europe, they were, as we see, badly administered, feebly conducted, and affected by the general anarchy which pervaded all the departments of the administration.

This was the moment, not for conquering them, for danger would have rekindled their energy, but for making attempts on their fidelity, and trying plans of counter-revolution. We have seen the royalists and the foreign cabinets concerting various enterprises upon the insurgent provinces; we have seen Puisaye and England proposing to enter by Bretagne; the Paris agents and Spain meditating an expedition into La Vendée: to these projects were added others for penetrating into France at another point. While these expeditions, to be attempted by Spain and England were to be directed

* "Lord Hotham by a skilful manœuvre succeeded in cutting off two of the thirteen ships which constituted the Toulon fleet, and the remainder of that fleet after a severe but partial action was compelled to fall back to the Isles des Hieres, and disembark the land troops which were on board."—*Alison*. E.

against the West, another, to be made on the eastern frontier of France, had been projected. The Prince of Condé had his head-quarters on the Rhine, where he commanded a corps of 2500 foot and 1500 horse. All the emigrants dispersed over the continent were to be ordered to join him, upon pain of being no longer suffered by the powers to remain in their territories. His corps would thus be augmented by all the emigrants who had hitherto remained useless; and, leaving the Austrians occupied on the Rhine to keep the republican armies in check, he was to endeavour to penetrate by Franche-Comté and to march upon Paris, while Count d'Artois, with the insurgents of the West, should advance towards it on that side. If they should not succeed, they had at least hopes of a capitulation like that which had been granted to the Vendéans; they had the same reasons for obtaining it. "We are Frenchmen,"—thus the emigrants who might have joined in this expedition could have argued—"who have had recourse to civil war, but in France, and without admitting foreigners into our ranks." The only way, so said the partisans of this plan, for the emigrants to return to France, was either by counter-revolution, or by an amnesty.

The English government, which had taken the corps of Condé into its pay, and earnestly desired a diversion towards the East, while it should be operating on the West, insisted that the Prince of Condé should make some attempt, no matter what. Through Wickham, its ambassador in Switzerland, it promised him success in money, and the means necessary for forming new regiments. The intrepid prince desired nothing better than to have some enterprise to attempt: he was utterly incapable of directing either a matter of business or a battle; but he was ready to rush headlong upon danger, the moment it was pointed out to him.

The idea of making a trial to gain Pichegru, who commanded the army of the Rhine, was suggested to him. The terrible committee of public welfare no longer awed the generals; its eye was no longer upon them, its hand was no longer uplifted over them. The republic, paying its officers in assignats, gave them scarcely wherewithal to satisfy their most urgent wants. The disorders which had arisen in its bosom raised doubts of its stability, and alarmed the ambitious who were afraid of losing with it the high dignities which they had attained. It was known that Pichegru was addicted to women and dissipation; that the four thousand francs which he received per month in assignats, worth scarcely two hundred on the frontiers, could not defray his expenses, and that he was disgusted of serving a tottering government. It was recollected that in Germinal he had employed main force against the patriots in the Champs Elysées. All these circumstances suggested the idea that Pichegru might perhaps be accessible to splendid offers. In consequence, the prince had recourse for the execution of this scheme to M. de Montgaillard,* and he to M. Fauche-Borel, a bookseller of Neuchâtel,

* The following is Montgaillard's own account of these curious overtures which were made by order of the Prince of Condé to General Pichegru:

"The Prince de Condé called me to Mülheim, and knowing the connexions I had had in France, proposed that I should sound General Pichegru, whose head-quarters were at Altkirch, and where he then was, surrounded by four representatives of the Convention. I immediately went to Neuchâtel, taking with me four or five hundred louis. I cast my eyes on Fauche-Borel, the King's printer at Neuchâtel, and I selected, as his colleague, M. Courant, a native of Neuchâtel. On the 13th of August, Fauche and Courant set out for the head-quarters at Altkirch. They remained there eight days without finding an opportunity to speak to Pichegru, who was surrounded by representatives and generals. Pichegru observed them, and seeing them continually wheresoever he went, conjectured that they had something to

who, the subject of a wise and happy republic, did not hesitate to make himself the obscure servant of a dynasty under which he was not born. This

say to him, and he called out in a loud voice while passing them, '*I am going to Huningen.*' Fauche contrived to throw himself in his way at the end of a corridor. Pichegru observed him, and fixed his eyes upon him, and although it rained in torrents, he said aloud, '*I am going to dine at the chateau of Madame Salomon.*' This chateau was three leagues from Huningen, and Madame Salomon was Pichegru's mistress.

"Fauche set off directly to the chateau, and begged to speak with General Pichegru. He told the general that, being in the possession of some of J. J. Rousseau's manuscripts, he wished to publish them, and dedicate them to him. 'Very good,' said Pichegru; 'but I should like to read them first; for J. J. Rousseau professed principles of liberty, in which I do not concur, and with which I should not like to have my name connected.'—'But,' said Fauche, 'I have something else to speak to you about.'—'What is it, and on whose behalf?'—'On behalf of the Prince de Condé.'—'Be silent, then, and follow me.'

"He conducted Fauche alone into a retired cabinet, and said to him, 'Explain yourself; what does Monseigneur the Prince de Condé wish to communicate to me?' Fauche was embarrassed, and stammered out something unintelligible. 'Compose yourself,' said Pichegru; 'my sentiments are the same as those of the Prince de Condé. What does he desire of me?' Fauche, encouraged by these words, replied, 'The prince wishes to join you. He is confident in you, and wishes to connect himself with you.'—'These are vague and unmeaning words,' observed Pichegru. 'All this amounts to nothing. Go back, and ask for written instructions, and return in three days to my head-quarters, at Altkirch. You will find me alone precisely at six o'clock in the evening.'

"Fauche immediately departed, arrived at Bâle, hastened to me, and joyfully informed me of all that had passed. I spent the night in writing a letter to General Pichegru. The Prince de Condé, who was invested with all the powers of Louis XVIII., except that of granting the cordon-bleu, had, by a note in his own handwriting, deputed to me all his powers, to enable me to maintain a negotiation with General Pichegru. I therefore wrote to the general, stating, in the outset, everything that was calculated to awaken in him that noble sentiment of pride, which is the instinct of great minds; and after pointing out to him the vast good it was in his power to effect, I spoke of the gratitude of the King, and the benefit he would confer on his country by restoring royalty. I told him that his majesty would make him a marshal of France, and governor of Alsace, as no one could better govern the province than he, who had so valiantly defended it. I added, that he would have the cordon-rouge—the Château de Chambord—with its park, and twelve pieces of cannon taken from the Austrians—a million of ready money—two hundred thousand livres per annum—and a hotel in Paris;—that the town of Arbois, Pichegru's native place, should bear his name, and be exempt from all taxation for twenty-five years;—that a pension of two hundred thousand livres would be granted to him, with half reversion to his wife, and fifty thousand livres to his heirs for ever, until the extinction of his family. Such were the offers, made in the name of the King, to General Pichegru. (Then followed the boons to be granted to the officers and soldiers, an amnesty to the people, &c.) I added, that the Prince de Condé desired that he would proclaim the King in the camps, surrender the city of Huningen to him, and join him for the purpose of marching on Paris.

"Pichegru, having read the letter with great attention, said to Fauche, 'This is all very well; but who is this M. de Montgaillard who talks of being thus authorized? I neither know him nor his signature. Is he the author?'—'Yes,' replied Fauche. 'But,' said Pichegru, 'I must, before making any negotiation on my part, be assured that the Prince de Condé, with whose handwriting I am well acquainted, approves of all that has been written in his name by M. de Montgaillard. Return directly to M. de Montgaillard, and tell him to communicate my answer to the prince.'

"Fauche immediately departed, leaving M. Courant with Pichegru. He arrived at Bâle at nine o'clock in the evening. I set off directly for Mülheim, the Prince de Condé's head-quarters, and arrived there at half-past twelve. The prince was in bed, but I awoke him. He made me sit down by his bed-side and our conference then commenced.

"After having informed the prince of the state of affairs, all that remained was to prevail on him to write to General Pichegru, to confirm the truth of what had been stated in his name. This matter, which appeared so simple, and so little liable to objection, occupied the whole night. It required nine hours' hard exertion to get him to write to General Pichegru a letter of nine lines. 1st. He did not wish it to be in his handwriting.—2d. He objected

M. Fauche-Borel repaired to Altkirch, where Pichegru's head-quarters were. After he had followed him in several reviews, he at length attracted his notice by watching him so closely, and ventured to accost him in a corridor. He began by talking of a manuscript work which he was desirous of dedicating to him, and, Pichegru having in some measure encouraged his communications, he at last explained his errand. Pichegru required a letter from the Prince of Condé himself, that he might know with whom he had to deal. Fauche-Borel returned to M. de Montgaillard, and the latter to the prince. A whole night was spent in obtaining from the prince a letter of eight lines. Now he would not call Pichegru general, lest he should recognise the republic: and then he objected to seal the envelope with his arms. At last the letter was finished; Fauche-Borel set out again, was admitted to Pichegru, who, on seeing the handwriting of the prince, immediately entered into negotiation. He was offered himself the rank of marshal, the government of Alsace, a million in money, the chateau and park of Chambord, with twelve pieces of cannon taken from the Austrians, and a pension of two hundred thousand francs, with the reversion to his wife and children. For his army he was offered the confirmation of all ranks, a pension for the commandants of fortresses who should give them up, and exemption from taxes for fifteen years for such towns as should open their gates. But it was required that Pichegru should hoist the white flag, that he should deliver up the fortress of Huningen to the Prince of Condé, and that he should march with him upon Paris. Pichegru was too cunning to accede to such demands. He would neither deliver Huningen nor hoist the white flag in his army: that would have been going a great deal too far and committing himself. He wished to be allowed to cross the Rhine with a corps of picked men; there he promised to hoist

to dating it.—3d. He was unwilling to call him *General* Pichegru, lest he should recognise the republic by giving that title.—4th. He did not like to address it, or affix his seal to it. At length he consented to all, and wrote to Pichegru that he might place full confidence in the letters of the Comte de Montgaillard. When all this was settled, after great difficulty, the prince next hesitated about sending the letter; but at length he yielded. I set off for Bâle, and despatched Fauche to Altkirch, to General Pichegru. The general, after reading a letter of eight lines, and recognising the handwriting and signature, immediately returned it to Fauche, saying, 'I have seen the signature: that is enough for me. The word of the prince is a pledge with which every Frenchman ought to be satisfied. Take back his letter.' He then inquired what was the prince's wish. Fauche explained that he wished—1st. That Pichegru should proclaim the King to his troops, and hoist the white flag.—2d. That he should deliver up Huningen to the prince. Pichegru objected to this:—'I will never take part in such a plot,' said he, 'I wish to do nothing by halves. There must be a complete end of the present state of things. France cannot continue a republic. She must have a king, and that king must be Louis XVIII. But we must not commence the counter-revolution, until we are certain of effecting it. "Surely and promptly" is my motto. The prince's plan leads to nothing. He would be driven from Huningen in four days, and in fifteen I should be lost. That done, as soon as I shall be on the other side of the Rhine, I will proclaim the King, and hoist the white flag. Condé's corps and the emperor's army will then join us. I will immediately repass the Rhine, and re-enter France. The fortresses will be surrendered, and will be held in the King's name by the imperial troops. Having joined Condé's army, I immediately advance. All my means now develop themselves on every side. We march upon Paris, and in a fortnight shall be there. But it is necessary that you should know that you must give the French soldier wine and a crown in his hand, if you would have him cry *Vive le Roi!* Nothing must be wanting at the first moment. My army must be well paid as far as the fourth or fifth march in the French territory. There, go and tell all this to the prince, show my handwriting, and bring me back his answer.'

"The Prince de Condé, after reading the plan, rejected it *in toto*." E.

the white flag, to take with him the corps of Condé, and then to march upon Paris. It is not very evident in what respect his scheme could have gained by this; for it would have been as difficult to seduce the army beyond as on this side of the Rhine; but he would not have run the risk of delivering up a fortress, of being surprised when delivering it, and of having no excuse to assign for his treason. On the contrary, in crossing to the other side of the Rhine, it was at his own option not to consummate the treason, if he could not come to a satisfactory arrangement with the prince and the Austrians; or, if he were discovered too soon, he might avail himself of the passage obtained to execute the operations commanded by his government, and say that he had listened to the enemy's overtures merely to turn them against him. In both cases, he reserved to himself the means of betraying either the republic or the prince with whom he was treating. Fauche-Borel returned to those who had employed him, but he was sent back again to insist on the same propositions. He went several times to and fro, without being able to accommodate the difference, which consisted in this, that the prince wanted to obtain Huningen, and Pichegru the passage of the Rhine. Neither would take the first step and give the other so great an advantage. The motive which prevented the prince, in particular, from acceding to the demand made upon him, was the necessity of recurring to the Austrians for authority to grant the passage; he wished to act without their concurrence, and to secure for himself alone all the honour of the counter-revolution. It appears, however, that he was obliged to refer the matter to the Aulic Council; and during this interval, Pichegru, watched by the representatives, was obliged to suspend his correspondence and his treason.

Meanwhile, the agents in the interior, Lemaître, Brotier, Despomelles, Laville-Heurnois, Duverne-Depresle, and others, continued their intrigues. The young prince, son of Louis XVI., had died of a tumour at the knee, arising from a scrofulous taint.* The royalist agents asserted that he had been poisoned, and they had eagerly sought after books relative to the ceremonial of the coronation, for the purpose of sending them to Verona. The regent had become king for them, and was called Louis XVIII. The Count d'Artois had become Monsieur.

The pacification in the insurgent countries had been only apparent. The

* "The ninth of Thermidor came too late to save the infant King of France, Louis XVII. His gaoler, Simon, was indeed beheaded, and a less cruel tyrant substituted in his place; but the temper of the times would not at first admit of any decided measures of indulgence in favour of the heir to the throne. The barbarous treatment he had experienced from Simon had alienated his reason, but not extinguished his feelings of gratitude. On one occasion that inhuman wretch had seized him by the hair and threatened to dash his head against the wall; the surgeon, Naulin, interfered to prevent him, and the child next day presented him with two pears which had been given him for his supper the preceding evening, lamenting at the same time that he had no other means of testifying his gratitude. Simon and Hebert had put him to the torture, to extract from him an avowal of crimes connected with his mother, which he was too young to understand; after that cruel day he almost always preserved silence, lest his words should prove fatal to some of his relations. This resolution and the closeness of his confinement soon preyed upon his health. In February, 1795, he was seized with a fever, and visited by three members of the committee of public safety; they found him seated at a little table making castles of cards. They addressed to him the words of kindness, but could not obtain any answer. In May the state of his health became so alarming, that the celebrated surgeon, Dessault, was directed by the Convention to visit him. His generous attentions assuaged the sufferings of the child's latter days, but could not prolong his life."—*Alison*. E.

inhabitants, who began to enjoy a little tranquillity and security, were, it is true, disposed to remain at peace; but the chiefs and the men habituated to war, who surrounded them, only waited for an occasion to take up arms again. Charette, having under his command those territorial guards, among whom he had admitted only such persons as had a decided predilection for war, aimed solely, under the pretext of attending to the police of the country, at preparing the nucleus of an army with which to take the field again. He had not for some time quitted his camp at Belleville, and was continually visited there by royalist emissaries. The Paris agents had forwarded to him a letter from Verona, in reply to that in which he sought to excuse the pacification. The pretender assured him that he need not make any excuses; he continued to him his confidence and favour, appointed him lieutenant-general, and announced the speedy arrival of succours from Spain. The Paris agents, enlarging upon the expressions of the prince, flattered Charette's ambition with the most magnificent prospects; they promised him the command of all the royalist country, and a considerable expedition which was to sail from the Spanish ports with succours for the French Princes. As for that which was preparing in England, they affected to put no faith in it. The English, they said, had always promised and always deceived; it was right, nevertheless, to make use of their means if possible, but to make use of them in a very different way from that which they purposed. It was necessary to induce them to land in La Vendée the succours which should be destined for Bretagne, and to subject that country to Charette, who alone enjoyed the confidence of the reigning king. Such ideas could not fail to flatter at once the ambition of Charette, his hatred of Stofflet, his jealousy of the recent importance of Puisaye, and his resentment against England, which he accused of never having done anything for him.

As for Stofflet, he was much less disposed to resume arms than Charette, though he had shown much greater reluctance to lay them down. His district felt the advantages of peace much more sensibly than the others, and manifested a strong aversion to war. He was himself deeply hurt at the preference shown to Charette. He was quite as deserving of the rank of lieutenant-general, which was conferred on his rival, and he was much disgusted by the injustice done him, as he conceived. Bretagne, organized as before, was quite ripe for insurrection. The chiefs of the Chouans had obtained, like the Vendean chiefs, the organization of their best soldiers into regular companies, under pretext of enforcing the police of the country. Each of these chiefs had assigned to himself a company of chasseurs, wearing a green coat and pantaloons and a red waistcoat, and composed of the most intrepid Chouans. Cormatin, continuing his part, had assumed a ridiculous importance. He had established what he called his head-quarters at La Prevalaye; he issued publicly orders to all the Chouan chiefs, dated from those head-quarters; he went from one division to another, to organize the chasseurs; he affected to repress infractions of the truce, when any had been committed, and seemed to have become in reality the governor of Bretagne. He frequently went to Rennes in his Chouan uniform, which had been brought into vogue; in the companies there he received tokens of the consideration of the inhabitants and the caresses of the women, who looked upon him as an important personage, and the chief of the royalist party.

At the same time he continued in secret to dispose the Chouans to war, and to correspond with the royalist agents. His part, in regard to Puisaye, was embarrassing. He had disobeyed him, he had betrayed his confidence,

and thenceforward he had no other resource than to throw himself into the arms of the Paris agents, who had encouraged him to hope for the command of Bretagne, and included him in their plans with Spain. That power had promised 1,500,000 francs per month, on condition that the royalists should act without England. Nothing could be more agreeable to Cormatin than a plan which would enable him to break with England and Puisaye.* Two other officers whom Puisaye had sent from London to Bretagne, Messrs. de Vieuville and Dandigné, had entered into the system of the Paris agents, and persuaded themselves also that England meant to deceive as at Toulon, to make use of the royalists in order to possess herself of a seaport, to make Frenchmen fight against Frenchmen, but not to afford any real succour capable of raising the party of the princes and securing their triumph. While part of the Breton chiefs harboured these notions, those of Morbihan, Finistère, and the Côtes-du-Nord, long connected with Puisaye, and accustomed to serve under him, organized by his efforts, and strangers to the Paris intriguers, had remained attached to him, called Cormatin a traitor, and wrote to London that they were ready to resume their arms. They made preparations, purchased ammunition and stuff for making black collars, seduced the republican soldiers, and prevailed on them to desert. In this they were successful, because, being masters of the country, they had abundance of provisions, and the republican soldiers, scantily supplied, and having nothing but assignats to make up for their deficient rations, were obliged to forsake their colours in quest of subsistence. Besides, many Bretons had been imprudently left in the regiments which were serving against the royalist districts, and it was but natural that they should transfer themselves to the ranks of their countrymen.

Hoche, ever vigilant, was attentively observing the state of the country. He saw the patriots persecuted under pretext of the law for disarming them; the royalists full of exultation; articles of consumption kept back by the farmers; the roads very unsafe; the public vehicles obliged to travel in convoys in order to obtain escorts; the Chouans forming secret assemblies; and frequent communications kept up with the Channel Islands: and he had written to the committee and to the representatives that the pacification was an egregious deception, that the republic was duped, and that everything indicated the speedy resumption of arms. He had employed the time in forming moveable columns, and in distributing them all over the country, to insure tranquillity, and to be ready to rush upon the first assemblage that should be formed. But the number of his troops was inadequate to the surface of the country and the immense extent of coast. Every moment, the fear of a rising in some part of the country, or of the appearance of the English fleet on a part of the coast, required the presence of his columns, and they were worn out by incessant marches. For such a service there was required, on his part and on that of his army, a resignation a hundred times as meritorious as the courage to confront death. Unfortunately, his soldiers compensated themselves for their fatigues by excesses: he was deeply afflicted on account of them, and he had as much trouble to repress them as to watch the enemy.

* "The Marquis de Puisaye, an enterprising, but fickle and intriguing soldier, induced the English government to believe that if a small army, well supplied with ammunition and muskets, were landed, a general rising would take place in Brittany. In consequence of his representation, the British ministry prepared an expedition which was joined by the most enterprising emigrants, almost all the officers of the old marine, and all those who, weary of exile and an unsettled life, were desirous of trying their fortune for the last time."—*Mignet*. E.

He soon had occasion to surprise Cormatin in the very fact. Despatches sent by him to several Chouan chiefs were intercepted, and thus a substantial proof of his underhand dealings was obtained. Having learned that he was to be on a fair-day at Rennes with a number of disguised Chouans, and fearing lest it might be his intention to make an attempt on the arsenal, Hoche caused him to be apprehended on the evening of the 6th of Prairial, and thus put an end to his proceedings. The different chiefs immediately raised a great outcry and complained that the truce was violated. Hoche, by way of reply, printed Cormatin's letters, and sent him with his accomplices to the prison of Cherbourg: at the same time he kept all his columns in readiness to rush upon the first rebels that should show themselves. In the Morbihan, chevalier Desilz, having risen, was immediately attacked by General Josnet, who killed three hundred of his men and completely routed his forces: the chief himself perished in the action. In the Côtes-du-Nord, Bois-Hardi also rose; his corps was dispersed, and he was himself taken and put to death. The soldiers, enraged at the bad faith of this young chief, who was the most formidable in the whole country, cut off his head and carried it on the point of a bayonet. Hoche, indignant at this want of generosity, addressed a truly noble letter to his soldiers, and ordered search to be made for the culprits, that they might be punished. This sudden destruction of the two chiefs, who had made an attempt at insurrection, overawed the others. They remained quiet, awaiting with impatience the arrival of that expedition which had been so long announced. Their cry was, *The King, England, and Bonchamp forever!*

At this moment, great preparations were going forward in London. Puisaye had made precise arrangements with the English ministers. They had not granted him all that they had at first promised, because the pacification had diminished confidence; but they gave him the emigrant regiments and a considerable train of artillery to attempt a landing; they promised him moreover all the resources of the kingdom, if the expedition proved successful in the outset. The interest alone of England forbade a doubt of the sincerity of these promises; for, driven from the continent ever since the conquest of Holland, she would recover a field of battle, she would transfer this field of battle to the very heart of France, and compose her armies with Frenchmen. The means with which Puisaye was furnished were these. The emigrant regiments of the continent had been, ever since the opening of the present campaign, taken into the service of England; those which formed the corps of Condé were, as we have seen, to remain on the Rhine; the others, which were mere wrecks, were to embark at the mouth of the Elbe and to be conveyed to Bretagne. Besides these old regiments, which wore the black cockade, and were deeply disgusted with the unprofitable and destructive service in which they had been employed by the powers, England had agreed to form nine new regiments, which should be in her pay, but which should wear the white cockade, that their destination might appear to be more French. The difficulty consisted in recruiting them; for if, in the first moment of fervour, the emigrants had consented to serve as private soldiers, they would not do so now. It was proposed to pick up on the continent French deserters or prisoners. As for deserters, none were to be found, for the conqueror never deserts to the conquered: recourse was then had to prisoners. Count d'Hervilly, having met in London with Toulonese refugees who had formed a regiment, enrolled them in his own, and thus raised it to eleven or twelve hundred men, that is to more than two-thirds of the complement. Count d'Hector composed his of seamen who had emigrated,

and collected five or six hundred men. Count du Dresnay found in the prisons a number of Bretons, enrolled against their will at the time of the first requisition, and made prisoners during the war. He got together four or five hundred of them. But these were all the French that could be collected to serve in those regiments with the white cockade. Thus, out of the nine, three only were formed, one having only two-thirds of its complement, and two only one-third of theirs. There was also in London, Lieutenant-colonel Rothalier, who commanded four hundred Toulonese gunners. With these was formed a regiment of artillery, to which were added some French engineers, with whom a corps of engineers was composed. As for the multitude of emigrants who would not serve unless in their former ranks, and who could not find soldiers to compose regiments for themselves, it was resolved to form with them skeletons, which should be filled up in Bretagne with insurgents. There, men being plentiful, and experienced officers rare, they would find their proper level. They were sent to Jersey, to be organized and held in readiness to follow the expedition. While the troops were forming, Puisaye turned his attention to his finances. England promised him money to a sufficient amount to begin with; but he determined to supply himself with assignats. To this end he obtained from the French princes an authority to forge assignats to the amount of three thousand millions, and in this operation he employed idle ecclesiastics who were unfit to wield the sword. The Bishop of Lyons, judging of this measure very differently from Puisaye and the princes, forbade ecclesiastics to have any hand in it. Puisaye then had recourse to other agents, and fabricated the sum which he had resolved to carry with him. He also wished to take with him a bishop, to fill the part of papal legate to the Catholic districts. He recollected that an adventurer, the pretended Bishop of Agra, by assuming that usurped character, in the first Vendean insurrection, had exercised an extraordinary influence over the minds of the peasantry. He took with him the Bishop of Dol, who had a commission from Rome. He then procured from the Count D'Artois the powers necessary for commanding the expedition, and appointing officers of all ranks until he should arrive. The English ministry on its part conferred on him the direction of the expedition; but, having some misgiving on account of his temerity and his extreme ardour to land, it invested Count d'Hervilly with the command of the emigrant regiments till the moment that the landing should be effected.

All these arrangements being made, d'Hervilly's regiment and d'Hector's, and du Dresnay's two regiments, all wearing the white cockade, the four hundred Toulonese artillerymen commanded by Rothalier, and an emigrant regiment of old formation, that of La Châtre, known by the name of Loyal Emigrant, and reduced by the war on the continent to four hundred men, were put on board a squadron. This last valiant relic was reserved for decisive engagements. The squadron also carried out provisions for an army of six thousand men for three months, one hundred saddle and draught horses, seventeen thousand complete infantry uniforms, four thousand cavalry uniforms, twenty-seven thousand muskets, ten field-pieces, and six hundred barrels of powder. Puisaye was furnished with ten thousand louis in gold and letters of credit on England, to add to his forged assignats more substantial means of finance. The squadron which carried this expedition consisted of three ships of the line of 74 guns each, two frigates of 44, four of 30 to 36, and several gun-boats and transports. It was commanded by Commodore Warren, one of the most gallant and distinguished officers in the British navy. This was the first division. It was agreed that immedi-

ately after its departure another naval division should go to Jersey for the emigrants organized in skeletons of regiments; that it should cruise for some time off St. Malo, where Puisaye had his correspondents, and which traitors had promised to deliver up to him; and after this cruise, if St. Malo were not delivered up, it was to follow Puisaye and carry the skeletons to join him. Transports were to proceed at the same time to the mouth of the Elbe, to fetch the emigrant regiments with the black cockade and convey them to Puisaye. It was calculated that these different detachments would arrive nearly about the same time as himself. If all that he had said were realized, if the landing were effected without difficulty, if part of Bretagne hastened to meet him, if he could gain a solid position on the coast of France, either by the delivery into his hands of St. Malo, L'Orient, Port Louis, or any seaport whatever, then a new expedition, carrying an English army, further supplies of artillery, and Count d'Artois, was to sail immediately. Lord Moira had actually gone to the continent to fetch the prince.

There was but one fault to be found with these arrangements, that is, that the expedition was divided into several detachments, and especially that the French prince was not put at the head of the first.

The expedition sailed towards the end of Prairial (the middle of June). Puisaye took with him the Bishop of Dol, a numerous clergy, and forty gentlemen, all bearing illustrious names and serving as mere volunteers. The point of landing was a secret except to Puisaye, Commodore Warren, and Messrs. de Tinteniac and d'Allègre, whom Puisaye had despatched to announce his coming.

After long deliberation, the south of Bretagne had been preferred to the north, and the bay of Quiberon was fixed upon. This was one of the best and safest bays of the continent, and the English were thoroughly acquainted with it, because they had long been accustomed to lie there. While the expedition was under sail, Sir Sidney Smith and Lord Cornwallis made demonstrations on all the coasts, to mislead the republican armies as to the point of landing; and Lord Bridport, with the squadron stationed off the Isle of Ushant, protected the convoy. The French naval force in the ports of the Atlantic had not been very formidable since the unfortunate cruise of the preceding winter, during which the Brest fleet had suffered dreadfully from the weather. Villaret-Joyeuse had nevertheless received orders to sail with the nine ships of the line lying in Brest, and to call out a division blockaded at Belle-Isle to join him. He sailed accordingly, and, after being joined by that division, and having given chase to some English ships, he was returning to Brest, when he was overtaken by a gale, which for a moment dispersed his squadron. He lost no time in collecting it again, and, during this interval, he fell in with the expedition destined for the coast of France. He was superior in number, and might have taken the whole of it; but Commodore Warren, perceiving the danger, hoisted all sail, and placed his convoy at a distance so as to give it the appearance of a second line; at the same time he despatched two cutters in quest of the strong squadron under Lord Bridport. Villaret, conceiving that he could not attack with advantage, pursued his course towards Brest, according to the instructions which he had received. At that moment Lord Bridport came up, and immediately attacked the republican fleet.*

* "A short time after the Brest fleet put to sea, Lord Bridport, with fourteen ships of the line and eight frigates, hove in sight, and, after two days' manœuvring, succeeded in compelling the enemy to engage. The British admiral bore down in two columns on the hostile fleet, who, instead of awaiting the contest, immediately fell into confusion, and strained every

It was the 5th of Messidor (June 23). Villaret, keeping pace with the *Alexandre*, which was a bad sailer, lost irreparable time in manœuvring. The line fell into confusion: he lost three ships, the *Alexandre*, the *Formidable*, and the *Tigre*, and, unable to regain Brest, he was obliged to throw himself into L'Orient.

A naval victory having signalized its outset, the expedition made sail for the bay of Quiberon. A division of the squadron went and summoned the garrison of Belle-Isle, in the name of the King of France; but it received from General Boueret nothing but an energetic answer and cannon-balls. The convoy came to an anchor in the bay of Quiberon, on the 7th of Messidor (June 25). Puisaye, according to the information which he had procured, knew that there were very few troops on the coast. He wanted, in his ardour, to land immediately. Count d'Hervilly, who was brave, capable of cleverly training a regiment, but incapable of cleverly directing an operation, and above all extremely punctilious in matters of authority and duty, said that he was commander of the troops, that he was responsible to the English government for their safety, and that he should not hazard them upon a hostile and unknown coast till he had made a reconnoissance. He lost a whole day in examining the coast with a telescope, and, though not a soldier was to be seen, he refused to put the troops on shore. Puisaye and Commodore Warren having determined on the landing, d'Hervilly at last assented; and on the 9th of Messidor (June 27) those Frenchmen, blind and imprudent, landed full of joy in a country to which they brought civil war, and where they were destined to meet such a deplorable fate.

The bay in which they landed is formed on the one hand by the coast of Bretagne, on the other by a peninsula, nearly a league in breadth and two in length. This is the noted peninsula of Quiberon. It is joined to the main land by a narrow stripe of sand, a league in length, called La Falaise. Fort Penhiève, situated between the peninsula and La Falaise, forbids approach from the land side. In this fort there was a garrison of seven hundred men. The bay formed by this peninsula and the coast offers to ships one of the safest and most sheltered roads of the continent.

The expedition had disembarked at the bottom of the bay, at the village of Carnac. At the moment of its arrival, several chiefs, Dubois-Berthelot, d'Allègre, George Cadoudal,* Mercier, apprized by Tinteniack, hastened up

nerve to escape. In the running fight three ships of the line were captured by the English: and, if the wind had permitted all their squadron to take part in the action, there can be no doubt that the whole French fleet would have been taken and destroyed. As it was, they were so discomfited that they crowded all sail till they reached the harbour of L'Orient, and made no attempt during the remainder of the season to dispute with the British the empire of the seas."—*Alison*. E.

* "George Cadoudal, a Chouan chief, was the son of a village miller. When Bretagne took up arms, he entered the service as a common horseman, and in 1795 was considered the head of the plebeian party. In 1796 and the three ensuing years he continued in arms, and was the only general-in-chief who was not noble. His division was that most frequently sent against the republicans. In 1800 he concluded peace with the French government. He afterwards went to Paris, on the invitation of Bonaparte; and then to London, where he was favourably received by the English ministers. The idea of the infernal machine is said to have originated with him, though he denied it. In 1803 George and Pichegru landed on the coast of Normandy to execute a plan of assassinating the First Consul. The conspiracy, however, was frustrated, and George was condemned and executed at Paris in 1804. He was thirty-five years old, and showed during his trial the greatest coolness."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

"When George Cadoudal came to Paris, the First Consul received him at a private audi-

with their troops, dispersed some detachments which were guarding the coast, drove them back into the interior, and proceeded to the shore. They brought with them four or five thousand men inured to war, but ill armed, ill clothed, not marching in ranks, and looking more like plunderers than soldiers. These Chouans had been joined by peasants of the neighbouring country, shouting *Vive le Roi!* and bringing eggs, poultry, and provisions of all kinds, to this liberating army, which came to restore to them their prince and their religion. Overjoyed at this sight, Puisaye felt confident that all Bretagne was ready to rise. Very different were the impressions of the emigrants who accompanied him. Having lived in courts or served in the finest armies of Europe, they looked with disgust and very little confidence at those soldiers who were to be given to them to command. Jeers and complaints began already to circulate. Chests of muskets and uniforms were brought; the Chouans fell upon them; sergeants of d'Hervilly's regiment endeavoured to maintain order; a quarrel ensued, and, but for Puisaye, it might have had fatal consequences. These first occurrences were not at all likely to establish confidence between the insurgents and the regular troops, which, coming from England, and belonging to that power, were, as such, rather suspicious to the Chouans. Meanwhile, the bands were armed as they arrived. Their numbers amounted in two days to ten thousand. Red coats and muskets were given to them, and Puisaye's next care was to give them leaders. He was in want of officers, for the forty gentlemen volunteers were quite inadequate; he had not yet the skeletons at his disposal, for they had orders to cruise off St. Malo; he purposed, therefore, to take a few officers from the regiments, in which they were very numerous, to distribute them among the Chouans, then to march rapidly upon Vannes and Rennes, not to give the republicans time to look about them, to raise the whole country, and then to advance and to take a position behind the important line of the Mayenne. There, master of forty leagues of country, and having raised the whole population, Puisaye conceived that it would be time to organize the irregular troops. D'Hervilly, brave, but standing on trifles, methodical, and despising the irregular Chouans, refused those officers. Instead of giving them to the Chouans, he proposed to select from among the latter men to complete the regiments, and then to advance, making reconnaissances and choosing positions. That was not Puisaye's plan. He threatened to use his authority; d'Hervilly denied it, saying that the regular troops belonged to him, that he was responsible for their safety to the English government, and that he ought not to compromise them. Puisaye

ence. Rapp introduced him into the grand saloon leading into the garden. I saw Napoleon and George walk from the window to the bottom of the saloon, then return, then go back again. This lasted for a long time. The conversation appeared very animated, and I overheard several things, but without any connexion. There was occasionally a good deal of ill-humour displayed in their tones and gestures. The interview ended in nothing. George had the manners and bearing of a rude soldier; but under his coarse exterior he concealed the soul of a hero."—*Bourrienne*. E.

"One day I asked Napoleon's opinion of George Cadoudal. 'George,' said he, 'had courage, and that was all. After the peace with the Chouans I endeavoured to gain him over, as then he would have been useful to me, and I was anxious to calm all parties. I sent for, and spoke to him a long time. His father was a miller, and he was an ignorant fellow himself. I asked him, Why do you want to restore the Bourbons? If you were even to succeed in placing them on the throne, you would still be only a miller's son in their eyes. They would hold you in contempt because you were not of noble birth. But I found that he had no heart—in fact, that he was not a Frenchman.' "—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

represented to him that he held this command during the voyage only; that, on landing in Bretagne, he, Puisaye, was to be commander-in-chief and to direct the operations. He immediately despatched a cutter to London, to obtain an explanation concerning their respective powers; and, meanwhile, he besought d'Hervilly not to cause the miscarriage of the enterprise by fatal divisions. D'Hervilly was brave and full of sincerity, but he was unfit for civil war, and he felt an invincible dislike to those ragged insurgents. All the emigrants thought with him that they were not made to *chouanner*; that Puisaye compromised them by bringing them into Bretagne; that it was in Vendée they ought to have landed; and that there they would have found the illustrious Charette and undoubtedly different sort of soldiers.

Several days had been lost in disputes of this kind. The Chouans were divided into three corps, for the purpose of taking advanced positions, so as to occupy the roads from L'Orient to Hennebon and to Auray. Tinteniach, with a corps of 2500 Chouans, was placed on the left at Landevant: Dubois-Berthelot, on the right towards Auray, with a nearly equal force. Count de Vauban, one of the gentlemen volunteers who had accompanied Puisaye, and one of those whose reputation and merit placed them in the first rank, was directed to occupy a central position at Mendon, with four thousand Chouans, so as to be able to succour Tinteniach or Dubois-Berthelot. He had the command of this whole line, defended by nine or ten thousand men, and advanced four or five leagues into the interior. The Chouans finding themselves placed there, immediately asked why troops of the line were not put along with them; saying that they reckoned more upon those troops than upon themselves; that they had come to range themselves around them, to follow them, to support them, but they counted upon their advancing first to receive the formidable onset of the republicans. Vauban applied for only four hundred men, either to withstand a first attack, in case of need, or to impart confidence to his Chouans, to set them an example, and to prove that there was no intention of exposing them alone to danger. D'Hervilly at first refused, then delayed, and at last sent this detachment.

Five days had elapsed since the landing, and they had as yet advanced only three or four leagues inland. Puisaye was extremely dissatisfied, but he repressed his vexation, hoping to overcome the delays and obstacles thrown in his way by his companions in arms. Conceiving that, at all events, he ought to secure a point of support, he proposed to d'Hervilly to gain possession of the peninsula by surprising Fort Penhièvre. Once masters of this fort, which was the key to the peninsula on the land-side, supported on both sides by the English squadron, they would have an impregnable position: and that peninsula, a league broad and two long, would then afford a footing as secure and more convenient than that of St. Malo, Brest, or L'Orient. The English might there land all the men and stores that they had promised. This measure of safety was of such a nature as to please d'Hervilly: he assented to it, but was for a regular attack on the fort. Puisaye would not listen to him, and arranged a plan to take it by storm: and Commodore Warren, full of zeal, offered to second him with all the guns of his squadron. They began to cannonade on the 1st of July (13th of Messidor), and fixed the decisive attack for the 3rd (15th of Messidor). While preparations were making for it, Puisaye sent out emissaries over all Bretagne, to rouse Scépeaux, Charette, Stofflet, and all the chiefs of the insurgent provinces.

The news of the landing spread with extraordinary rapidity. In two days

it was known over all Bretagne, and in a few more throughout all France. The royalists, full of joy, the revolutionists of rage, already figured to themselves the emigrants in Paris. The Convention immediately sent two extraordinary commissioners to Hoche; it selected Blad and Tallien. The presence of the latter at the threatened point was intended to prove that the Thermidorians were as hostile to royalism as to terror. Hoche, cool and resolute, wrote forthwith to the committee of public welfare, to dispel its apprehensions. "Coolness," said he, "activity, provisions, of which we are in want, and the twelve thousand men whom you promised me so long ago." He immediately gave orders to the chief of his staff: he directed General Chabot to be placed between Brest and L'Orient, with a corps of four thousand men, that he might fly to the assistance of either of those ports which should be threatened. "Keep your eye more particularly upon Brest," said he; "in case of need, shut yourself up in the place and defend yourself to the last extremity. He wrote to Aubert-Dubayet, who commanded the coasts of Cherbourg, to send off troops for the north of Bretagne, in order to guard St. Malo and the coast. To secure the south, he begged Canclaux, who was still watching Charette and Stofflet, to send General Lemoine with reinforcements to him by Nantes and Vannes. He then collected all his troops about Rennes, Ploermel, and Vannes, and moved then *en échelon* upon those three points to guard his rear; after which he advanced to Auray with all the force that he had at hand. On the 14th of Messidor (July 2d), he was already in person at Auray, with three or four thousand men.

All Bretagne was thus enveloped. The illusions which the first insurrection of La Vendée had generated were about to be dispelled. Because in 1793 the peasants of La Vendée, encountering only national guards, composed of tradesmen who knew not how to handle a musket, had made themselves masters of all Poitou and Anjou, and then formed in their ravines and on their heaths an establishment which it was difficult to destroy, it was imagined that Bretagne would rise at the first signal of England. But the Bretons were far from having the ardour of the first Vendéans; a few banditti only, under the name of Chouans, were bent upon war, or to speak more correctly, on pillage; and, moreover, a young commander, whose activity was equal to his genius, having practised troops at his disposal, repressed the whole population with a firm and steady hand. Could Bretagne rise under such circumstances, unless the army that came to support it advanced rapidly, instead of groping about on the sea-shore?

This was not all. Part of the Chouans, who were under the influence of the royalist agents in Paris, were waiting for a prince to appear along with Puisaye before they would join him. The cry of the agents and of all those who were in their intrigues was that the expedition was inadequate and fallacious,* and that England had come to Bretagne to repeat the events of Toulon. They no longer said that she meant to give the crown to the Count d'Artois, since he was not there, but to the Duke of York. They wrote, desiring that no aid should be afforded to the expedition, but that it should be obliged to re-embark and to go and land near Charette. This was the highest wish of the latter. To the solicitations of Puisaye's agents he

* "The expedition to Quiberon-bay was ill-timed, and that was in a great measure owing to those unfortunate gentlemen engaged, who impatient of inactivity, and sanguine by character, urged the British ministry, or rather Mr. Wyndham, to authorize the experiment, without fully considering more than their own zeal and courage."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

replied that he had sent M. de Scépeaux to Paris, to claim the execution of one of the articles of his treaty ; that he must of course wait the return of that officer, and not expose him to the danger of being arrested by resuming arms. As for Stofflet, who was much more favourably disposed towards Puisaye, he sent word that, if the rank of lieutenant-general were conferred on him, he would march immediately and make a diversion on the rear of the republicans.

Thus everything concurred against Puisaye ; views opposite to his entertained by the royalists of the interior, jealousies among the Vendean chiefs, and lastly, a skilful adversary, having at his disposal organized forces, quite adequate to repress any royalist zeal that existed among the Bretons.

It was on the 15th of Messidor (July 3) that Puisaye had resolved to attack Fort Penthievre. The soldiers who defended it had been without bread for three days. Threatened with an assault, cannonaded by the ships, and badly officered, they surrendered and delivered up the fort to Puisaye. But, at this very moment, Hoche, who was at Auray, caused all the advanced posts of the Chouans to be attacked, in order to re-establish the communication of Auray with Hennebon and L'Orient. He had ordered a simultaneous attack on Landevant and towards the post of Auray. Tinteniac's Chouans, vigorously assailed by the republicans, could not stand against troops of the line. Vauban, who was placed intermediately at Mendon, hastened with part of his reserve to the assistance of Tinteniac, but he found the band of the latter dispersed, and his own separated on seeing the rout. He was obliged to flee, and even to swim across two arms of the sea to rejoin the remainder of his Chouans at Mendon. On his right, Dubois-Berthelot had been repulsed : he thus saw the republicans advancing on his right and on his left, and it was likely that he would soon find himself *en flèche* between them. At the moment, the four hundred men of the line whom he had demanded would have been of great service for supporting his Chouans and bringing them back to the fight ; but d'Hervilly had just recalled them for the attack of the fort. He, nevertheless, infused some courage into his soldiers, and decided them to profit by the opportunity for falling upon the rear of the republicans, who had advanced very far in pursuit of the fugitives. He then threw himself upon their left and rushed upon a village which the republicans had just entered at the heels of the Chouans. They had not expected this brisk attack, and were obliged to fall back. Vauban then returned to his position at Mendon ; but he was left alone there. All around him had fled, and he was obliged to fall back too, but in order, and after an act of vigour which had checked the rapidity of the enemy.

The Chouans were indignant at having been exposed alone to the attack of the republicans. They complained bitterly that the four hundred men of the line had been taken from them. Puisaye found fault with d'Hervilly, who replied that he had recalled them for the attack of the fort. These reciprocal complaints did not mend matters, and each party continued to be greatly irritated against the other. Puisaye, however, was master of Fort Penthievre. He directed all the stores sent by the English to be landed on the peninsula, where he fixed his head-quarters ; there he collected all his troops, and there he resolved to establish himself solidly. He ordered the engineers to perfect the defences of the fort, and to add advanced works to them. There he hoisted the white flag beside the English colours, in token of alliance between the kings of France and England. Lastly, it was decided that each regiment should contribute to the garrison a detachment

proportionate to its strength. D'Hervilly, who was very anxious to complete his, and to complete it with good troops, proposed to the republicans who had been taken prisoners to enter his service, and to form a third battalion in his regiment. Money, provisions, of which they had lately known the want, dislike to remain prisoners, the hope of being able to get away again to Hoche, decided them, and they were enrolled in d'Hervilly's corps.

Puisaye, who still thought of marching forward, and who had stopped to take the peninsula merely to secure a position on the coast, spoke sharply to d'Hervilly, gave him the best reasons to induce him to second his views, and even threatened to demand his removal if he refused to comply. D'Hervilly appeared for a moment to fall in with his plans. The Chouans, according to Puisaye, had need only of being supported to display bravery; the troops of the line ought to be distributed on their front and on the rear, and they to be thus placed in the middle, and, with twelve or thirteen thousand men, nearly three thousand of whom were of the line, they might run over the corps of Hoche, who had at the moment scarcely five or six thousand. D'Hervilly assented to this plan. At this instant Vauban, finding his position extremely perilous, having lost that which he at first occupied, asked for orders and succour. D'Hervilly sent him an order, worded in the most pedantic manner, in which he directed him to fall back upon Carnac, and prescribed such movements as could only have been executed by the most practised troops in Europe.

On the next day, July 5th (17th of Messidor), Puisaye left the peninsula to review the Chouans, and d'Hervilly also quitted it with his regiment, to prepare for the execution of the plan formed the preceding day, of marching forward. Puisaye found nothing but dejection, discouragement, and ill-humour, among those men who, a few days before, were full of enthusiasm. They said that there was an evident intention to expose them alone, and to sacrifice them to the troops of the line. Puisaye appeased them as well as he could, and endeavoured to revive their courage. D'Hervilly, on his part, seeing those soldiers clothed in red, whose uniforms sat so ill on them, and who carried their muskets so awkwardly, said that nothing was to be done with such troops, and marched his regiment back again. Puisaye met him at the moment, and asked if that was the way to execute the plan agreed upon. D'Hervilly replied that he never would risk himself by marching with such soldiers; that all they could do was to embark again, or to shut themselves up in the peninsula, and there wait for fresh orders from London; which, according to his notions, signified orders to land in La Vendée.

Next day, July 6th (18th of Messidor), Vauban received a secret intimation that he should be attacked along his whole line by the republicans. He found himself in a most dangerous situation. His left was supported upon a post called St. Barbe, which communicated with the peninsula; but his centre and his right extended along the Carnac, and had no other retreat than the sea. Thus, if he were briskly attacked, his right and his centre might be driven into the sea; while his left alone could retreat by St. Barbe to Quiberon. His Chouans, disheartened, were incapable of standing their ground; he had, therefore, but one course to pursue, namely, to make his centre and his right fall back upon his left, and file off by the beach to the peninsula. But they would then be shutting themselves up on this stripe of land without having the power to leave it, for the post of St. Barbe, which would be thus abandoned, was defenceless on the land side but impregnable towards the beach, which it entirely commanded. Thus this retreat would be equivalent to the determination to shut themselves up in the

peninsula of Quiberon. Vauban, therefore, applied for succour, that he might not be obliged to retire. D'Hervilly sent him a fresh order, full of the pomposity of military phraseology, enjoining him to keep his ground at Carnac to the last extremity. Puisaye immediately desired d'Hervilly to send some troops, which he promised to do.

On the following day, July 7th (19th of Messidor), at daybreak, the republicans advanced in deep columns, and attacked the ten thousand Chouans along the whole line. The latter looked towards the beach, but no regular troops were coming. They then became enraged against the emigrants, who left them without succour. Young George Cadoudal, whose men refused to fight, begged them not to disperse, but they would not listen to him. George, enraged in his turn, cried out that those rascally English and emigrants had only come to ruin Bretagne, and he wished that the sea had swallowed them up, before it had brought them to that coast. Vauban then ordered his right and his centre to fall back on his left, that they might retire by the beach to the peninsula. The Chouans rushed thither confusedly, most of them followed by their families, fleeing from the vengeance of the republicans. Women, children, old men, carrying their goods, and intermixed with several thousand Chouans in red uniform, covered that long, narrow stripe of land, washed on both sides by the sea, and already annoyed by balls and bullets. Vauban, then rallying all the chiefs around him, endeavoured to collect the bravest of the men, exhorted them not to bring ruin upon themselves by a precipitate flight, and conjured them, for their safety and their honour, to make an orderly retreat. They would, he said, make those troops of the line, who left them alone exposed to all the danger, ashamed of themselves. By degrees, he roused their courage, and prevailed upon them to face the enemy, to support his fire, and to return it. Then, owing to the firmness of the chiefs, the retreat began to be effected with regularity. The ground was disputed foot by foot. Still Vauban was not sure that he should be able to withstand a vigorous charge, and that he should not be driven into the sea; but, fortunately, the brave Commodore Warren coming up with his ships and gun-boats, poured such a fire from both sides of La Falaise upon the republicans, as prevented them for that day from pushing their advantages any further.

The fugitives hurried to the entrance of the fort, but admittance was for a moment denied them; they then fell upon the palisades, pulled them down, and rushed pell-mell into the peninsula. At that instant d'Hervilly came up with his regiment. Vauban met him, and in a fit of passion told him that he should call him to account for his conduct before a council of war. The Chouans spread themselves over the whole peninsula, in which were several villages and hamlets. All the lodgings were occupied by the regiments; quarrels took place; at last, the Chouans lay down on the ground; a half-ration of rice was given them, which they ate raw, having no means of cooking it.

Thus this expedition, which was so speedily to carry the standard of the Bourbons and the English to the banks of the Mayenne, was shut up in a peninsula two leagues in length. There were now twelve or fifteen thousand more mouths to feed, and it was impossible to furnish them either with lodging, fuel, or utensils for cooking their victuals. That peninsula, defended by a fort at its extremity, lined on either side by the English squadron, was capable of opposing an invincible resistance; but it became at once extremely weak from the want of provisions. No more had been brought than were

sufficient to feed six thousand men for three months, and there were now eighteen or twenty thousand to subsist. To get out of this position by a sudden attack on St. Barbe was scarcely possible; for the republicans, full of ardour, were intrenching that post in such a manner as to render it impregnable on the side next to the peninsula. While confusion, animosity and dejection pervaded the confused mass of Chouans and emigrants, in Hoche's camp on the contrary, men and officers laboured assiduously in throwing up the intrenchments. "I saw," says Puisaye, "officers themselves stripped to their shirts, and distinguished only by their stock, handling the spade, and hastening the operations of their soldiers."

Puisaye, however, determined upon a sortie for that very night, in order to interrupt those operations; but the darkness and the cannon of the enemy produced confusion in his ranks, and he was obliged to return. The Chouans, driven to despair, complained that they had been deceived. They regretted their old method of warfare, and desired to be taken back to their woods. They were perishing of hunger. D'Hervilly, with the intention of forcing them to enlist in the régiments, had ordered that only a half-ration should be distributed among the irregular troops. They revolted. Puisaye, without whose knowledge this order had been issued, revoked it, and a whole ration was allowed.

Puisaye was distinguished not only by superior intelligence but by invincible perseverance: he was nevertheless discouraged. He conceived the idea of picking out the best of the Chouans, and landing them in two divisions for the purpose of scouring the country in the rear of Hoche, raising the chiefs of whom he had yet no tidings, and directing them *en masse* upon the camp of St. Barbe, so as to take it in rear, while the troops in the peninsula should attack it in front. He should thus relieve himself from six or eight thousand mouths, rekindle the nearly extinguished zeal of the Breton chiefs, and prepare an attack on the rear of the camp of St. Barbe. Having formed this plan, he selected the best of the Chouans, gave four thousand of them to Tinteniac, with three intrepid chiefs, George, Mercier, and d'Allègre, and three thousand to Messrs Jean-Jean and Lantivy. Tinteniac was to be put on shore at Sarcean, near the mouth of the Vilaine, and Jean-Jean and Lantivy near Quimper. The two divisions, after making a considerable circuit, were to form a junction at Baud, on the 14th of July (26th of Messidor), and to march on the morning of the 16th upon the rear of the camp of St. Barbe. At the moment when they were about to start, the chiefs of the Chouans went to Puisaye, and besought their old leader to accompany them, saying that these English traitors would be his ruin. It was not possible that Puisaye could comply. They set out, and were landed without accident. Puisaye immediately wrote to London that everything might be repaired, but that provisions, ammunition, troops, and the French prince must be sent to him without delay.

During these occurrences in the peninsula, Hoche had already collected eight or ten thousand men at St. Barbe. Aubert Dubayet* had sent him

* "Aubert Dubayet, at the beginning of the Revolution was hostile to its principles, but the patriots soon brought him over by flattering his ambition and his philosophical ideas. In 1791 he was deputed to the legislature, and in 1793 served as general of brigade at the defence of Mayence. Being afterwards sent into the Western departments, he seconded Hoche in the pacification of La Vendée, and with the Chouans. In 1795 he was appointed to the war-ministry, and in the following year was appointed ambassador to the Ottoman Porte. In 1797 he was attacked with a malignant fever, of which he died. Aubert Dubayet was, at the end of his career, a zealous republican, and equally ardent in the admiration of his own talents. He delighted to talk of himself and his works."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

from the coast of Cherbourg troops to guard the north of Bretagne; Canclaux had despatched from Nantes a considerable reinforcement under the command of General Lemoine. The representatives had put a stop to all the intrigues tending to deliver up L'Orient and St. Malo. The affairs of the republic were therefore improving every day. Meanwhile, Lemaitre and Brothier were, by their intrigues, still contributing with all their might, to thwart the expedition. They had immediately sent letters to Bretagne: the expedition, according to them, had a dangerous object, since the French prince was not there, and no one ought to second it. Agents had, in consequence, spread themselves over the country, and given orders, in the name of the King, not to attempt any movement; and they had desired Charette to persist in his inaction. Agreeably to their system of profiting by the succour of England and then deceiving her, they had devised a plan on the very spot. Mixed up in the intrigue for the delivery of St. Malo to Puisaye, they were for summoning thither the emigrant skeleton regiments cruising on board the English fleet, and taking possession of the port in the name of Louis XVIII., while Puisaye, they said, was perhaps acting at Quiberon for the Duke of York. The intrigue of St. Malo having failed, they fell back upon St. Brieuc, kept off that coast the squadron with the emigrants on board, and immediately sent emissaries to Tinteniac and Lantivy, whom they knew to have landed, to desire them to march to St. Brieuc. Their aim was to form a counter-expedition in the north of Bretagne, more sure, according to them, than that of Puisaye in the south.

Tinteniac had landed safely, and, after taking several republican posts, had arrived at Elven. There he found the injunction, issued in the King's name, to proceed to Coëlogon, where he should receive fresh orders. He objected to no purpose the commission of Puisaye, and the necessity of not frustrating his plan by going to a different place from that to which he had been ordered. At length, however, he yielded, hoping that by means of a forced march he might yet be in the rear of St. Barbe on the 16th. Jean-Jean and Lantivy, who likewise landed without accident, prepared to march towards Baud, when they found orders addressed to them to proceed to St. Brieuc.

Meanwhile Hoche, alarmed about his rear, was obliged to send off fresh detachments to stop the bands, of whose march he was apprized, but he left in St. Barbe a force sufficient to resist any sudden attack. He was much annoyed by the English gun-boats, which fired upon his troops the moment they appeared on the beach, and he reckoned upon nothing but famine for reducing the emigrants.

Puisaye, on his part, made preparations for the 16th (28th of Messidor). On the 15th, a new naval division arrived in the bay. It was that which had been to the mouth of the Elbe to bring away the emigrant regiments that had been taken into the pay of England and were known by the name of regiments with the black cockade. It brought the legions of Salm, Damas, Béon, and Perigord, reduced altogether to eleven hundred men by the losses of the campaign, and commanded by a distinguished officer, M. de Sombreuil.* The squadron brought also fresh supplies of provisions and ammu-

* "M. de Sombreuil distinguished himself in the beginning of the Revolution by the boldness with which he forced his friend, the young Polignac, out of the hands of the seditious populace. In 1792 he served in the Prussian army, and rendered himself so conspicuous by his courage, that the King gave him the order of military merit. In 1793 he covered the retreat of the Austrian army, and the year after, at the head of a body of French emigrants protected the retreat of the Batavian forces. Being chosen in 1795, by the English govern-

dition. It intimated that three thousand English were coming under Lord Graham, and announced the speedy arrival of Count d'Artois, with a still more considerable force. A letter from the English ministry informed Puisaye that the skeletons were detained on the north coast by the royalist agents in the interior, who intended, they said, to deliver up a port to them. Another despatch, which arrived at the same time, put an end to the dispute which had arisen between d'Hervilly and Puisaye, gave to the latter the absolute command of the expedition, and conferred on him moreover the rank of lieutenant-general in the service of England.

Puisaye, now free to command, made all requisite preparations for the following day. He would fain have deferred the projected attack, in order to give Sombreuil's division time to land; but, all the arrangements having been made for the 16th, and that being the day appointed for Tinténia, he could not postpone it. On the evening of the 15th he ordered Vauban to land at Carnac with twelve hundred Chouans, for the purpose of making a diversion on the extremity of the camp of St. Barbe, and joining the Chouans, who were to attack it in the rear. The boats were prepared very late, and Vauban could not embark before midnight. He had orders to fire a fusée if he succeeded in landing, and a second if he failed to keep his ground on the shore.

On the 16th of July (28 Messidor), at daybreak, Puisaye left the peninsula with all the troops that he had. He marched in columns. The brave Loyal Emigrant regiment was at the head, with Rothalier's artillery; on the right, advanced the Royal Marine and Drusenay's regiments, with six hundred Chouans commanded by the Duke de Levis. D'Hervilly's regiment, and a thousand Chouans under the Chevalier de St. Pierre, occupied the left. These corps formed altogether nearly four thousand men. While they were advancing upon the beach, they perceived a first fusée fired by the Count de Vauban. They saw no second, and concluded that Vauban had succeeded. They continued their march, and soon heard distant sounds, like those of musketry. "It is Tinténia!" exclaimed Puisaye: "forward!" A charge was then sounded, and they marched upon the intrenchments of the republicans. Hoche's advanced guard, commanded by Humbert, was placed before the heights of St. Barbe. On the approach of the enemy, it fell back and returned within the lines. The assailants advanced full of joy. All at once, a corps of cavalry which had remained deployed, made a movement and unmasked formidable batteries. The emigrants were received with a fire of musketry and artillery: grape, balls, and shells, showered upon them. On the right, the Royal Marine and Drusenay's regiments lost whole ranks without flinching; the Duke de Levis was severely wounded at the head of his Chouans: on the left d'Hervilly's regiment advanced gallantly amidst the fire. Meanwhile the report of musketry, which the assailants thought they had heard on the rear and on the flanks, had ceased. Neither Tinténia nor Vauban had therefore attacked, and there was no hope of storming the camp. At this moment, the republican army, infantry and cavalry, sallied from its intrenchments; Puisaye, seeing nothing before him but inevitable

ment to conduct a reinforcement to the troops disembarked at Quiberon, he landed there a few days before Hoche attacked fort St. Penthievre. The greatest part of the emigrants, however, whom he commanded, having laid down their arms, he was taken prisoner and condemned to be shot. But no French officer could be found to compose the council of war; it was necessary therefore to take Dutchmen, and it was with difficulty that the soldiers could be persuaded to fire on him. Sombreuil refused to have his eyes bound, and gave the signal of death himself."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

destruction, sent word to d'Hervilly to order the right to retreat, while he would himself cause the same to be done on the left. At that very moment, d'Hervilly, who braved the fire with the greatest courage, received a ball in the middle of the chest. He directed an aide-de-camp to carry the order for retreat. The aide-de-camp was killed by a cannon-ball. D'Hervilly's regiment and the thousand Chouans under the Chevalier de St. Pierre, having received no orders, continued to advance amidst this tremendous fire. While a retreat was sounded on the left, a charge was sounded on the right. The confusion and carnage were horrible. The republican cavalry then fell upon the emigrant army, and drove it back in disorder to the beach. Rothalier's cannon, sticking in the sand, were taken. After performing prodigies of valour, the whole army fled towards Fort Penhièvre; the republicans closely pursued, and were on the point of entering the fort with it, but an unexpected succour saved it from the further pursuit of the conquerors: Vauban, who was supposed to be at Carnac, was at the extremity of the beach with his Chouans, and Commodore Warren was with him. Both of them, on board gunboats, kept up such a brisk fire upon the beach as to stop the republicans, and once more save the unfortunate army of Quiberon.

Thus Tinteniac had not made his appearance; Vauban, having landed too late, had not been able to surprise the republicans, had been ill-seconded by his Chouans, who dipped their muskets in water that they might not fight, and had fallen back near to the fort; his second fusée, kindled in broad daylight, had not been perceived, and thus it was that Puisaye, thwarted in all his combinations, had experienced this disastrous defeat. All the regiments had sustained frightful losses. That of Royal Marine alone had lost fifty-three officers out of seventy-two; and the others had suffered in proportion.

It must be confessed that Puisaye had been too precipitate in attacking the camp. Four thousand men, going to attack ten thousand solidly intrenched, ought to have ascertained, in the most positive manner, that all the attacks planned on the rear and flanks were ready to be effected. It was not sufficient to have appointed a rendezvous for corps which had so many obstacles to overcome, in order to conclude that they would have arrived at the point and the hour specified: some signal, some means or other for ensuring the execution of the plan, should have been agreed upon. In this particular, Puisaye, though deceived by the sound of distant musketry, had not acted with sufficient precaution. At any rate, he had risked his own person, and replied unanswerably to those who pretended to suspect his courage because they could not deny his abilities.

It is easy to comprehend why Tinteniac had not kept the appointment. He had found an order at Elven to proceed to Coëtlogon; he had complied with that strange order, in hopes of regaining the lost time by a forced march. At Coëtlogon he had found women charged to deliver to him an order to march upon St. Brieuc. This came from the agents opposed to Puisaye, who, using the name of the king, in whose name they always spoke, wished to make the corps detached by Puisaye concur in the counter-expedition which they meditated upon St. Malo or St. Brieuc. While Tinteniac was conferring with his officers upon this order, the castle of Coëtlogon was attacked by the detachments which Hoche had sent in pursuit of him. He hastened up, and fell down dead, struck by a ball in the forehead. His successor in the command consented to march upon St. Brieuc. Messrs. de Lantivy and Jean-Jean, who had landed near Quimper, had found similar orders: the chiefs were divided; and, seeing this conflict of orders and plans, their soldiers, already discontented, had dispersed. Thus none of the corps

sent by Puisaye to make a diversion had arrived at the rendezvous. The Paris agency, with its projects, sometimes for acting in Vendée, and by means of Spain, at others for provoking a separate landing in the Côtes-du-Nord, had thus deprived Puisaye of the skeletons which it detained on the north coast, of the two detachments which it had kept from proceeding to Baud on the 14th, and lastly of the aid of all the chiefs, to whom it had given orders not to attempt any movement.

Shut up in Quiberon, Puisaye had therefore no hope of leaving it and marching forward: all that he could do was to re-embark before he was forced to do so by famine, and to attempt a more propitious descent on some other part of the coast, namely in Vendée. Most of the emigrants desired nothing better: the name of Charette led them to expect to find in Vendée a great general at the head of a fine army. They were delighted, moreover, to see the counter-revolution effected by any one rather than by Puisaye.

Meanwhile, Hoche was examining this peninsula, and seeking how to penetrate into it. At the entrance it was defended by Fort Penthievre, and on both sides by the English squadron. To land there in boats was impossible; to take the fort by means of a regular siege was equally impossible, for it could be reached only by the beach, which was incessantly swept by the fire of the gun-boats. The republicans in fact, could not make a reconnaissance there but amidst showers of grape-shot. Nothing but a nocturnal surprise or famine could give the peninsula to Hoche. One circumstance induced him to attempt a surprise, dangerous as it was. The prisoners, who had been enrolled against their will in the emigrant regiments, were to be kept there at most by success; but their most urgent interest, in default of patriotism, impelled them to pass over to the side of a victorious enemy, who would treat them as deserters, if he were to take them in arms. They repaired during the night to Hoche's camp in great numbers, saying that they had enlisted merely to get out of prison or to escape being sent thither; and they pointed out to him a way of penetrating into the peninsula. On the left of Fort Penthievre, there was a rock; by wading into the water up to the breast, a man might walk round and then he would find a path which led to the summit of the fort. The deserters declared, on behalf of their comrades composing the garrison, that they would assist in throwing open the gates.

In spite of the danger of such an attempt, Hoche did not hesitate. He formed his plan upon the information which he had obtained, and resolved to make himself master of the peninsula and thus capture the whole expedition, before it had time to re-embark. The night of the 20th of July (2d of Thermidor) was dark: Puisaye and Vauban had ordered patrols, to secure themselves against a nocturnal attack. "In such a night," said they to the officers, "make the enemy's sentinels fire their muskets at you." Everything appeared quiet, and they retired to bed in full security.

The preparations were made in the republican camp. About midnight, Hoche broke up with his army. The sky was overcast with clouds; an extremely violent wind raised the waves, and drowned with their roar the noise of arms and of soldiers. Hoche formed his troops into columns on the beach. He then gave three hundred grenadiers to Adjutant-general Menage, a young republican of heroic courage. He ordered him to file off on his right, to wade into the water with his grenadiers, to turn the rock on which the walls were built, to ascend by the path, and to endeavour to penetrate into the fort. These dispositions made, the grenadiers marched off in profound silence; patrols, to whom had been given the red uniforms taken

from the slain in the action of the 16th, and having the pass-word, deceived the advanced sentinels. They approached without being discovered. Menage entered the water with his three hundred grenadiers, the wind drowning the noise which they made in wading through it. Some fell and rose again, others were engulfed in the abyss. Thus, following their intrepid chief from rock to rock, they reached the land, and ascended by the path that led to the fort. Hoche had meanwhile arrived under the walls with his columns. All at once the sentinels recognised one of the false patrols; they perceived amidst the darkness a tall moving figure; they instantly fired; the alarm was given. The Toulonese gunners ran to their pieces, and poured a shower of grape on Hoche's troops; they were thrown into confusion, and on the point of running away. But at this moment Menage arrived; the soldiers, accomplices of the assailants, ran to the battlements, held the butt-ends of their muskets to the republicans and helped them up. They then rushed together upon the rest of the garrison, slaughtered all who resisted, and hoisted the tricoloured flag. Hoche, notwithstanding the disorder into which the enemy's batteries had thrown his columns, did not flinch for a moment. He ran to every officer, brought him back to his post, made the men return to their ranks, and rallied his army under this tremendous fire. It began to be not quite so dark. He perceived the republican flag flying at the top of the fort. "What!" said he to his men, "would you run away now that your comrades have hoisted their flag on the enemy's walls!" He led them on to the advanced works, where part of the Chouans were encamped: they rushed upon the intrenchments, penetrated into them everywhere, and at length made themselves masters of the fort.

At this moment Vauban and Puisaye, roused by the firing, had hurried to the scene of the disaster; but it was too late. They found the Chouans running away pell-mell, the officers forsaken by their men, and the remnant of the garrison continuing faithful. Hoche did not stop at the taking of the fort: he rallied part of his columns, and pushed on into the peninsula, before the army of the invaders could re-embark. Puisaye, Vauban, all the officers, retired towards the interior where were still left d'Hervilly's regiment, the wrecks of Drusenay's, the Royal Marine, and the Loyal Emigrant regiments, and Sombreuil's legion, landed two days before, and eleven hundred strong. By taking a good position, and such positions there were in the peninsula, and occupying it with the three thousand regular troops which they still had, they might give the squadron time to collect the unfortunate emigrants. The fire of the gun-boats would have protected the embarkation: but a panic had seized men's minds: the Chouans threw themselves into the sea with their families, to get on board some fishing-boats which lay near the shore, and to put off in them to the squadron, which the rough weather kept at a considerable distance. The troops, scattered in the peninsula, ran hither and thither, not knowing where to rally. D'Hervilly, capable of defending a position with vigour, and acquainted with the localities, was mortally wounded. Sombreuil, who had succeeded him, was a stranger to the ground, knew not where to support himself or whither to retire, and, though brave, appeared on this occasion to have lost the necessary presence of mind. Puisaye, on coming to the place where Sombreuil was, pointed out a position to him. Sombreuil inquired if he had sent word to the squadron to bear up; Puisaye replied that he had sent a skilful and devoted pilot; but the weather was rough, and the pilot did not reach soon enough for the unfortunate men who had no other prospect but to be driven into the sea. The republican columns were approaching. Sombreuil again put the question, "Is the

squadron informed?" Puisaye then offered to fly on board himself to hasten the approach of the commodore, a commission which he ought to have given to some other person, as he should have been the last to withdraw from the danger. One reason decided him. He was anxious to carry away his correspondence, which would have compromised all Bretagne, if it had fallen into the hands of the republicans. It was no doubt as urgent to save that as to save the army itself; but he might have sent it on board without going in person. He set off, however, and arrived on board the Commodore at the same time as the pilot whom he had despatched. The distance, the darkness, the bad weather, had prevented the disaster from being observed on board the squadron. The brave Admiral Warren, who during the expedition had seconded the emigrants with all his means, made all sail, and at length arrived with his ships within cannon-shot, at the moment when Hoche, at the head of seven hundred grenadiers, was closely pressing Sombreuil's legion, and the latter was on the point of giving way. What a spectacle did this unhappy coast at that moment present! The roughness of the sea scarcely permitted boats to approach the shore; a multitude of Chouans and fugitive soldiers plunged into the water to their necks to meet them, and drowned themselves in their efforts to get at them the sooner: a thousand unfortunate emigrants, placed between the sea and the bayonets of the republicans, were reduced to the necessity of throwing themselves either in the one or upon the other, and suffered as much from the fire of the English squadron as the republicans themselves. Some boats had arrived, but at a different point. On this side there was but a brig, which kept up a tremendous fire, and which had checked for a moment the advance of the republicans. Some of the grenadiers cried out, it is said, to the emigrants, "Surrender; no harm shall be done you." This expression was circulated from rank to rank. Sombreuil would have approached to parley with General Humbert,* but the fire prevented him from advancing. An emigrant officer immediately swam off to desire the firing to cease. Hoche could not suffer a capitulation: he was too well aware of the laws against emigrants to venture to make any engagement, and he was incapable of promising what he was unable to perform. He declared, in a letter published throughout all Europe, that he heard none of the promises attributed to General Humbert, and that he would not have suffered them. Some of his men might have cried, "Surrender!" but he offered nothing, promised nothing. He advanced, and the emigrants having no other resource than to submit to be slaughtered, hoped that they might perhaps be treated like the Vendéans. They threw down their arms. No capitulation whatever, not even a verbal one, took place with Hoche. Vauban, who was present, admitted that no convention was made, and he even advised Sombreuil not to surrender on the vague hope inspired by the cries of a few private soldiers.

Many of the emigrants pierced themselves with their swords; others threw themselves into the water to get to the boats. Commodore Warren made all the efforts in his power to overcome the obstacles presented by the sea, for the purpose of saving as many as possible of those unfortunate men. Great numbers of them, on seeing the boats approaching, had

* "Humbert was a French general, who when he served in the army of the West, went alone to an interview requested by the chiefs of the Chouans, to bring on a negotiation. In 1798 he was charged with the command of the troops destined to invade Ireland, where he was beaten, and taken prisoner, but soon afterwards exchanged. In 1802 he joined the expedition to St. Domingo, and in the following year returned to France."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

plunged into the water up to the neck : the enemy on the shore fired at their heads. Sometimes they grappled boats which were already full, and those in them fearing lest they should be sunk, cut off their hands with their swords.

But let us quit these scenes of horror, whose dreadful misfortunes punished great faults. More than one cause had contributed to prevent the success of this expedition. Too much reliance was placed on Bretagne. A people really disposed to insurrection breaks out like the Vendéans in 1793, seeks out chiefs, implores them, forces them to put themselves at its head, but does not wait to be organized, does not endure two years of oppression, and rise when that oppression is over. Were its dispositions ever so good, a superintendent such as Hoche would prevent them from manifesting themselves. Puisaye was, therefore, under the influence of strong illusion. Great use might, nevertheless, have been made of the people of Bretagne, and many men disposed to fight might have been found among them, had a considerable expedition advanced to Rennes, and driven before it the army which kept the country in subjection. To this end, it would have been necessary that the chiefs of the insurgents should have acted in unison with Puisaye, and Puisaye with the Paris agents, that the most contrary instructions should not have been sent to the Chouan chiefs ; that some should not have received orders not to stir, and that others should not have been despatched in opposite directions to those which Puisaye had pointed out ; that the emigrants should have understood better the nature of the war which they were about to wage ; that they should have felt less contempt for the peasants who devoted themselves to their cause ; that the English should have harboured less distrust of Puisaye, and not have associated another leader with him ; that they should have given him at once all the means which they destined for him, and attempted this expedition with their whole united force ; there ought, above all, to have been a great prince at the head of this expedition—nay, it was not requisite that he should be great, but he ought to have been the first to set foot on the shore. At sight of him all obstacles would have vanished. That division of the Vendean chiefs among themselves, between the Vendean chiefs, and the Breton chief, between the Breton chief and the Paris agents, between the Chouans and the emigrants, between Spain and England—that division of all the elements of the enterprise would instantly have ceased. At sight of the prince, all the enthusiasm of the country would have been kindled. Everybody would have obeyed his orders and concurred in the attempt. Hoche might have been enveloped, and, in spite of his talents and his energy, he would have been obliged to give way to an influence all-powerful in those parts. There would, it is true, still have been behind him those valiant armies which had conquered Europe ; but Austria might have occupied them on the Rhine, and prevented them from making great detachments ; the government had no longer the vigour of the old committee, and the Revolution would have been in great jeopardy. Dispossessed twenty years earlier, its benefits would not have had time to consolidate themselves ; unparalleled efforts, splendid victories, torrents of blood, would all have proved fruitless to France, or, at any rate, if it had not been given to a handful of fugitives to subject a brave nation to their yoke, they would have endangered its regeneration, and, as for themselves, they would not have ruined their cause without defending it, and they would have honoured their pretensions by their energy.

All the blame was thrown upon Puisaye and England by the restless spirits who composed the royalist party. Puisaye was, according to them,

a traitor, who had sold himself to Pitt, with the intention of renewing the scenes of Toulon. It was nevertheless certain that Puisaye had done all that lay in his power. It was absurd to suppose that England did not wish to succeed; her very precautions in regard to Puisaye, the selection of d'Hervilly for the purpose of preventing the emigrant corps from being too much compromised, and lastly, the zeal with which Commodore Warren strove to save the unfortunate survivors in the peninsula, prove that, notwithstanding her selfish policy, she had not meditated the hideous and base crime which is attributed to her. Let justice be done to all, even to the implacable enemies of our Revolution and of our country.

Commodore Warren, having put the miserable wreck of the expedition on shore in the isle of Houat, waited there for fresh orders from London, and the arrival of Count d'Artois, who was on board the *Lord Moira*, to know what he was to do. Despair reigned in that little island. The emigrants and the Chouans, in the utmost distress, and attacked by a contagious disease, launched out into mutual recriminations, and bitterly accused Puisaye. Still deeper despair prevailed at Aurai and at Vannes, to which places the thousand emigrants taken in arms had been conveyed. Hoche, after conquering them, had hastened away from the painful sight and had gone in pursuit of Tinteniac's band, which was called the Red Army. The fate of the prisoners no longer concerned him: what could he do for them! The laws existed: he could not annul them. He referred the matter to the committee of public welfare and to Tallien. Tallien set out immediately, and arrived in Paris on the day preceding the anniversary of the 9th of Thermidor. On the morrow was to be held, according to the new fashion adopted, in the very bosom of the Assembly, a festival in commemoration of the fall of Robespierre. All the representatives attended in their appropriate costume; a numerous band played patriotic tunes; vocal performers sang hymns of Chenier's composition. Courtois read a report of the occurrences of the 9th of Thermidor. Tallien then read the report of the affair at Quiberon: his intention of procuring for himself a double triumph was apparent; the Assembly, nevertheless, applauded his services of that day twelvemonth and those which he had just rendered. His presence had been of benefit to Hoche. On the same day there was an entertainment at Tallien's, at which the principal Girondins met the Thermidorians. Louvet and Lanjuinais were present. Lanjuinais gave for a toast, "The 9th of Thermidor, and the courageous deputies who overthrew tyranny." Tallien gave, for a second, "The seventy-three, the twenty-two, the deputies, victims of terror." Louvet added these words, "And their close union with the men of the 9th of Thermidor."

They had great need, in fact, to unite and to join their efforts in opposing the adversaries of all kinds who had risen against the republic. Great was their joy, especially when they considered what danger they might have incurred if the expedition in the West could have acted in concert with that prepared in the East by the Prince of Condé.

It was necessary to decide upon the fate of the prisoners. Many solicitations were addressed to the committees; but, in the present situation, to save them was impossible. The republicans asserted that the government intended to recall the emigrants, to restore their property to them, and consequently to restore royalty; the royalists, always presumptuous, maintained the same thing: they said that their friends governed, and the more they hoped the bolder they grew. To show the least indulgence on this occasion would

have been verifying the apprehensions of the one and the silly hopes of the others. It would have been driving the republicans to despair, and encouraging the royalists to the most daring attempts. The committee of public welfare ordered the laws to be carried into effect,* and assuredly there were now no Mountaineers in its bosom; but it felt the impossibility of doing otherwise. A commission, which met at Vannes, was directed to distinguish the prisoners enrolled against their will from the emigrants. The latter were shot. The soldiers allowed as many of them to escape as they could. Many brave men perished; but they had no right to complain of their fate, after they had carried war into their native land and been taken in arms. Had the republic been less threatened by foes of all sorts, and especially by their own accomplices, it might have pardoned them. Under existing circumstances, it could not do so. M. de Sombreuil, though a brave officer, gave way at the moment of death to an impulse unworthy of his courage. He wrote a letter to Commodore Warren, in which he accused Puisaye with all the vehemence of despair. He begged Hoche to transmit it to the Commodore. Though it contained a false assertion, Hoche, complying with the request of a dying man, sent it to the commodore; but replied in a letter contradicting Sombreuil's assertion. "I was," said he, "at the head of Humbert's seven hundred grenadiers, and I declare that no capitulation was made." All his contemporaries who were acquainted with the character of the young general deemed him incapable of a lie. Eyewitnesses, moreover, confirmed his assertion. Sombreuil's letter was extremely injurious to the emigrants and to Puisaye, and it was considered so far from honourable to the memory of the writer that it was asserted to have been forged by the republicans—an assertion every way worthy of the pitiful stories invented by the emigrants.

Whilst the royalist party was suffering so severe a check at Quiberon, another was preparing for it in Spain. Monecy had once more entered Biscay, taken Bilboa and Vittoria, and was closely pressing Pampeluna. The favourite who governed the court, after having rejected an overture for peace, which the French government had made at the commencement of the campaign, but of which he had not been the channel, decided on negotiating, and sent the Chevalier d'Yriarte to Basle. Peace was signed at Basle with Barthelemy, the envoy of the republic, on the 24th of Messidor (July 12), at the very moment of the disasters of Quiberon. The conditions were, the restitution of all the conquests which France had made from Spain, and as an equivalent the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo. France made great concessions for a mere illusory advantage; for St. Domingo was no longer under the sway of any power; but these concessions were dictated by the wisest policy. France could not desire anything beyond the Pyrenees; she had no interest in weakening Spain; she ought, on the contrary, had it been possible, to have restored to that power the strength which she had lost in a conflict so detrimental to the interests of both nations.

* It was chiefly at Tallien's instigation that the French government came to this severe determination. In his speech to the Convention, on his return from Quiberon, he addressed the members in the following exciting terms:—"The emigrants, that vile assemblage of ruffians sustained by Pitt, those execrable authors of all our disasters, have been driven into the waves by the brave soldiers of the republic: but the waves have thrown them back upon the sword of the law. In vain have they sent forward some flags of truce to obtain conditions; what legal bond can exist between us and rebels, if it be not that of vengeance and death?"

That peace was hailed with the greatest joy by all who wished well to France and the republic. There was one more power detached from the coalition, a Bourbon who acknowledged the republic; and there were two disposable armies to send to the Alps, to the West, and upon the Rhine. The royalists were thunderstruck. The Paris agents, in particular, were apprehensive lest their intrigues should be divulged; they dreaded a communication of the letters which they had sent to Spain. England would there have seen all that they said of her; and though that power was loudly decried for the affair of Quiberon, yet she was now the only one that had money to give away: it was necessary therefore to keep on good terms with her, with the intention of cheating her, if it were possible.*

Another not less important success was that gained by the armies of Jourdan and Pichegru. After many delays, the passage of the Rhine was at length decided upon. The French and Austrian armies faced one another on the two banks of the river, from Basle to Düsseldorf. The defensive position of the Austrians upon the Rhine was an excellent one. The fortresses of Düsseldorf and Ehrenbreitstein covered their right; Mayence, Mannheim, and Philipsburg, covered their centre and their left: the Neckar and the Mayn, rising not far from the Danube and running in nearly a parallel direction towards the Rhine, formed two important lines of communication with the hereditary states, brought abundance of supplies, and covered the two flanks of the army that designed to act concentrically towards Mayence. The plan to be pursued in this field of battle was the same for the Austrians and the French: both—in the opinion of a great captain and a celebrated critic—ought to have endeavoured to act concentrically between the Mayn and the Neckar. The French armies of Jourdan and Pichegru ought to have attempted to pass the Rhine towards Mayence, not far from one another, to join in the valley of the Mayn, to separate Clairfayt from Wurmsers; and to ascend between the Neckar and the Mayn, striving to beat in turn the two Austrian generals. In like manner, the two Austrian generals ought to have endeavoured to concentrate themselves, in order to debouch by Mayence upon the left bank, and to fall upon Jourdan or Pichegru. If they had been anticipated, if the Rhine had been passed at one point, they ought to have concentrated themselves between the Neckar and the Mayn, to have prevented the two French armies from uniting, and to have seized some favourable moment to fall upon one or the other. The Austrian generals had all the advantage for taking the initiative, for they were in possession of Mayence, and could debouch on the left bank whenever they pleased.

The French took the initiative. After many delays, the Dutch craft having at length worked up as high as Düsseldorf, Jourdan prepared to cross the Rhine. On the 20th of Fructidor (September 6), he passed it at Eichelcamp, Düsseldorf, and Neuwied, by a very bold manœuvre; he advanced by the road from Düsseldorf to Frankfort, between the line of Prussian neutrality and the Rhine, and arrived on the Lahn on the fourth complementary day (September 20). At the same moment, Pichegru had orders to attempt the passage on the Upper Rhine, and to summon Mannheim. That flourishing city, threatened with a bombardment, surrendered, contrary to all expectation, on the fourth complementary day (September 20). From that moment all the advantages would be on the side of the French. It would behove Pichegru, based upon Mannheim, to collect his whole army there

* The 5th volume of *Puisaye* contains evidence to this effect

and to join that of Jourdan in the valley of the Mayn. They would then be able to separate the two Austrian generals, and to act concentrically between the Mayn and the Neckar. It was of especial importance to draw Jourdan from his position between the line of neutrality and the Rhine, for as his army had not the means of transport necessary for conveying its provisions along with it, and could not treat the country like that of an enemy, it was likely soon to be in want of necessities if he did not march forward.

Thus at this moment everything was propitious to the republic. Peace with Spain, the destruction of the expedition sent by England to the coast of Bretagne, the passage of the Rhine, the offensive which had been carried on successfully in Germany—all these advantages she had at once. It was for her generals and her government to profit by so many fortunate events.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

INTRIGUES OF THE ROYALIST PARTY IN THE SECTIONS—DIRECTORIAL CONSTITUTION AND DECREES OF THE THIRD AND FIFTEENTH OF FRUCTIDOR—REVOLT OF THE SECTIONS OF PARIS AGAINST THOSE DECREES—OCCURRENCES OF THE THIRTEENTH OF VENDEMAIRE—DISSOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION

THE royalist party, beaten on the frontiers, and deserted by the court of Spain, on which it placed most reliance, was now obliged to confine itself to intrigues in the interior; and it must be confessed that, at this moment, Paris offered a wide field for such intrigues. The work of the constitution was advancing; the time when the Convention was to resign its powers, when France should meet to elect fresh representatives, when a new Assembly should succeed that which had so long reigned, was more favourable than any other for counter-revolutionary manœuvres.

The most vehement passions were in agitation in the sections of Paris. The members of them were not royalists, but they served the cause of royalty without being aware of it. They had made a point of opposing the Terrorists; they had animated themselves by the conflict; they wished to persecute also; and they were exasperated against the Convention, which would not suffer this persecution to be carried too far. They were always ready to remember that Terror had sprung from its bosom; they demanded of it a constitution and laws, and the end of the long dictatorship which it had exercised. Most of those who demanded all this thought nothing whatever of the Bourbons. They belonged to the wealthy *tiers-état* of 1789; they were merchants, shopkeepers, landowners, advocates, writers, who wished at length for the establishment of the laws and the enjoyment of their rights; they were young men, sincerely republican, but blinded by their zeal against the revolutionary system; they were many of them ambitious men, news-

paper-writers, or speakers in the sections, who, to gain a place for themselves, desired that the Convention should retire before them. Behind this mass the royalists concealed themselves. Among these were some emigrants, some returned priests, some creatures of the old court, who had lost their situations, and many indifferent persons and poltroons, who dreaded a stormy liberty. These last did not frequent the sections; but the former attended them diligently, and employed all possible means for exciting agitation among them. The instructions given by the royalist agents to their tools was to adopt the language of the sectionaries, to make the same demands, to insist like them on the punishment of the Terrorists, the completion of the constitution, the trial of the Mountaineer deputies, but to demand all these things with greater violence, so as to compromise the sections with the Convention, and to provoke new commotions, for every commotion was a chance for them, and served at least to excite disgust of so tumultuous a republic.

Fortunately, such proceedings were not practicable except in Paris, for that is always the most agitated city in France. It is there that the public interests are discussed with most warmth, that people are fond of pretending to influence the government, and that opposition always commences. With the exception of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon, where men were slaughtering one another, the rest of France took infinitely less share in these political agitations than the sections of Paris. To all that they said, or caused to be said, in the sections, the intriguers in the service of royalism added pamphlets and articles in newspapers.* They there lied, according to their custom, gave themselves an importance which they had not, and sent abroad letters stating that they had seduced the principal heads of the government. It was by these lies that they procured money, and that they had recently obtained some thousand pounds sterling from England. It is nevertheless certain that, if they had not gained either Tallien or Hoche, as they alleged, they had at least gained some members of the Convention, perhaps two or three, for instance, Rovère and Saladin, two fiery revolutionists, who had become violent reactors. It is likewise believed that they had touched, by more delicate means, some of those deputies holding middle opinions, who had some leaning towards a representative monarchy, that is, towards a Bourbon professedly bound by laws after the English fashion. To Pichegru had been offered a mansion, money, and cannon: to some legislators or members of the committees, it may have been said, "France is too extensive to be a republic; she would be much happier with a king, responsible ministers, heredi-

* "Will the Convention," said one of the most eloquent of these royalist intriguers, "never be satisfied? Is a reign of three years, fraught with more crimes than the whole annals of twenty other nations, not sufficient for those who rose into power under the auspices of the 10th of August, and the 2d of September? Is that power fit to repose under the shadow of the laws which has only lived in tempests? The Convention hitherto has done nothing but destroy; shall we now intrust it with the work of a Constitution? What reliance can be placed on the monstrous coalition between the proscribers and the proscribed? Irreconcilable enemies to each other, they have only entered into this semblance of alliance in order to resist those who hate them—that is, every man in France. Can two-thirds of the Convention be found who are not stained with blood? Shall we admit a majority of regicides into the new Assembly, intrust our liberty to cowards, our fortunes to the authors of so many acts of rapine, our lives to murderers? No; let us leave to the Convention its sins, and to our soldiers their triumphs, and the world will speedily do justice to both."—*Lacretelle*. E.

tary peers, and deputies." This idea, were it even not suggested, could scarcely fail to occur to more than one person, especially to those who were qualified to become deputies or hereditary peers. Messrs. Lanjuinais and Boissy-d'Anglas, Henri-Larivière, and Lesage of Eure and Loire, were then considered as secret royalists.

We thus see that the means of the agents were not very powerful; but they were sufficient to disturb the public tranquillity, to unsettle minds, and especially to recall to the memory of the French those Bourbons, the only enemies whom the republic still had, and whom its arms had not been able to conquer, because recollections are not to be destroyed with bayonets.

Among the seventy-three there was more than one monarchist; but in general they were republicans. The Girondins were all so, or nearly all. The counter-revolutionary journals, nevertheless, praised them with great warmth, and had thus succeeded in rendering them suspicious to the Thermidorians. To defend themselves from these praises, the seventy-three and the twenty-two protested their attachment to the republic; for at that time nobody durst speak coldly of the republic. What a frightful contradiction would it have been, in fact, if people had not loved it, to have sacrificed so much blood and treasure for its establishment, to have immolated thousands of Frenchmen either in civil war or in foreign war! Were not men forced to love it, or at least to say so? However, notwithstanding these protestations, the Thermidorians were distrustful; they reckoned only upon M. Daunou,* whose integrity and strict principles were well known, and on Louvet, whose ardent mind had continued to be republican. The latter, indeed, after losing so many illustrious friends, and incurring so many dangers, had no conception that all this could be in vain; he had no conception that so many valuable lives had been sacrificed to bring about royalty! He had cordially joined the Thermidorians. The Thermidorians united themselves from day to day with the Mountaineers, with that mass of unshaken republicans, a very great number of whom they had sacrificed.

They wished, in the first place, to provoke measures against the return of the emigrants, who continued to make their appearance in shoals, some with false passports and by fictitious names, others upon pretext of coming to solicit their erasure. Almost all produced false certificates of residence, declared that they had not been out of France, and had merely concealed themselves, or that they had been proceeded against only on account of the events of the 31st of May. Upon pretext of soliciting the committee of general safety, they filled Paris, and some of them contributed to the agitations of the sections. Among the most distinguished personages who had returned to Paris was Madame de Staël, who had again made her appearance in France in company with her husband, the ambassador of Sweden. She had thrown open her drawing-room, where she had felt an irresistible impulse to display her brilliant talents.† A republic was far from displeas-

* "M. Daunou, who was involved in the fall of the Girondins, was readmitted into the Convention after the death of Robespierre, and became one of the commissioners for organizing the Constitution of 1795. He was afterwards chosen president of the council of Five Hundred, and was one of those who co-operated in the revolution of the 18th of Brumaire. Daunou was one of the best orators of the latter French legislatures."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

† "Madame de Staël," said Napoleon, "was a woman of considerable talent and great ambition; but so extremely intriguing and restless, as to give rise to the observation that she would throw her friends into the sea, that, at the moment of drowning,

ing the boldness of her mind, provided she should see her proscribed friends shine in it; and on condition that those revolutionists should be excluded who passed, no doubt, for energetic men, but who were men of coarse and unpolished minds. There were others besides her, in fact, who were willing enough to receive from their hands the republic saved, but desirous to exclude them as speedily as possible from the tribune and the government. Foreigners of distinction, all the ambassadors, the literary men most celebrated for their abilities, assembled at the house of Madame de Staël. It was no longer Madame Tallien's drawing-room, but hers, that now attracted exclusive attention; and by this standard might be measured the change which French society had undergone during the last six months. It was said that Madame de Staël interceded for the emigrants; it was asserted that she wished to obtain the recall of Narbonne, Jaucourt, and several others. Legendre formally denounced her from the tribune. Complaints were made in the newspapers of the influence which coteries formed around some of the foreign ambassadors were striving to exercise; and the suspension of the erasures was demanded. The Thermidorians obtained, moreover, a decree enjoining every emigrant, who had returned for the purpose of soliciting his erasure, to repair to his commune, and there await the decision of the committee of general safety. They hoped by this measure to rid the capital of a multitude of intriguers, who contributed to excite agitation there.

The Thermidorians wished, at the same time, to put a stop to the persecutions directed against the patriots. They had caused many of them, Pache, Bouchotte, and the notorious Heron, to be set at liberty by the committee of general safety. They might, it is true, have made a better choice than this last for the purpose of doing justice to the patriots. The sections had, as we have seen, already presented petitions on the subject of these enlargements; they now petitioned afresh. The committees replied that the patriots who were in confinement ought to be brought to trial, and not to be detained any longer if they were innocent. To propose their trial was to propose their enlargement, for their misdemeanors were generally those political misdemeanors which it is impossible to lay hold of. Setting aside some members of the revolutionary committees, who had distinguished themselves by atrocious excesses, the greater number could not legally be condemned. Several sections came to desire that a few days' delay should be granted them, that they might collect evidence to justify the apprehension and the disarming of those whom they had confined, alleging that, at the first moment, they had not been able either to seek proofs

she might have an opportunity of saving them. Shortly after my return from the conquest of Italy, I was accosted by her in a large company, though at that time I avoided going out much in public. She followed me everywhere, and stuck so close that I could not shake her off. At last she asked me, "Who is at this moment the first woman in the world?" intending to pay a compliment to me, and thinking that I would return it. I looked at her, and coldly replied, "She who has borne the greatest number of children;" an answer which greatly confused her. The Emperor concluded by observing that he could not call her a wicked woman, but that she was a restless intrigante, possessed of considerable talent and influence."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

"Madame de Staël possessed very superior powers of mind. She would have made a great man. I saw her once presented to Curran at Mackintosh's; it was the grand confluence between the Rhone and the Saone; and they were both so ugly, that I could not help wondering how the best intellects of France and Ireland could have taken up respectively such residences. Madame de Staël was a good woman at heart, but spoiled by a wish to be, she knew not what. In her own house she was amiable; in any other person's, you wished her gone, and in her own again."—*Moore's Life of Byron*. E.

or to assign motives, and offering to furnish them. These propositions, which cloaked the desire to assemble and to obtain the delay, were not listened to; and a *projet* for bringing to trial the detained patriots was demanded of the committees.

A violent dispute arose concerning this *projet*. Some were for sending the patriots before the tribunals of the departments; others, distrusting local passions, rejected this mode of trial, and proposed that a commission of twelve members should be chosen from among the Convention, to investigate the cases of the detained persons, to release those against whom the charges preferred were insufficient, and to send the others before the criminal tribunals. They alleged that this commission, strangers to the animosities which agitated the departments, would do better justice, and not confound the patriots, compromised by the ardor of their zeal, with the guilty men who had participated in the cruelties of the decemviral tyranny. All the violent enemies of the patriots condemned the idea of this commission, which was likely to do, as the committee of general safety, renewed after the fifth of Thermidor, had done, namely, to release *en masse*. They asked how it was possible for that commission of twelve members to investigate twenty or twenty-five thousand cases. In reply to this question, they were merely told that it would do like the committee of general safety, which had tried eighty or one hundred thousand at the opening of the prisons. But it was precisely this mode of trial that was found fault with. After a discussion of several days, intermingled with petitions, each bolder than the other, it was at length decided that the patriots should be tried by the tribunals of the departments, and the decree was sent to the committees to have some of its secondary arrangements modified. It was found necessary, also, to consent to the continuation of the report concerning the deputies compromised in their missions. The Assembly decreed the arrest of Lequinio, Lanot, Lefiot, Dupin, Bô, Piorry, Maxieu, Chaudron, Rousseau, Laplanche, Fouché, and proceedings were commenced against Lebon. At this moment the Convention had as many of its members in prison as in the time of Terror. Thus the partisans of clemency had nothing to regret, and had returned evil for evil.

The constitution had been presented by the commission of eleven. It was discussed during the three months of Messidor, Thermidor, and Fructidor, and was successively decreed with very little alteration. Its authors were Lesage, Daunou, Boissy-d'Anglas, Creuzé-Latouche, Berlier, Louvet, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, Lanjuinais, Durand-Maillanne,* Baudin of the Ardennes, and Thibaudeau. Sieyès had declined to form part of that commission, because, on the subject of a constitution, his notions were more peculiar than on any other. Constitutions were the object of the reflections of his whole life. They were his particular vocation. He had one ready made in his head, and he was not a man to sacrifice it. He came therefore to propose it apart from the commission. The Assembly, out of respect for his genius, consented to listen, but did not adopt it. We shall see it brought forward on a subsequent occasion, and it will then be time

* "Durand-Maillanne, a barrister, was deputy to the Convention, and voted for the King's confinement, and his banishment on the conclusion of peace. After the fall of Robespierre he inveighed bitterly against the Jacobins, and in 1795 was appointed to complete the committee of eleven. Being elected into the council of Ancients, he spoke in favour of the relations of emigrants. After the revolution of Brumaire he was made judge of the court of appeal at Aix, an office which he continued to hold in the year 1806. He was the author of several works, and among others, of a 'Dictionary of Canon Law.'"—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

to make the reader acquainted with that conception, remarkable in the history of the human understanding. That which was adopted was analogous to the progress which the public mind had made. In 1791, men were yet such novices, and so benevolent, that they could not conceive the existence of an aristocratic body controlling the will of the national representation, and they had nevertheless admitted and retained with respect, nay, almost with affection, the royal power. On reflection, however, they would have seen that an aristocratic body is of all countries, and that it is more particularly adapted to republics; that a great state may do very well without a king, but that it can never do without a senate. In 1795, they had just witnessed the disorders to which a single assembly is liable, and they consented to the establishment of a legislative body divided into two assemblies; they were then less irritated against aristocracy than against royalty, because in fact they felt most dread of the latter. Accordingly, they took more care to defend themselves against it in the composition of an executive power. There was in the commission a monarchical party, consisting of Lesage, Lanjuinais, Durand-Maillanne, and Boissy-d'Anglas. This party proposed a president. The idea was rejected. "Some day, perhaps," said Louvet, "you will have a Bourbon proposed to you." Baudin of the Ardennes and Daunou proposed two consuls; others proposed three. The preference was given to five directors, deciding by a majority. To this executive power were given none of the essential attributes of royalty, as inviolability, the sanction of the laws, the judicial power, the right of peace and war. It had the mere inviolability of the deputies, the promulgation and the execution of the laws, the direction, not the voting, of war, the negotiation, and not the ratification, of treaties.

Such was the basis on which the directorial constitution was founded. The Assembly in consequence decreed :

A Council, called *The Council of the Five Hundred*, composed of five hundred members, of, at least, thirty years of age, having exclusively the right of proposing laws, one-third to be renewed every year;

A Council, called *The Council of the Ancients*, composed of two hundred and fifty members, of, at least, forty years of age, all either widowers or married, having the sanction of the laws, to be renewed also by one-third;

An executive Directory, composed of five members, deciding by a majority, to be renewed annually by one-fifth, having responsible ministers, promulgating the laws and enforcing their execution, having the disposal of the military and naval forces, the foreign affairs, the authority of repelling the first hostilities, but not the power to make war without the consent of the legislative body: negotiating treaties, and submitting them to the ratification of the legislative body, excepting secret articles, which it should have the authority to stipulate, if they were not destructive of the patent articles.

The mode of nominating these powers was the following: All the citizens of the age of twenty-one met of right in primary assembly on every first day of the month of Prairial, and nominated electoral assemblies. These electoral assemblies met every 20th of Prairial, and nominated the two Councils; and the two Councils nominated the Directory. It was conceived that the executive power, being nominated by the legislative power, would be more dependent upon it; there was, moreover, a reason deduced from circumstances. The republic being not, as yet, interwoven into the habits of France, and being rather an opinion of enlightened men, or persons compromised in the Revolution, than a general sentiment, the framers of

the new constitution would not intrust the composition of the executive power to the great mass. During the first years especially, the authors of the Revolution, naturally predominating in the legislative body, would choose directors capable of defending their work.

The judicial authority was committed to elective judges. Justices of the peace were instituted. A civil tribunal was established in each department, trying, in first instance, the causes of the department, and in appeal, those of the contiguous departments. There was added a criminal court, composed of five judges and a jury.

There were to be no communal assemblies, but municipal and departmental administrations, composed of three, five, or more members, according to the population: they were to be formed by way of election. Experience led to the adoption of accessory arrangements of great importance. Thus the legislative body designated its residence itself, and might transfer it to any commune that it should think fit to select. No law could be discussed till it had been read three times, unless it was specified to be a measure of urgency, and was acknowledged as such by the Council of the Ancients. It was a method of preventing those very sudden resolutions, so speedily rescinded, which the Convention had so frequently taken. Lastly, every society calling itself popular, holding public meetings, having a bureau, tribunes, affiliations, was prohibited. The press was entirely free. The emigrants were banished for ever from the territory of the republic; the national domains were irrevocably secured to the purchasers; all religions were declared free, but were neither acknowledged nor paid by the state.

Such was the constitution by which it was hoped to keep France a republic. One important question was started. The Constituent Assembly, from a parade of disinterestedness, had excluded itself from the new legislative body; would the Convention do the same? Such a determination, it must be confessed, would have been the height of imprudence. Among a fickle people, who, after living fourteen centuries under monarchy, had overthrown it in a moment of enthusiasm, the republic was not so ingrafted upon their manners that its establishment might be left to the mere course of things. The Revolution could not be well defended except by its authors. The Convention was chiefly composed of Constituents and members of the Legislative Assembly: it comprehended the men who had abolished the ancient feudal constitution on the 14th of July and the 4th of August, 1789, who had demolished the throne on the 10th of August, who had sacrificed the head of the Bourbon dynasty on the 21st of January, and who had, for three years, been making unparalleled efforts against all Europe to uphold their work. They alone were capable of effectively defending the Revolution consecrated in the directorial constitution. Thus, without priding themselves upon a vain disinterestedness, they decreed on the 5th of Fructidor (August 22d), that the new legislative body should be composed of two-thirds of the Convention, and that one new third only should be elected. The question to be decided was, whether the Convention should itself designate the two-thirds to be retained, or whether it should leave that duty to the electoral assemblies. After a tremendous dispute, it was agreed on the 13th of Fructidor (August 30), that this choice should be left to the electoral assemblies. It was decided that the primary assemblies should meet on the 20th of Fructidor (September 6th), to accept the constitution and the two decrees of the 5th and the 13th of Fructidor. It was likewise decided that, after giving their votes upon the

constitution and the decrees, the primary assemblies should again meet and proceed forthwith, that is to say, in the year III (1795), to the elections for the 1st of Prairial in the following year. The Convention hereby gave notice that it was about to resign the dictatorship, and to put the constitution into operation. It decreed, moreover, that the armies, though usually denied the right of deliberating, should nevertheless assemble on the fields of battle which they should occupy at the moment, for the purpose of voting the constitution. It was but fair, it was said, that those who had defended should be allowed to vote upon it. This was interesting the armies in the Revolution by their very vote.

No sooner were these resolutions adopted, than the enemies of the Convention, so numerous and so diverse, were deeply mortified by them. Most of them cared little about the constitution.* Any constitution would have suited them, provided that it had occasioned a general renewal of all the members of the government. The royalists wished for this renewal, in order to produce disturbance, to bring together the greatest possible number of persons of their choice, and to make the very republic subservient to the cause of royalty: they wished for it more especially in order to get rid of the Conventionalists, so deeply interested in opposing counter-revolution, and to bring forward new men, inexperienced, not compromised, and more easy to be seduced. Many literary men, writers, unknown persons eager to enter upon the political career, not from a spirit of counter-revolution, but from personal ambition, were also desirous of this complete renewal, that there might be a greater number of places for them to occupy. Both these classes mingled among the sections, and excited them against the decrees. The Convention, they said, was determined to cling to power; it talked of the rights of the people, and yet postponed the exercise of them for an indefinite period; it commanded their choice, and would not permit them to prefer the men who were unstained by crimes; it wished to retain by force a majority composed of men who had covered France with scaffolds. Thus, they added, the new legislature would not be purged from all the Terrorists, thus France would not feel quite secure respecting the future, and could not be certain that a horrible system might not be revived. These declamations produced an effect upon many minds; the whole of the *bourgeoisie* of the sections, who were satisfied with the new institutions, such as they were given to them, but who had an excessive dread of the return of Terror; sincere, but unreflecting men, who dreamt of a faultless republic, and wished to see a new and unstained generation in power; young men smitten with the same chimeras; many, in short, were desirous of novelty, and saw with the keenest regret the Convention retained in power for two or three years longer. The tribe of newspaper-writers was in commotion. A great number of men who possessed a rank in literature, and who had figured in the former assemblies, appeared in the tribunes of the sections. Messrs. Suard, Morellet, Lacretelle, junior,†

* "This constitution communicated new energy to the government, and liberty to the people, and held out the promise of peace to all parties, if they would only have remained content with their proper stations in the government, without recurring to the past or looking forward to exclusive dominion. But its duration was as brief as the others which preceded it, for it was unable to establish the authority of the law against the wishes of the different factions, all of which aspired to the government."—*Mignet*. E.

† "Lacretelle, the younger, was the author of an historical account of the Revolution, and assisted in editing several journals of moderate principles. In 1795 he was proscribed for having declared against the Convention in the sectional electoral

Fievée, Vaublanc, Pastoret, Dupont de Nemours, Quatremère de Quincy, Delalot, the fiery convert Laharpe, General Miranda, who had escaped from the prisons in which he had been confined for his conduct at Neerwinden, Marchenna, the Spaniard, saved from the proscription of his friends, the Girondins, Lemaître, the head of the royalist agency, signalized themselves by pamphlets or by vehement speeches in the sections. The dissatisfaction was universal.

The plan to be pursued was quite simple—to accept the constitution, and to reject the decrees. This was what people proposed to do in Paris, and what all the sections in France were exhorted to do also. But the intriguers who agitated the sections, and who wished to urge opposition forward to insurrection, desired a more extensive plan. They wished that the primary assemblies, after they had accepted the constitution and rejected the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, should constitute themselves in permanence; that they should declare the powers of the Convention to have expired, and the electoral assemblies free to elect as deputies whomsoever they pleased; lastly, that they should not consent to separate till after the installation of the new legislative body. The agents of Lemaître circulated this plan in the environs of Paris: they wrote to Normandy, where there was much intriguing in favour of the constitution of 1791, to Bretagne, to the Gironde, and to every quarter with which they had relations. One of their letters was seized and read publicly from the tribune. The Convention saw without alarm the preparations making against it, and awaited with calmness the decision of the primary assemblies of all France, certain that the majority would declare in its favour. Nevertheless, suspecting the intention of a new commotion, it ordered some troops to advance, and collected them in the camp of Sablons, near Paris.*

The section of Lepelletier, formerly of St. Thomas, could not fail to distinguish itself on this occasion: it came with those of the Mail, the Butte-des-Moulins, the Champs Elysées, and the Théâtre Français (the Odeon), to present petitions to the Assembly. They all agreed in asking if the Parisians had proved themselves unworthy of confidence, since troops were assembled; they complained that violence was done to their right of election, and employed these insolent expressions—"Deserve our choice, and do not command it." The Convention replied in a firm manner to all these addresses, and merely said that it waited with respect the manifestation of the national will, to which it would submit, as soon as it should be known, and to which it would oblige every one else to submit.

The first care of the discontented was to establish a central point for communicating with all the sections, in order to give them one common impulsion, and thus to organize the insurrection. They had examples sufficient before their eyes, to know that this was the very first thing to be thought of. The section of Lepelletier constituted itself the centre; it had a right to this honour, for it had always been the most ardent. It

assembly of Paris, and was afterwards arrested and confined for two years at La Force and the Temple. In 1809 he was a member of the press-office."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

* "The Convention, perceiving the storm to be gathering, sought assistance and support from the army, which then constituted the great republican class, and whose camp was pitched under the walls of Paris. The multitude had been disorganized, and the citizens gained over by the royalists. The contest soon after became general, but in Paris they distinguished between the act for the establishment of the constitution, which they were disposed to adopt, and the decree of re-election, which they determined to reject."—*Mignet*. E.

commenced by publishing an act of guarantee, equally ill-judged and useless. The powers of the constituent body, it said, ceased in presence of the sovereign people; the primary assemblies represented the sovereign people; they had a right to express any opinion whatever concerning the constitution and its decrees; they were under the safeguard of each other; and they owed to one another the reciprocal guarantee of their independence. Nobody denied this, except one modification, which it was necessary to add to these maxims; namely, that the constituent body retained its powers, till the decision of the majority was known. Beyond this, these vain generalities were only a medium for arriving at another measure. The section of Lepelletier proposed to the forty-eight sections of Paris to nominate each of them a commissioner, to express the sentiments of the citizens of the capital on the constitution and the decrees. Here commenced the infraction of the laws; for the primary assemblies were forbidden to communicate with, and to send commissioners or addresses to, one another. The Convention cancelled the resolution, and declared that it should consider its execution as an attack upon the public safety.

The sections being not yet sufficiently emboldened, gave way, and set about collecting the votes on the constitution and the decrees. They began by expelling, without any legal form, the patriots who came among them to give their votes. In some, they were merely put out at the door of the hall; in others, it was notified to them, by posting-bills, that they were expected to stay at home, for, if they showed their faces at the section, they would be ignominiously turned out. The persons thus prevented from exercising their rights were very numerous: they thronged to the Convention, to complain of the violence that was done them. The Convention disapproved the conduct of the sections, but refused to interfere, that it might not appear to canvass for votes, and that the very abuse might prove the freedom of the deliberation. The patriots, driven from their sections, had sought refuge in the tribunes of the Convention; they occupied them in great numbers, and daily solicited the committees to restore them their arms, declaring that they were ready to use them in defence of the republic.

All the sections of Paris, excepting that of the *Quinze-Vingts*, accepted the constitution and rejected the decree. The result was not the same in the rest of France. The opposition, as it always happens, was less violent in the provinces than in the capital. The royalists, the intriguers, the ambitious men, who had an interest in urging the renewal of the legislative body and the government, were not numerous anywhere but in Paris; accordingly, in the provinces, the assemblies were calm, though perfectly free; they adopted the constitution almost unanimously, and the decrees by a great majority. As for the armies, they received the constitution with enthusiasm in *Bretagne* and *La Vendée*, at the foot of the Alps, and on the Rhine.* They were full of men devoted to the Revolution, and attached to it by the very sacrifices which they had made for it. That animosity manifested in Paris against the revolutionary government was wholly unknown in the armies. The requisitionists of 1793, with whom they were filled, had not ceased to cherish the glorious memory of that famous com-

* "The constitution was unanimously adopted by the soldiers; for military men, who are in the habit of obedience, and of taking the lead from others, generally (unless indeed it be in periods of extreme popular agitation) adopt any form of government that is recommended to them by their officers."—*Lacretelle*. E.

mittee which had guided and subsisted them so much better than the new government. Torn from private life, accustomed to defy hardships and death, fed with glory and illusions, they still had that enthusiasm which began to subside in the interior of France; they were proud to call themselves the soldiers of a republic which they had defended against all the kings of Europe, and which was, in some measure, their work. The army of the Sambre and Meuse, commanded by Jourdan, shared the nobleness of sentiment of its brave leader. It was this army that had conquered at Watignies and raised the blockade at Maubeuge; it was this that had conquered at Fleurus and given Belgium to France; it was this which, by the victories of the Ourthe and the Roer, had just given to France the line of the Rhine; it had deserved best of the republic, and was most attached to it. This army had just crossed the Rhine, it halted on the field of battle, and sixty thousand men were seen accepting at once the new republican constitution.

These tidings arrived successively at Paris, where they rejoiced the Convention and deeply mortified the sectionaries. They came every day to present addresses, in which they communicated the vote of their assembly, and proclaimed with insulting joy that the constitution was accepted, and that the decrees were rejected. The patriots, who crowded the tribunes, murmured; but presently the reports sent by the departments were read, almost all signifying the acceptance of the constitution and of the decrees. The patriots then burst forth into furious applause, and by their peals of joy nettled the petitioners of the sections seated at the bar. The last days of Fructidor passed in scenes of this kind. At length, on the 1st of Vendemiaire, year IV. (September 23, 1795), the general result of the votes was proclaimed.

The constitution was accepted almost unanimously, and the decrees by an immense majority of the voters. Some thousands of voices, however, had been raised against the decrees, and here and there some had dared to demand a king—a sufficient proof that the utmost freedom had prevailed in the primary assemblies. On the same day, the Convention solemnly declared that the constitution and the decrees were laws of the state. This declaration was followed by prolonged applause. The Convention then decreed that the primary assemblies, which had not yet chosen their electors, should finish their nomination before the 10th of Vendemiaire (October 2); that the electoral assemblies should meet on the 20th, and conclude their operations at latest by the 29th (October 21); and lastly, that the new legislative body should meet on the 15th of Brumaire (November 6).

This intelligence was a thunderclap to the sectionaries. They had hoped till the last moment that France would give a vote similar to that of Paris, and that they should be delivered from what they called the two-thirds; but the last decree left them without a gleam of hope. Affecting to believe that there was some mistake in the casting up of the votes, they sent commissioners to the committee of decrees to verify the statements. This derogatory application was not unfavourably received. The committee consented to show them the official statements, and to allow them to cast up the votes; they found the enumeration to be correct. From that moment they had no ground for that unlucky objection of a mistake or a wilful error in the summing up; and they had nothing left for it but insurrection. But this was a violent measure, and it was not easy to resolve upon it. The ambitious persons, who were desirous of removing the men of the Revolution, that they might take their places in the republican

government; the young men, who were anxious to display their courage, and most of whom had served in the army; and lastly, the royalists, who had no other resource than an attack by main force; could cheerfully expose themselves to the risk of a combat: but the mass of peaceable individuals, urged to figure in the sections by fear of the Terrorists rather than by political courage, were not easy to decide. In the first place, the insurrection was not consistent with their principles. How, in fact, could the enemies of anarchy attack the established and acknowledged power? The parties, it is true, cared little about contradictions; but how could tradesmen, who had never been out of their shops or their counting-houses, dare to attack troops of the line, provided with cannon! The intriguing royalists, and the ambitious, nevertheless, introduced themselves into the sections, talked of public interest and honour, said that there was no safety in being still governed by Conventionalists, that they would still be exposed to Terrorism; that, besides, it was disgraceful to yield, and to suffer themselves to be subdued. They addressed themselves to the vanity of the sectionaries. The young men who had come back from the armies blustered a great deal, hurried the timid along, and prevented them from expressing their fears; and every preparation was made for a decisive stroke. Groups of young men paraded the streets, shouting, "Down with the two-thirds!" When the soldiers of the Convention attempted to disperse them, and to prevent them from setting up seditious cries, they replied with the fire of musketry. There were different riots, and several muskets were fired in the very heart of the Palais Royal.

Lemaître and his colleagues, perceiving the success of their plans, had brought several Chouan chiefs and a certain number of emigrants to Paris: they kept them concealed, and awaited only the first signal to cause them to show themselves. They had succeeded in exciting commotions at Orleans, Chartres, Dreux, Verneuil, and Nonancourt. At Chartres, Letellier, a representative, being unable to quell a riot, had blown out his brains. Though these disturbances had been repressed, success in Paris might induce a general movement. Nothing was neglected to foment one, and the success of the conspirators was soon complete.

The plan of the insurrection was not yet resolved upon, but the honest tradesmen of Paris suffered themselves by degrees to be led away by the young men and the intriguers. Proceeding from bravado, they presently found themselves inextricably entangled. The section of Lepelletier was still the most agitated. The first thing to be done, before thinking of any attempt, was, as we have observed, to establish a central direction. The means of effecting this had long been sought after. It was conceived that the assembly of the electors, chosen by all the primary assemblies of Paris, might become this central authority; but, according to the late decree, this assembly was not to meet before the 20th. Unwilling to wait so long, the section of Lepelletier then devised a resolution, founded on a very singular motive. The constitution, it said, placed an interval of twenty days only between the meeting of the primary assemblies and that of the electoral assemblies. The primary assemblies had met this time on the 20th of Fructidor; the electoral assemblies ought consequently to meet on the 10th of Vendémiaire. Now the Convention had fixed this meeting for the 20th; but this was evidently for the purpose of postponing still longer the carrying of the constitution into effect, and the sharing of power with the new third. In consequence, to provide a safeguard for the rights of the citizens, the section of Lepelletier passed a resolution that the electors

already chosen should meet forthwith; this resolution it communicated to the other sections, in order to obtain their approval of it. It was approved by several of them. The meeting was fixed for the 11th at the Théâtre Français (the Odeon).

On the 11th of Vendémiaire (October 3), part of the electors met in the theatre, under the protection of some battalions of the national guard.* A multitude of inquisitive persons collected in the Place de l'Odeon, and soon formed a considerable concourse. The committees of general and public welfare, and the three representatives, who, since the 4th of Prairial, had retained the direction of the armed force, always met on important occasions. They hastened to the Convention, to denounce to it this first step, which evidently denoted a plan of insurrection. The Convention had assembled to hold a funeral solemnity in its hall in honor of the unfortunate Girondins. A motion was made to postpone the ceremony. Tallien opposed it; he said that it would not be worthy of the Assembly to suffer its proceeding to be interrupted, and that it ought to attend to its accustomed duties amidst all dangers. A decree was passed by which any meeting of electors, formed either in an illegal manner, or before the prescribed time, or for a purpose foreign to its electoral functions, was enjoined to disperse. To open an outlet for those who might feel disposed to withdraw, the decree added that all those who had been hurried into illegal proceedings, and should return immediately to their duty, should be exempt from prosecution. Some police-officers, escorted by only six dragoons, were immediately sent to the Place de l'Odeon to proclaim the decrees. The committees were anxious to avoid as much as possible the employment of force. The crowd had increased at the Odeon, especially towards night. The interior of the theatre was ill-lighted; a multitude of sectionaries filled the boxes; those who took an active part in the events were walking about on the stage in agitation. They durst not deliberate or decide upon anything. On learning the arrival of the officers sent to read the decree, all ran out to the Place de l'Odeon. The mob had already surrounded them; it rushed upon them, extinguished the torches which they had brought, and obliged the dragoons to sheer off. They then went back into the theatre, congratulating themselves on this success: speeches were made; they promised one another with an oath to resist tyranny, but no measure was taken in support of the decisive step upon which they had just ventured. The night advanced; many of the spectators and the sectionaries withdrew; the theatre got gradually clearer, and was soon left quite empty on the approach of the armed force. The committees had, in fact, ordered General Menou, appointed since the fourth of Prairial, commander of the army of the interior, to despatch a column from the camp of Sablons. This column arrived with two pieces of cannon, and found not a creature either in the Place or in the theatre of the Odeon.

This scene, though without any important result, had nevertheless produced a great sensation. The sectionaries had tried their strength, and had mustered some courage, as is always the case after the first

* "The electors, of whom the Duke de Nivernois was appointed president, met under the protection of a few detachments of light troops and grenadiers. The Convention, being apprized of these dangerous proceedings, immediately declared itself permanent, summoned the camp of Sablons to its defence, and appointed a committee of five members with power to adopt every necessary measure for the public safety."—*Mignet*. E.

indiscretion. The Convention and its partisans had beheld with alarm the occurrences of that day, and, more ready to give credit to their adversaries for resolutions than their adversaries were to form them, they had no longer any doubt of the insurrection. The patriots, dissatisfied with the Convention, which had treated them so roughly, but full of their accustomed ardor, felt that they ought to sacrifice their resentments to their cause, and hastened the very same night in multitudes to the committees to offer their aid and to apply for arms. Some had been released from the prisons only on the preceding day, others had just been excluded from the primary assemblies; all had the strongest motives for zeal.* They were joined by a great number of officers, struck out of the army-list by Aubry, the reactor. The Thermidorians, still predominating in the committees, and cordially reconciled with the Mountain, did not hesitate to accept the offers of the patriots. Their opinion was supported by more than one Girondin. Louvet, at one of the meetings which had taken place at the house of a common friend of the Girondins and the Thermidorians, had already proposed to arm the fauxbourgs again, and even to put the jacobins once more in operation, with the proviso to silence them again if it should be deemed necessary. No hesitation was consequently felt to deliver arms to all the citizens who applied for them; and, in order to furnish them with officers, those who were at the moment in Paris without employment were given them; the old and brave General Berruyer was appointed to command them. This arming was effected on the morning of the 12th; and tidings of it spread immediately throughout the quarters. This was an excellent pretext for the agitators of the sections, who wished to compromise the peaceful citizens of Paris. The Convention meant, they said, to renew the Reign of Terror; it had just re-armed the Terrorists; it was about to set them upon the honest men; property and person were no longer safe. They ought to lose no time in arming to defend themselves. Accordingly the sections of Lepelletier, the Butte des Moulins, the Contrat Social, the Théâtre Français, the Luxembourg, the Rue Poissonnière, Brutus, and the Temple, declared themselves in rebellion, caused the *générale* to beat in their quarters, and enjoined all the citizens of the national guard to join their battalions, and to maintain the public safety, threatened by the Terrorists. The section of Lepelletier immediately constituted itself in permanence, and became the centre of all the counter-revolutionary intrigues. The drums and the clamourers of the sections spread themselves throughout Paris with singular audacity, and gave the signal for insurrection. The citizens, thus excited by the reports that were circulated, repaired in arms to their sections, ready to comply with all the suggestions of imprudent youths and of a perfidious faction.

The Convention immediately declared itself permanent, and charged its committees to provide for the public safety and the execution of the decrees. It repealed the law which enjoined the disarming of the patriots, and thus legalized the measures adopted by its committees; but, at the same time, it issued a proclamation to calm the inhabitants of Paris, and to give them confidence in its intentions, and in the patriotism of those to whom it had just restored arms.

* "The revolutionists had for some time ceased to be feared, and those who had been imprisoned for the events of May, had, in consequence, been released. From fifteen to eighteen hundred, who had been prosecuted either at Paris or in the departments, were enrolled under the name of the Battalion of the Patriots of Eighty-Nine."—*Mignet*. E.

The committees, seeing that the section of Lepelletier was becoming the focus of all the intrigues, and that it would probably soon be the head-quarters of the rebels, determined that this section should be surrounded and disarmed that very day. Menou again received orders to leave Sablons with a corps of troops and artillery. General Menou, a good officer, a kind-hearted and moderate citizen, had had a very arduous and turbulent time during the Revolution. When employed in La Vendée, he had been exposed to all the annoyances of the Ronsin party. Upon being summoned to Paris, and threatened with a trial, he had owed his life only to the events of the 9th of Thermidor. Being appointed general of the army of the interior on the 4th of Prairial, and ordered to march upon the faubourgs, he had then had to fight men who were his natural enemies, who were, moreover, condemned by public opinion, who in their violence were too careless of the lives of others for any one to be very scrupulous about sacrificing theirs: but on this occasion it was the brilliant population of the capital, it was the youth of the best families, it was, in short, the class that forms the public opinion, which he had to mow down, if it persisted in its imprudence. He was therefore in a cruel perplexity, as the weak man almost always is, who cannot either make up his mind to resign his place, or resolve upon a rigorous execution of his duty. He set his columns in motion very late; he gave the sections time to proclaim whatever they pleased during the daytime of the 12th; he then began secretly to parley with some of their leaders, instead of acting; he even declared to the three representatives charged with the direction of the armed force, that he would not have the battalion of the patriots under his command. The representatives replied that that battalion was under the exclusive command of General Berruyer. They urged him to act, without yet denouncing his backwardness and indecision to the two committees. They observed, moreover, the like repugnance in more than one officer, and among others in the two generals of brigade, Despiere and Debar, who were not at their post, upon pretext of illness. At length, towards night, Menou advanced, with Laporte, the representative, against the section of Lepelletier. It was sitting at the convent of the Filles St. Thomas, which stood on the site now occupied by the handsome edifice of the New Exchange. Menou went thither through the Rue Vivienne. He crowded his infantry, his cavalry, and his artillery, together in that street, and placed himself in a position, where he could scarcely have fought at all, encompassed by the multitude of the sectionaries, who closed all the outlets and filled the windows of the houses. Menou ordered his cannon to draw up before the door of the convent, and entered the very hall of the section with Laporte and a battalion. The members of the section, instead of forming a deliberative assembly, were armed and ranged in line, having their president, M. Delalot, at their head. General Menou and Laporte addressed them, and demanded the surrender of their arms; they refused it. Delalot, observing the hesitation with which this summons was made, replied with warmth, addressed with great presence of mind some well-timed remarks to Menou's soldiers, and declared that, before they should wrest its arms from the section, they must proceed to the last extremities. To fight in so narrow a space, or to retire for the purpose of battering the hall with cannon, was a painful alternative. However, had Menou spoken with firmness and pointed his guns, it is doubtful

whether the resolution of the sectionaries would have held out to the end. Menou and Laporte preferred a capitulation.* They promised to withdraw the troops of the Convention, on condition that the section would immediately disperse. It promised, or feigned to promise, that it would, and part of the battalion filed off for the purpose of retiring. Menou, on his part, started with his troops, and led back his columns, which had great difficulty to force a passage through the crowd which filled the contiguous quarters. While he had the weakness to give way to the firmness of the section of Lepelletier, the latter had returned to the place of its meetings, and, proud of its resistance, was encouraged still more in its rebellion. A report was instantly circulated that the decrees were not executed, that the insurrection remained victorious, that the troops were returning without enforcing the authority of the Convention. A multitude of the witnesses of this scene hastened to the tribunes of the Assembly, which was in permanence, and apprised the deputies of it. An outcry arose on all sides, "We are betrayed! we are betrayed! summon General Menou to the bar!" The committees were directed to attend and furnish explanations.

At this moment, the committees, informed of what was passing, were in the greatest agitation. It was proposed to arrest Menou, and to try him immediately. That, however, would not have remedied the evil: the point was to make amends for what he had neglected to do; but forty members, discussing measures of execution, were not likely to agree, and to act with the necessary vigour and precision. Neither were three representatives, charged with the direction of the armed force, a sufficiently energetic authority. The idea occurred of appointing a chief, as on decisive occasions; and at that moment, which brought to mind all the dangers of Thermidor, the Assembly bethought itself of Barras, the deputy, who, as general of brigade, had been invested with the command on that famous day, and had acquitted himself with all the energy that could be desired. Barras was tall in stature, had a powerful voice, could not make long speeches, but excelled in producing, off hand, a few energetic and vehement sentences, which conveyed the idea of a resolute and devoted man. He was appointed general of the army of the interior, and the three representatives previously charged with the direction of the armed force, were given to him as assistants. One circumstance rendered this selection a most fortunate one. Barras had about him an officer perfectly capable of commanding, and he was not so jealous as to keep in the back-ground a man who possessed greater abilities than himself. All the deputies who had been on mission to the army of Italy, knew the young officer of artillery who had achieved the reduction of Toulon, the fall of Saorgio, and the lines of the Royalists. This young officer, promoted to general of brigade, had been dismissed by

* "In the evening General Menou proceeded with his troops to the place of meeting of the section Lepelletier. The infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were all crowded together in the Rue Vivienne. The sectionaries occupied the windows of the houses of this street; several of their battalions drew up in order of battle, and the military force which Menou commanded found itself compromised. In consequence, the general withdrew by a species of capitulation, without having dispersed or disarmed the meeting. Bonaparte was in a box at the theatre Feydeau, when some of his friends came to inform him of the singular events that were passing. He was curious to witness the particulars of the spectacle. Seeing the conventional troops repulsed, he hastened to the Assembly to observe the effect of this intelligence. The Convention was in the greatest agitation, loudly accused Menou of treason, and placed him under arrest."—*Las Cases*. E.

Aubry, and he was in Paris, unemployed, and reduced almost to indigence.* He had been introduced to Madame Tallien, who had received him with her wonted kindness, and even solicited in his behalf. He was slender in person, below the ordinary height, and his cheeks were hollow and livid; but his fine features, his fixed and piercing eyes, and his firm and original language, attracted notice. He often spoke of a decisive theatre of war, where the republic would find victories and peace—that was Italy. He was incessantly recurring to this subject; therefore, when the lines of the Apennines were lost under Kellermann, the committee sent for him to ask his opinion. From that time he was employed in writing despatches, and was attached to the direction of the military operations. Barras thought of him in the night of the 12th of Vendémiaire; he applied for him as second in command, and his wish was complied with. The two appointments, submitted the same night to the Convention, were instantly approved.† Barras submitted the superintendence of the military arrangements to the young general, who immediately took them all upon himself, and set about giving orders with extreme activity.

The *général* had continued to beat in all the quarters. Emissaries had gone about boasting of the resistance of the section of Lepelletier, exaggerating its dangers, persuading people that these dangers were common to all the sections, piquing their honour, and exciting them to rival the grenadiers of the quarter of St. Thomas. People had thronged from all parts, and a central and military committee had, at length, formed itself in the section of Lepelletier, under the presidency of Richer Lerizy, the journalist. The plan of an insurrection was settled; the battalions formed; all the irresolute persons were hurried away; and the entire *bourgeoisie* of Paris, misled by a false point of honour, was about to play a part but little suited to its habits and its interests.

It was now too late to think of marching upon the section of Lepelletier, in order to stifle the insurrection in its birth. The Convention had about

* "On Bonaparte's return to Paris, he was in very destitute circumstances. From time to time he received remittances, I suspect, from his brother Joseph; but with all his economy, these supplies were insufficient. He was, therefore, in absolute distress. Junot used often to speak of the six months they passed together in Paris at this time. When they took an evening stroll on the boulevard, which used to be the resort of young men, mounted on fine horses, and displaying all the luxuries which they were permitted to show at that time, Bonaparte would declaim against fate, and express his contempt for the dandies, who, as they rode past, would eulogise, in ecstasy, the manner in which Madame Scio sang. 'And is it on such beings as these,' he would say, 'that fortune confers her favors? Heavens, how contemptible is human nature!' His friend Junot used sometimes to resort to the gaming-table; he was often successful, and on these occasions he and Bonaparte used to make merry, and pay off their most pressing debts. The latter was at that time attired in the costume he wore almost ever after. He had on a gray great-coat, very plainly made, buttoned up to his chin; a round hat, which was either drawn over his forehead, so as almost to conceal his eyes, or stuck upon the back of his head, so that it appeared in danger of falling off; and a black cravat, very clumsily tied."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "At this period, Napoleon past most of his time in meditation and retirement. He went out but seldom, and had few acquaintances. He endeavoured to forget the sense of mortification and neglect by a more intense application to his professional studies. He sometimes went to the theatre, and frequented the Corazza coffee-house, in the Palais Royal, where the celebrated Talma is said once to have paid his reckoning for him, for which he had left his sword in pledge."—*Hazlitt*. E.

‡ "When Bonaparte appeared before the committee, on occasion of this appointment, he displayed none of those astonishing qualities which distinguished his subsequent conduct. Little of a party man, and summoned for the first time on this great scene, his countenance wore an expression of timidity and bashfulness, which, however, disappeared in the bustle of preparation, and the ardour of battle."—*Mignet*. E.

five thousand troops of the line; if all the sections were actuated by the same zeal, they could assemble forty thousand men, well armed, and well organized; and it was not with five thousand that the Convention could march against forty thousand, through the streets of a great capital. The most that could be hoped for, was to defend the Convention, and to make an intrenched camp of it. This was what General Bonaparte resolved to do. The sections had no cannon; they had given them all up on occasion of the 4th of Prairial; and those who were now the most ardent had been the first to set this example, in order to insure the disarming of the faubourg St. Antoine. This was a great advantage for the Convention. The entire park of artillery was at the camp of Sablons. Bonaparte immediately ordered Murat,* *chef d'escadron*, to go and fetch it at the head of three hundred horse. That officer arrived at the very moment when the battalion of the

* "Joachim Murat was born in 1767. His father was the keeper of an humble country inn, who had once been steward to the wealthy family of the Talleyrands. From early youth, Murat was distinguished by his daring courage, and his skill in horsemanship. He was originally intended for the church, but having, in his twentieth year, run away with, and fought a duel for, a pretty girl of the neighbourhood, all his ecclesiastical hopes were crushed by the notoriety which this affair brought upon him. He therefore entered the army, made himself conspicuous by his revolutionary enthusiasm, and, in one month, fought not less than six duels! He soon gained promotion, and, in the affair of the sections, made himself so useful to Bonaparte, that, when appointed to the command of the army of Italy, that general placed him on his personal staff. Shortly afterwards Murat was promoted to the rank of general of brigade; accompanied Napoleon in his Egyptian expedition; and returned with him to Paris, where he married Caroline Bonaparte, his patron's youngest sister. On the establishment of the Empire, he was created marshal of France, and, in 1806, invested with the grand duchy of Berg and Cleves. In 1808, he entered Madrid with a formidable army, and sullied his reputation by his exactions and cruelties. He was afterwards appointed to the throne of Naples, but was rendered constantly uneasy by the system of jealous espionage pursued towards him by Napoleon. In 1812, he joined the emperor in his Russian expedition, and was placed over the whole cavalry of the grand army, in which position he rendered himself so conspicuous by his daring that the very Cossacks held him in respect and admiration. When the French reached the heights which overlook Moscow, Murat, glancing at his soiled garments, did not think them worthy of an occasion so important as that of entering the Sacred City. He retired, therefore, to his tent, and soon came out dressed in his most magnificent costume. His tall plume, the splendid trappings of his steed, and the grace with which he managed the animal, drew forth loud shouts of applause from the Cossacks who were under the walls of the city. As an armistice had been previously agreed upon, he remained for two hours in the midst of his new admirers, who pressed round him, and even called him their Hetman, so delighted were they with his courage and generosity. When Napoleon quitted Russia, Murat was left in command, but he was unequal to his trying duties, and returned dispirited to Naples, greatly to the Emperor's dissatisfaction. In the German campaign of 1813, he fought nobly at Dresden and Leipsic, but immediately after this last battle, deserted the Imperial standard. On Napoleon's escape from Elba, Murat put an army of 50,000 men in motion, in order, as he said, to secure the independence of Italy, but was defeated by the Austrians and English. After the battle of Waterloo, he wandered about for some months as a fugitive; but, being discovered, was seized, tried, and ordered to be shot, by Ferdinand, the then reigning King of Naples. When the fatal moment arrived, Murat walked with a firm step to the place of execution. He would not accept a chair, nor suffer his eyes to be bound. He stood upright, with his face towards the soldiers, and when all was ready, kissed a cornelian on which the head of his wife was engraved, and gave the word thus: 'Save my face—aim at my heart—fire!' Murat left two daughters and two sons; the elder of his sons is a citizen of the United States, and said to be a youth of very superior promise."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"With respect to Murat's beauty, and the nobleness of his figure, which have been so much insisted on, it is a point which will bear discussion. I do not admit that a man is handsome because he is large, and always dressed for a carnival. Murat's features were not good, and I may even add that, considering him as detached from his curled hair, his plumes, and his embroidery, he was plain. There was something of the negro in his countenance, though his nose was not flat; but very thick lips, and a nose, which,

section of Lepelletier had come to seize the artillery. He got before that battalion, put horses to the guns, and brought them to the Tuileries. Bonaparte then directed his attention to the defence of all the avenues. He had five thousand troops of the line, a corps of patriots amounting, only since the preceding day, to about fifteen hundred, some gendarmes of the tribunals, disarmed in Prairial, and rearmed on this occasion, lastly the police legion, and some invalids, making altogether about eight thousand men. He distributed his artillery and his troops in the Rue du Cul-de-Sac Dauphin, Rue L'Echelle, Rue Rohan, Rue St. Nicaise, on the Pont Neuf, the Pont Royal, the Pont Louis XVI., in the Place Louis XV., and the Place Vendôme, in short, at all the points where the Convention was accessible. He placed his cavalry and part of his infantry in reserve at the Carrousel, and in the garden of the Tuileries. He ordered all the provisions in Paris to be brought to the Tuileries, and a depot of ammunition and an hospital for the wounded to be established there. He sent a detachment to secure the depot and to occupy the heights of Meudon, intending to retire thither with the Convention in case of defeat; he intercepted the road to St. Germain, to prevent cannon from being brought to the insurgents; he ordered chests of arms to be conveyed to the fauxbourg St. Antoine, to arm the section of the Quinze-Vingts, which had alone voted for the decrees, and whose zeal Fréron had gone to rouse. These dispositions were completed on the morning of the 13th. Orders were given to the republican troops to await aggression, and not to provoke it.

During this interval, the committee of insurrection established in the section of Lepelletier had likewise made its dispositions. It had outlawed the committees of government, and created a kind of tribunal for trying those who should resist the sovereignty of the sections. Several generals had come to offer it their services. A Vendean, known by the name of Count de Maulevrier, and a young emigrant, called Lafond, had emerged from their retreats to direct the movement. Generals Duhox and Danican,* who had commanded the republican armies in La Vendée, had joined them. Danican was a restless spirit, fitter to declaim at a club than to command an army: he had been a friend of Hoche's, and been frequently blamed by him for his inconsistencies. Being displaced, he was in Paris, extremely dissatisfied with the government, and ready to engage in the wildest schemes. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the sections. The resolution being taken to fight, and all the citizens being implicated, in spite of themselves, a sort of plan was formed. The sections of the fauxbourg St. Germain, under the command of Count de Maulevrier, were to start from the

though aquiline, had nothing of nobleness in its form, gave to his physiognomy a monrel expression at least."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"'Murat,' said Napoleon, 'is a good soldier—one of the most brilliant men I ever saw on a field of battle. Of no superior talents, without much moral courage, timid even in forming his plan of operations; but the moment he saw the enemy, all that vanished—his eye was the most sure, and the most rapid, his courage truly cliivalrous. Moreover, he is a fine man, tall, and well-dressed, though at times rather fantastically—in short, a magnificent lazzarone. It was really a magnificent sight to see him in battle heading the cavalry.'"—*Lord Ebrington's Account of his Conversation with Napoleon at Elba*. E.

* "Danican was descended from a noble family, but was so poor that he began life as a foot-soldier. At the time of the Revolution he was rapidly promoted, and was employed in La Vendée as general of brigade. He was afterwards removed on suspicion of being a royalist. At the period of the 13th of Vendémiaire, he embraced the party of the sections, commanded for a short time their armed force, and escaped when he saw the Conventional troops gain the advantage. In 1799, he fought in Switzerland, in an emigrant corps, and, in 1805, went to reside in England."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

Odeon, for the purpose of attacking the Tuileries by the bridges; the sections of the right bank were to attack by the Rue St. Honoré and by all the cross streets running from the Rue St. Honoré to the Tuileries. A detachment under young Lafond was to secure the Pont Neuf, in order to place the two divisions of the sectionary army in communication. The young men who had served in the armies, and who were most capable of standing fire, were placed at the head of the columns. Of the forty thousand men of the national guard, twenty or twenty-seven thousand at most were present under arms. There was a much safer manœuvre than that of presenting themselves in deep columns to the fire of the batteries; namely, to make barricades in the streets, and thus shut up the Assembly and its troops in the Tuileries; to occupy the houses which surround them, and keep up from them a destructive fire, to pick off the defenders of the Convention one by one, and thus soon reduce them by famine and balls. But the sectionaries had no notion of anything but a *coup-de-main*, and thought, by a single charge, to get to the palace and to force its gates.

Early in the morning, the Poissonnière section stopped the artillery-horses and the arms proceeding to the section of the Quinze-Vingts; that of Mont-Blanc seized the provisions destined for the Tuileries; and a detachment of the section of Lepelletier made itself master of the Treasury. Young Lafond, at the head of several companies, marched towards the Pont Neuf, while other battalions were coming by the Rue Dauphine. General Cartaux was directed to guard that bridge, with four hundred men and four pieces of cannon. Wishing to avoid a battle, he retired to the quay of the Louvre. The battalions of the sections advanced on all sides, and drew up within a few paces of the posts of the Convention, and near enough to converse with the sentinels.

The troops of the Convention would have had a great advantage in commencing operations, and, had they made a brisk attack, they would probably have thrown the assailants into disorder; but the generals had been instructed to wait for aggression. In consequence, notwithstanding the acts of hostility already committed, notwithstanding the capture of the artillery-horses, notwithstanding the seizure of the provisions destined for the Convention, and of the arms sent off to the Quinze-Vingts, and notwithstanding the death of an orderly hussar, killed in the Rue St. Honoré, they still persisted in not attacking.

The morning had passed in preparations on the part of the sections, in suspense on the part of the Conventional army, when Danican, before he began the combat, thought it right to send a flag of truce to the committees to offer them conditions. Barras and Bonaparte were visiting the posts, when the bearer was brought to them blindfolded, as in a fortress. They ordered him to be taken before the committees. He used language of a very threatening kind, and offered peace on condition that the patriots should be disarmed, and the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor rescinded. Such conditions could not be acceptable; and, besides, none whatever could be listened to. The committees, however, though they decided not to answer, resolved to appoint twenty-four deputies to go and fraternize with the sections—an expedient which had frequently succeeded, for words have much more effect when men are ready to come to blows, and they are much more disposed to an arrangement that spares the necessity of slaughtering one another. Meanwhile Danican, not receiving any answer, gave orders for the attack. The firing of small-arms was heard; Bonaparte directed eight hundred muskets and cartouch-boxes to be

brought into one of the halls of the Convention, for the purpose of arming the representatives themselves, and employing them, in case of emergency, as a corps of reserve. This precaution indicated the whole extent of the danger. Each deputy hastened to his place, and, according to custom in moments of danger, the Assembly awaited in the most profound silence the result of this combat, the first regular battle that it had yet fought with the rebellious factions.

It was now half-past four o'clock. Bonaparte, accompanied by Barras, mounted a horse in the court of the Tuileries, and hastened to the post of the Cul-de-Sac Dauphin, facing the church of St. Roch. The sectionary battalions filled the Rue St. Honoré, and had advanced to the entrance of the Cul-de-Sac. One of their best battalions had posted itself on the steps of the church of St. Roch, and it was there placed in an advantageous manner for firing upon the gunners of the Convention. Bonaparte, who was capable of appreciating the effect of the first blow, immediately directed his artillery to advance, and ordered a first discharge. The sectionaries replied by a very brisk fire of musketry; but Bonaparte, covering them with grape shot, obliged them to fall back upon the steps of St. Roch; then, debouching in the Rue St. Honoré, he directed upon the church itself a band of patriots who were fighting at his side with the greatest valour, and who had cruel injuries to revenge. The sectionaries, after an obstinate resistance, were dislodged. Bonaparte, then, turning his guns right and left, made them sweep the whole length of the Rue St. Honoré. The assailants instantly fled on all sides, and retired in the greatest disorder. Leaving an officer to continue the firing and to complete the defeat, he next proceeded to the Carrousel, and hastened to the other posts. Everywhere he caused grape-shot to be fired, and everywhere the unfortunate sectionaries, imprudently exposed in deep columns to the effect of the artillery, betook themselves to flight. The sectionaries, though they had very brave men at the head of their columns, fled with the utmost precipitation towards the head-quarters at the Filles St. Thomas. Danican and the officers then discovered the blunder which they had committed in marching upon the guns, instead of barricading the streets and posting themselves in the houses contiguous to the Tuileries. Still they were not discouraged, and they resolved upon a new effort. They determined to join the columns coming from the fauxbourg St. Germain to make a general attack upon the bridges. Accordingly, they rallied a column of from six to eight thousand men, directed them towards the Pont Neuf, where Lafond was posted with his troops, and formed a junction with the battalions coming from the Rue Dauphine, under the command of the Count de Maulevrier. All advanced together in close column from the Pont Neuf along the Quai Voltaire to the Pont Royal. Bonaparte, present wherever danger required his presence, hastened to the spot. He placed several batteries on the quay of the Tuileries, which is parallel to the Quai Voltaire; he ordered the guns placed at the head of the Pont Royal to advance, and to be pointed in such a manner as to enfilade the quay by which the assailants were coming. Having made these preparations, he suffered the sectionaries to approach: then all at once, he gave orders to fire. A shower of grape from the bridge met the sectionaries in front, another from the quay of the Tuileries, took them obliquely, and carried terror and destruction into their ranks. Young Lafond, full of intrepidity, rallied around him the steadiest of his men, and again marched upon the bridge, to make himself master of the guns. A redoubled fire drove back his

column. He endeavored in vain to bring it forward a third time : it fled and dispersed under the fire of a well-directed artillery.

The conflict, which had begun at half-past four, was over at six. Bonaparte, who, during the action, had displayed an unpinching energy, and who had fired upon the population of the capital, as though it had been Austrian battalions, then gave orders to charge the guns with powder, to complete the dispersion of the insurgents. Some sectionaries had intrenched themselves in the Place Vendôme, in the church of St. Roch, and in the Palais Royal; he made his troops debouch by all the outlets of the Rue St. Honoré, and detached a corps which, starting from the Place Louis XV., proceeded through the Rue Royale and along the boulevards. He thus swept the Place Vendôme, cleared the church of St. Roch, invested the Palais Royal, and blockaded it to avoid a night engagement.

Next morning, a few musket-shot were sufficient to produce the evacuation of the Palais Royal and the section of Lepelletier, where the rebels had formed the design to intrench themselves. Bonaparte ordered some barricades formed near the Barrière des Sergens to be removed, and a detachment from St. Germain, which was bringing cannon to the sectionaries, to be stopped. Tranquillity was completely restored on the 14th.*

* The following is an extract from Bonaparte's own account of this memorable transaction which was dictated by him, when at St. Helena, to Las Cases:—"As soon as Napoleon found himself invested with the command of the forces destined to protect the Assembly, he despatched Murat, with three hundred cavalry, to the Sablons, to bring off the artillery to the gardens of the Tuileries. One moment would have been too late. This officer, on arriving at the Sablons at two o'clock, fell in with the head of a column of the section Lepelletier, which had come also for the purpose of carrying off the artillery; but his troops being cavalry, and the ground a plain, the section retreated, and at six in the morning the forty guns entered the Tuileries. From six o'clock to nine, Napoleon visited all the posts and arranged the positions of his cannon. All the matches were lighted, and the whole of the little army, consisting of only five thousand men, was distributed at the different posts, or in reserve at the garden, and the Place Carrousel. The *général* beat throughout Paris, and the national guards formed at all the debouches, thus surrounding the palace and gardens. The danger was imminent. Forty thousand national guards, well armed and trained, presented themselves as the enemies of the Convention who, in order to increase its forces, armed fifteen hundred individuals, called the Patriots of 1789. These men fought with the greatest valour, and were of the greatest importance to the success of the day. General Cartaux, who had been stationed at Pont Neuf with four hundred men and four pieces of cannon, with orders to defend the two sides of the bridge, abandoned his post and fell back under the wickets. At the same time the national guard occupied the garden of the Infanta. They professed to be well-affected towards the Convention, and nevertheless seized on this post without orders. The sectionaries every moment sent women, or themselves advanced unarmed, and waving their hats over their heads, to fraternize with the troops of the line. On the 13th of Vendémiaire, at three o'clock, Danican, general of the sections, sent a flag of truce to summon the Convention to dismiss the troops and disarm the Terrorists. This messenger traversed the posts blindfolded, with all the forms of war. He was then introduced into the midst of the committee of forty, in which he caused a great sensation by his threats. He was sent back towards four o'clock. About the same time seven hundred muskets, belts, and cartridge-boxes, were brought into the hall of the Convention to arm the members themselves as a *corps de réserve*. At a quarter after four some muskets were discharged from the Hôtel de Noailles, into which the sectionaries had introduced themselves; the balls reached the steps of the Tuileries. At the same instant Lafond's column debouched by the Quai Voltaire, marching over the Pont Royal. The batteries were then ordered to fire. After several discharges St. Roch was carried, and Lafond's column routed. The Rue St. Honoré, the Rue St. Florentin, and the adjacent places were swept by the guns. About a hundred men attempted to make a stand at the Théâtre de la République, but a few shells from the howitzers dislodged them in an instant. At six o'clock all was over. There were about two hundred killed and wounded on the part of the sectionaries, and nearly as many on the side of the Convention. The fauxbourgs, if they did

The dead were immediately carried away, in order to remove all traces of this combat. There had been from three to four hundred killed and wounded on both sides.

This victory gave great joy to all the sincere friends of the republic, who could not help recognizing in this movement the influence of royalism. It restored to the threatened Convention, that is, to the Revolution and its authors, the authority which they needed for the establishment of the new institutions. Yet it was the unanimous opinion that a severe use should not be made of the victory. One charge was quite ready to be preferred against the Convention: people pretended that it had fought only in behalf of Terrorism, and with the intention of re-establishing it. It was of importance that they should not have grounds for imputing to it a design to spill blood. The sectionaries, on their part, proved that they were not clever conspirators, and that they were far from possessing the energy of the patriots; they had lost no time in returning to their homes, proud of having defied for a moment those guns which had so often broken the lines of Brunswick and Coburg. Provided they were allowed to extol their courage among themselves, but little danger was thenceforth to be apprehended from them. The Convention, therefore, contented itself with displacing the staff of the national guard; with dissolving the companies of grenadiers and chasseurs, which were the best organized, and contained almost all the young men with double queues; with putting the national guard for the future under the direction of the general commanding the army of the interior; with giving orders for disarming the section of Lepelletier and that of the Théâtre-Français; and with forming three commissions for trying the leaders of the rebellion, who, however, had almost all of them disappeared.

The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs suffered themselves to be dissolved; the two sections of Lepelletier and the Théâtre-Français delivered up their arms without resistance: all, in short, submitted. The committees, entering into these views of clemency, winked at the escape of the guilty, or allowed them to remain in Paris, where they could scarcely keep themselves concealed. The commissioners pronounced no sentences except for contumacy. Only one of the chiefs was apprehended, namely, young Lafond. He had excited some interest by his courage: there was a wish to save him, but he persisted in declaring himself an emigrant and in avowing his rebellion, so that it was impossible to pardon him. To such a length was indulgence carried, that M. de Castellane, one of the members of the commission formed in the section of Lepelletier, meeting at night a patrole, who cried, "Who goes there?" replied, "Castellane, one of the contumacious!" The consequences of the 13th of Vendémiaire were, therefore, not sanguinary, and the capital was not at all shocked by them. The culprits withdrew, or walked about unmolested, and the drawing-rooms were exclusively occupied with the accounts of exploits which they dared avow. Without punishing those who had attacked it, the Convention contented

not rise in favor of the Convention. certainly did not act against it. It is untrue that, in the commencement of the action, the troops were ordered to fire with powder only; but it is a fact that when once they were engaged, and success had ceased to be doubtful, they fired without ball. On the 14th of Vendémiaire some assemblages still continued to take place in the section Lepelletier; they were, however, promptly dislodged, and the rest of the day was employed in going over the city, visiting the chief houses of the sections, gathering in arms, and reading proclamations. In the evening order was completely restored, and Paris once more perfectly quiet." E.

itself with rewarding those who had defended it; it declared that they had deserved well of their country; it voted gratuities to them; and gave a brilliant reception to Barras and Bonaparte.* Barras, already celebrated for the 9th of Thermidor, became much more so on account of the combat in Vendémiaire. To him was attributed the salvation of the Convention. He was not afraid to allow his young lieutenant to share in his glory. "It is General Bonaparte," said he, "whose prompt and skilful dispositions have saved this Assembly."† These words were applauded. Barras was confirmed in the command of the army of the interior, and Bonaparte in the appointment of his second.

The intriguing royalists were extremely disappointed on seeing the issue of the insurrection of the 13th. They lost no time in writing to Verona that they had been deceived by everybody; that money had been wanting; that "where gold was needed, they scarcely had old rags; that the monarchist deputies, those who had given them promises, had forfeited them and played an infamous game;" that it was "a Jacobin race," in which no trust was to be placed; that, unfortunately, those who wished to serve the cause were not sufficiently "compromised" and "bound;" that "the royalists of Paris, with green collar, black collar, and double queues, who displayed their bravadoes in the pit of the theatres, ran away at the first shot, and hid themselves under the beds of the women who endured them."

Lemaître, their chief, had been apprehended together with the different investigators of the section of Lepelletier. A great quantity of papers had been seized at his residence. They feared lest these papers should betray the secret of the plot, and above all, lest he should speak himself. Nevertheless, they were not disheartened; their creatures continued to act among the sectionaries. The kind of impunity which the latter enjoyed had emboldened them. As the Convention, though victorious, durst not strike them, it therefore acknowledged that public opinion was in their favour; it was, of course, not sure of the justice of its cause, since it hesitated. Though vanquished, they were prouder and loftier than it was, and they again appeared in the electoral assemblies to promote elections conformable with their wishes. The assemblies were to form themselves on the 20th of Vendémiaire and to last till the 30th; the new legislative body was to meet on the 5th of Brumaire. In Paris, the royalist agents procured the election of Saladin, the Conventionalist, whom they had already gained. In some of the departments they provoked quarrels, and some of the electoral assemblies were seen splitting into two distinct parties.

These intrigues, this recovered boldness, contributed greatly to exasperate

* "After this memorable conflict, when Bonaparte had been publicly received with enthusiasm by the Convention, who declared that he and Barras deserved well of their country, a great change took place in him, and the change in regard to attention to his person was not the least remarkable. He now never went out but in a handsome carriage, and he lived in a very respectable house, Rue des Capucines. In short he had become an important, a necessary personage, and all without noise, as if by magic."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

† "Those who read the bulletin of the 13th of Vendémiaire, cannot fail to observe the care which Bonaparte took to cast the reproach of shedding the first blood on the men he calls rebels. He made a great point of representing his adversaries as the aggressors. It is certain he long regretted that day. He often told me he would give years of his life to blot it out from the page of his history. He was convinced that the people of Paris were dreadfully irritated against him, and he would have been glad if Barras had never made that speech in the Convention, with the part of which complimentary to himself he was at the time so well pleased."—*Bourricane*. E.

the patriots, who had seen all their prognostics fulfilled in the events of the 13th, who were proud both of having guessed rightly, and of having overcome by their courage the danger which they had so correctly foreseen. They were anxious that the victory might not prove useless to themselves, that it should lead to severities against their adversaries, and reparations for their friends confined in the prisons. They presented petitions, in which they prayed for the release of the detained persons, the dismissal of the officers appointed by Aubry, the restoration to their rank of those who had been displaced, the trial of the imprisoned deputies, and their reinsertion in the electoral lists, if they were innocent. The Mountain, supported by the tribunes, crowded with patriots, applauded these demands, and energetically claimed their adoption. Tallien, who had connected himself with it, and who was the civil head of the ruling party, as Barras was its military head—Tallien strove to repress it. He caused the last demand relative to the reinsertion of the detained deputies in the lists to be withdrawn, as contrary to the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. Those decrees, in fact, declared the deputies who were then suspended from their functions ineligible. The Mountain, however, was not easier to manage than the sectionaries; and it seemed as though the last days of that Assembly, which had but one decade more to sit, could not possibly pass without storm.

The very tidings from the frontiers contributed to increase the agitation, by exciting the distrust of the patriots and the inextinguishable hopes of the royalists. We have seen that Jourdan had crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf, and advanced upon the Sieg; that Pichegru had entered Mannheim, and thrown a division beyond the Rhine. Events so auspicious had not suggested any grand idea to Pichegru, who was so highly extolled, and herein he had proved either his perfidy or his incapacity. Agreeably to ordinary analogies, it is to his incapacity that his blunders ought to be attributed; for, even with the desire to betray, a man never throws away occasions for great victories; they always serve to enhance his price. Contemporaries worthy of belief have, nevertheless, thought that his false manœuvres should be ascribed to treason: he is, therefore, the only general known in history who ever purposely suffered himself to be beaten. It was not a corps that he should have pushed on beyond Mannheim, but his whole army, to take possession of Heidelberg, which is the essential point where the roads running from the Upper Rhine into the valleys of the Neckar and the Mayn cross one another. This would have been gaining the point by which Wurmser could have joined Clairfayt, separating those two generals for ever, securing the point by which it was possible to join Jourdan, and to form with him a mass that would have successively overwhelmed Clairfayt and Wurmser. Clairfayt, aware of the danger, quitted the banks of the Mayn and hastened to Heidelberg; but his lieutenant, Quasdanovich, assisted by Wurmser, had succeeded in dislodging from Heidelberg the division which Pichegru had left there. Pichegru was shut up in Mannheim; and Clairfayt, relieved from all fear for his communications with Wurmser, had immediately marched upon Jourdan. The latter, cooped up between the Rhine and the line of neutrality, could not live there as in an enemy's country, and, having no organized service for drawing his resources from the Netherlands, found himself, as soon as he could neither march forward nor join Pichegru, in a most critical position. Clairfayt, in particular, disregarding the neutrality, had placed himself in such a manner as to turn his left and to throw him into the Rhine. He

could not keep his ground there: it was therefore resolved by the representatives, with the assent of all the generals, that he should fall back on Mayence, and blockade it on the right bank. But this position would be no better than the preceding; it would leave him in the same penury; it would expose him to the attacks of Clairfayt in a disadvantageous situation; it would render him liable to lose his route towards Düsseldorf: it was consequently decided that he should retreat, for the purpose of regaining the Lower Rhine. This he did in good order, and without being molested by Clairfayt, who, meditating a grand plan, returned upon the Mayn to approach Mayence.

To these tidings of the retrograde march of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, were added alarming rumours concerning the army of Italy. Scherer had arrived there with two fine divisions of the Eastern Pyrenees, rendered disposable by the peace with Spain: it was nevertheless said that this general did not feel sure of his position, and that he demanded such succours as could be afforded him in *matériel* and supplies, without which he threatened to make a retrograde movement. Lastly, there was talk of a second English expedition, bringing Count d'Artois and fresh troops for effecting a landing.

These tidings, which certainly involved nothing alarming for the existence of the republic, still mistress of the course of the Rhine, which had two more armies to send, the one to Italy, the other to La Vendée, which had just learned by the affair at Quiberon to rely upon Hoche, and not to fear the expeditions of the emigrants—these tidings, nevertheless, contributed to rouse the royalists, terrified by Vendémiaire, and to exasperate the patriots, who were dissatisfied at the use which had been made of the victory. The discovery of the correspondence of Lemaître, in particular, produced the most unpleasant sensation. People discovered in it the entire plot which had been so long suspected; they acquired a certainty of a secret agency established in Paris, communicating with Verona, with La Vendée, and with all the provinces of France, exciting counter-revolutionary movements there, and having an understanding with several members of the Convention and of the committees. The very boasting of these paltry agents, who flattered themselves with having gained sometimes generals, at others deputies, and who pretended to have connexions with monarchists and Thermidorians, contributed to excite still stronger suspicions, and to make them hover over the heads of the deputies of the right side.

Rovère and Saladin were already mentioned, and against them convincing evidence had been obtained. The latter had published a pamphlet against the decrees of the 5th and the 13th of Fructidor, and had just been rewarded for it by the suffrages of the Parisian electors. Lesage, of Eure and Loire, La Rivière, Boissy-d'Anglas,* and Lanjuinais, were also pointed out as secret accomplices of the royalist agency. Their silence on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Vendémiaire had greatly compromised them. The counter-revolutionary journals, by the warm praises which they bestowed upon these men, contributed to compromise them still more. Those same papers, which so highly extolled the seventy-three, loaded the Thermidorians with abuse. It was scarcely possible that a rupture should not ensue. The seventy-three and the Thermidorians still continued to meet at the

* "Boissy-d'Anglas was secretly connected with the royalist faction, and, we are told, entertained a lurking hatred and contempt for the people. He was the intimate friend of Aubry, who is also supposed to have superseded Bonaparte with a view to rob the republic of his talents and future victories.—*Hazlitt*. E.

residence of a mutual friend, but ill-humour and want of confidence prevailed among them. Towards the latter end of the session, they were talking there of the new elections, of the intrigues of royalism to influence them, and of the silence of Boissy, Lanjuinais, La Rivière, and Lesage, during the scenes of Vendémiaire. Legendre, with his usual petulance, censured the four deputies, who were present, for this silence. The latter strove to justify themselves. Lanjuinais dropped the very strange expression of "massacre of the 13th of Vendémiaire," and thus furnished proof either of extraordinary confusion of ideas, or of sentiments very far from republican. At this expression, Tallien flew into a violent passion, and would have retired, saying that he could stay no longer with royalists, and that he would go and denounce them to the Convention. The others surrounded and pacified him, and endeavoured to palliate the expression of Lanjuinais. The party, nevertheless, broke up in great ill-humour.

Meanwhile the agitation continued to increase in Paris. Distrust was everywhere augmented, and suspicions of royalism extended to everybody. Tallien moved that the Convention should form itself into a secret committee, and he formally denounced Lesage, La Rivière, Boissy-d'Anglas, and Lanjuinais. His proofs were not sufficient; they rested only upon inductions more or less probable, and the accusation was not supported. Louvet, though attached to the Thermidorians, did not support the charge against the four deputies, who were his friends; but he accused Rovère and Saladin, and painted their conduct in glaring colors. He followed their variations from the most vehement terrorism to the most vehement royalism, and obtained a decree for their arrest. L'Homond, compromised by Lemaitre, and Aubry, the author of the military reaction, were likewise arrested.

The adversaries of Tallien, by way of reprisal, called for the publication of a letter from the Pretender to the Duke d'Harcourt, in which, remarking on the statements sent to him from Paris, he said, "I cannot believe that Tallien is a royalist of the right sort." It should be recollected that the Paris agents flattered themselves that they had gained Tallien and Hoche. Their habitual boasting, and their calumnies respecting Hoche, are sufficient to justify Tallien. This letter produced but little effect; for Tallien, since the affair of Quiberon, and since his conduct in Vendémiaire, so far from being deemed a royalist, was considered as a sanguinary Terrorist. Thus men, who ought to have united in saving by their joint efforts a revolution which was their own work, were filled with distrust of one another, and suffered themselves to be compromised, if not gained, by royalism. Owing to the calumnies of the royalists, the last days of this illustrious Assembly ended, as they had begun, in storms and agitation.

Tallien lastly moved the appointment of a commission of five members, charged to propose efficacious measures for saving the Revolution during the transition from one government to another. The Convention nominated Tallien, Dubois-Crancé, Florent Guyot, Roux of La Marne, and Pons of Verdun. The object of this commission was to prevent the manœuvres of the royalists in the elections, and to satisfy the republicans in regard to the composition of the new government. The Mountain, full of ardour, and conceiving that this commission was about to fulfil all its wishes, spread a report, and believed it for a moment, that all the elections were to be annulled, and that the Assembly was about to delay putting the constitution in operation for some time longer. It had, in fact, persuaded itself that the time was not come for

leaving the republic to itself, that the royalists were not sufficiently crushed, and that the revolutionary government was needed for some time longer, in order to quell them completely. The counter-revolutionists affected to circulate the same reports. Thibaudeau, the deputy, who thus far had not gone along either with the Mountain or with the Thermidorians, or with the monarchists, who had nevertheless shown himself a sincere republican, and on whom thirty-two departments had just fixed their choice, because in electing him they had the advantage of not declaring for any party—Thibaudeau could naturally not distrust the state of opinion so much as the Thermidorians. He thought that Tallien and his party calumniated the nation by wishing to take so many precautions against it; he even supposed that Tallien harboured personal designs, that he meant to place himself at the head of the Mountain and to give himself a dictatorship, upon pretext of preserving the republic from the royalists. He denounced, in a virulent and acrimonious manner this supposed design of dictatorship, and made an unexpected sally against Tallien, which surprised all the republicans, because they could not comprehend its motive. This attack even compromised Thibaudeau in the opinion of the most distrustful, and caused intentions which he never entertained to be ascribed to him. Though he reminded the assembly that he was a regicide, it was well known from the intercepted letters* that the death of Louis XVI. might be expiated by important services rendered to his heirs, and this quality no longer appeared to be a complete guarantee. Thus, though a firm republican, this sally against Tallien injured him in the estimation of the patriots, and gained him extraordinary praises from the royalists. He was called *Bar of Iron*.

The Convention passed to the order of the day, and awaited the report of Tallien in the name of the commission of five. The result of the labours of this commission was a decree comprehending the following measures:

Exclusion of all emigrants and relatives of emigrants from all functions, civil, municipal, legislative, judicial, and military, till the general peace;

Permission for all those who would not live under the laws of the republic to quit France and to carry their property along with them;

Dismissal of all officers who had not served during the revolutionary system, that is, since the 10th of August, and who had been replaced since the 15th Germinal, that is, since the proceedings of Aubry.

These dispositions were adopted. The Convention then decreed in a solemn manner the union of Belgium with France, and its division into departments. At length, on the 4th of Brumaire, at the moment of breaking up, it determined to finish its long and stormy career by a signal act of clemency. It decreed that the punishment of death should be abolished in the French republic, from the time of the general peace. It changed the name of the Place de la Revolution into that of Place de la Concorde; and lastly, it pronounced an amnesty for all acts connected with the Revolution, excepting the revolt of the 13th of Vendémiaire. This was setting at liberty men of all parties excepting Lemaitre, the only one of the conspirators of Vendémiaire against whom there existed sufficient evidence. The sentence of transportation pronounced against Billaud-Varennes, Collet-d'Herbois, and Barrère, which had been revoked for the purpose

* *Moniteur*, year IV, p. 150. Letter from d'Entraigues to Lemaitre, dated October 10, 1795.

of trying them anew, that is, to cause them to be condemned to death, was confirmed. Barrère, who alone had not yet been embarked,* was directed to be put on shipboard. All the prisons were to be thrown open. At half-past two, on the 4th of Brumaire, year IV (October 26, 1795,) the president of the Convention pronounced these words: "The National Convention declares that its mission is accomplished and its session is closed." Shouts, a thousand times repeated, of *The republic forever!* accompanied these words.

Thus terminated the long and memorable session of the National Convention. The Constituent Assembly had the ancient feudal organization to destroy, and to lay the foundation of a new organization: the Legislative Assembly had had to make trial of that organization, in presence of the King, left in the constitution. After a trial of some months, it ascertained and declared the incompatibility of the King with the new institutions, and his connivances with leagued Europe: it suspended the King and the constitution, and dissolved itself. The Convention, therefore, found a dethroned king, an annulled constitution, an administration entirely destroyed, a paper money discredited, old skeletons of regiments worn out and empty. Thus it was not liberty that it had to proclaim in presence of an enfeebled and despised throne, it was liberty that it had to defend against all Europe; a very different task. Without being for a moment daunted, it proclaimed the republic in the face of the hostile armies; it then sacrificed the King, to cut off all retreat from itself; it subsequently took all the powers into its own hands, and constituted itself a dictatorship. Voices were raised in its bosom, which talked of humanity when it wished to hear of nothing but energy; it stifled them. This dictatorship, which the necessity of the general preservation had obliged it to arrogate to itself over France, twelve of its members soon arrogated to themselves over it, for the same reason and on account of the same necessity. From the Alps to the sea, from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, these twelve dictators seized upon all, both men and things, and commenced the greatest and the most awful struggle with the nations of Europe ever recorded in history. In order that they might remain supreme directors of this immense work, they sacrificed all parties by turns; and according to the condition attached to humanity, they had the excesses of their qualities. These qualities were strength and energy; their excess was cruelty. They spilt torrents of blood, till, having become useless from victory, and odious by the abuse of strength, they fell. The Convention then took the dictatorship again into its own hands, and began by degrees to relax the springs of that terrible administration. Rendered confident by victory, it listened to humanity, and indulged its spirit of regeneration. It aimed at everything good and great, and pursued this purpose for a year; but the parties, crushed under its pitiless authority, revived under its clemency. Two factions, in which were blended, under infinite variety of shades, the friends and the foes of the Revolution, attacked it by turns. It vanquished the one in Germinal and Prairial, the other in Vendémiaire, and, till the last day, showed itself heroic amidst dangers. Lastly, it framed a republican constitution, and, after a struggle of three years with Europe, with the factions, with itself, mutilated and bleeding, it dissolved itself and transmitted the government of France to the Directory.†

* "Barrère contrived to be left behind, at the island of Oleron, when his colleagues sailed for Cayenne, upon which Boursault observed, that it was the first time he ever failed to sail with the wind."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

† "During this frightful period of three years, the violence of the different factions

Its memory has remained terrible, but in its favour there need only be alleged one fact, one only, and all reproaches fall before this important fact—it saved us from foreign invasion. The preceding assemblies had bequeathed to it France compromised. The Convention bequeathed France saved to the Directory and the Empire. If, in 1793, the emigrants had returned to France, there would have been left no vestige of the works of the Constituent Assembly and of the benefits of the Revolution. Instead of those admirable civil institutions, those magnificent exploits, which signalized the Constituent Assembly, the Convention, the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire, we should have had the base and sanguinary anarchy which we behold at this day beyond the Pyrenees. In repelling the invasion of the kings leagued against our republic, the Convention insured to the Revolution an uninterrupted action of thirty years on the soil of France, and gave its works time to become consolidated, and to acquire that strength which enables them to defy the impotent wrath of the enemies of humanity.

To the men who call themselves with pride patriots of 89, the Convention will always be able to say, "You provoked the combat—we sustained and finished it."

THE DIRECTORY.

INSTALLATION OF THE DIRECTORY—ITS FIRST PROCEEDINGS— LOSS OF THE LINES OF MAYENCE, AND ARMISTICE ON THE RHINE—BATTLE OF LOANO—EXPEDITION OF THE ILE-DIEU.

THE 5th of Brumaire, year IV (October 27, 1795), was the day fixed for putting in force the directorial constitution. On that day, the two-thirds of the Convention retained in the legislative body were to be joined by the third just elected by the electoral assemblies, to divide themselves into two councils, to constitute themselves, and then to proceed to the nomination of the five directors, who were to be invested with the executive power. During these first moments, devoted to the organization of the legislative body and the Directory, the former committees of government were to remain, and to retain the deposit of all the powers. The members of the Convention, sent to the armies or into the departments, were to continue their mission until the installation of the Directory should be notified to them.

A great agitation prevailed in the public mind. The moderate and the converted the Revolution into a war, and the house of Assembly into a field of battle. Each party struggled for victory in order to obtain the ascendancy. The Girondins tried, and perished; the party of Robespierre tried, and perished also. Everything was provisional, both power, and men, and parties, and systems; because one thing only was possible, and that was war. A whole year, from the time it regained its authority, was necessary to enable the Convention to restore the nation to the dominion of the law. It had now returned to the point from which it started, having accomplished its real design, which was to protect and finally consolidate the republic. After having astonished the world, it disappeared from the scene. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the Revolution."—*Mignet*. E.

vehement patriots showed one and the same irritation against the party which had attacked the Convention on the 13th of Vendémiaire; they were full of alarm; they exhorted one another to unite more closely than ever, in order to resist royalism; they loudly asserted that only such men as were irrevocably bound to serve the cause of the Revolution ought to be called to the Directory and to all public offices; they entertained a great distrust of the deputies of the new third, and anxiously investigated their names, their past lives, and their known or presumed opinions.

The sectionaries, cut down by grape-shot on the 13th of Vendémiaire, but treated with the utmost clemency after the victory, had again grown insolent. Proud of having for a moment sustained the fire, they seemed to imagine that the Convention, in sparing them, had been influenced by respect for their strength, and tacitly acknowledged the justice of their cause. They showed themselves everywhere, boasted of their exploits, repeating in the drawing rooms the like impertinences against the great Assembly which had just relinquished power, and affected to place strong reliance on the deputies of the new third.

These deputies, who were to take their seats among the veterans of the Revolution, and to represent the new opinion which had sprung up in France after a long series of storms, were far from justifying all the distrust of the republicans and all the hopes of the counter-revolutionists. Among them were some members of the old assemblies, as Vaublanc, Pastoret, Dumas, Dupont of Nemours, and the honest and learned Tronchet, who had rendered such important services to our legislation. Next were seen many new men, not those extraordinary men who shine at the outset of revolutions, but men of solid merit, who succeed genius in the career of politics as in that of the arts; for instance, lawyers and administrators, such as Portalis, Siméon, Barbé-Marbois,* Tronçon-Ducoudray. In general, these new deputies, setting aside some decided counter-revolutionists, belonged to that class of moderate men, who, having taken no share in events, having had no opportunity either to do wrong or to deceive themselves, pretended to be attached to the Revolution, but separated it at the same time from what they called its crimes. Though naturally disposed to censure the past, they were already somewhat reconciled with the Convention and the republic by their election, for men willingly forgive an order of things in which they have found places. For the rest, strangers to Paris and to politics, timid as yet upon this new stage, they courted and visited the most distinguished members of the National Convention.

Such was the disposition of minds on the 5th of Brumaire, year IV. The members of the Convention who had been re-elected, met and strove to influence the nominations that were yet to be made, in order to remain masters of the government. By virtue of the celebrated decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor, the number of the Conventionists in the new legislative body was to be five hundred. If this number were left incomplete by the re-elections, the members present on the 5th of Brumaire were to form themselves into an electoral body for the purpose of completing it.

* "Barbé-Marbois was son of the director of the mint at Metz. In 1792 he went to Vienna as assistant to the ambassador; and on his return to Paris remained in obscurity till 1795. At that period he was deputed to the Council of Ancients, but in 1797 was condemned to banishment. He was recalled to France after the 18th of Brumaire, was appointed councillor of state, and, in 1801, director of the public treasury. In 1805 he was appointed grand officer of the Legion of Honour. He was the author of several esteemed works, among which are an 'Essay on the Means of Inspiring a Taste for Virtue.'"—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

In the committee of public welfare, a list was drawn up, in which were inserted many decided Mountaineers. This list was not wholly approved of. However, none but known patriots were placed in it. On the 5th, all the deputies present, forming a single assembly, constituted themselves an electoral body. In the first place, they completed the two-thirds of Conventionalists who were to sit in the legislative body; they then drew up a list of all the deputies married and past the age of forty, from which they took by lot two hundred and fifty to compose the Council of the Ancients.

On the following day, the Council of the Five Hundred assembled at the Riding-house, in the old hall of the Constituent Assembly, chose Daunou president, and Rewbel, Chénier, Cambacérès, and Thibaudeau, secretaries. The Council of the Ancients met in the former hall of the Convention, called Lareveillère-Lepeaux to the chair, and Baudin, Lanjuinais, Bréard, and Charles Lecroix, to the bureau. These selections were suitable, and proved that in both councils the majority was attached to the republican cause. The councils declared that they were constituted, notified this to each other by messages, provisionally confirmed the powers of the deputies, and deferred the verification of them till after the organization of the government.

The most important of all the elections was yet to take place, namely, that of the five magistrates to be invested with the executive power. On this choice depended at once the fate of the republic and the fortune of individuals. The five directors, in fact, having the nomination of all the public functionaries, could compose the government at pleasure, and fill it with men attached or hostile to the republic. They would be masters moreover of the destiny of individuals; they would have it in their power to open to them, or to shut them out of, the career of public employments, to reward or to discourage talents faithful to the cause of the Revolution. The influence which they must exercise would therefore be immense. In consequence, all were deeply interested in the choice that was about to be made.

The Conventionalists met to consider of this choice. All agreed that they ought to choose regicides, in order to give themselves surer guarantees. Opinions, after wavering for some time, settled in favour of Barras, Rewbel, Sieyes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, and Le Tourneur. Barras had rendered important services in Thermidor, Prairial, and Vendémiaire; he had been, in some sort, the legislator-general opposed to all the factions; the last battle, of the 13th of Vendémiaire, had, in particular, given him great consequence, though the merit of the dispositions belonged to young Bonaparte. Rewbel, shut up in Mayence during the siege, and frequently called into the committees since the 9th of Thermidor, had adopted the opinion of the Thermidorians, shown aptness for and application to business, and a certain vigour of character. Sieyes was regarded as the first speculative genius of the time. Lareveillère-Lepeaux had voluntarily associated himself with the Girondins on the day of their proscription, had come back to his colleagues on the 9th of Thermidor, and had opposed, with all his might, the two factions which had alternately attacked the Convention. A mild and humane patriot, he was the only Girondin whom the Mountain did not suspect, and the only patriot whose virtues the counter-revolutionists durst not deny. He had but one defect, in the opinion of certain persons, namely, the deformity of his person, upon which it was alleged the directorial mantle would sit but ill. Lastly, Le Tourneur, known for a patriot, and esteemed on account of his character, had formerly been an officer of

engineers, and had lately succeeded Carnot in the committee of public welfare, but was far from possessing his talents. Some of the Conventionals were for placing among the five directors one of the generals who had most distinguished themselves at the head of the armies, as Kleber, Moreau, Pichegru, or Hoche; but the Assembly was afraid of giving too much influence to the military, and would not call any of them to the supreme power. To render the elections certain, the Conventionals agreed among themselves to resort to an expedient which, without being illegal, had very much the appearance of a trick. Agreeably to the constitution, the Council of the Five Hundred was to present to the Council of the Ancients a list of ten candidates for each directorship; and out of these ten that council was to choose one. Thus for the five dictatorships it was necessary to present fifty candidates. The Conventionals, who had the majority in the Five Hundred, agreed to place Barras, Rewbel, Sieyes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, and Le Tourneur, at the head of the list, and then to add forty-five unknown names, none of which could possibly be chosen. In this manner a preference was forced for the five candidates whom the Conventionals were desirous of calling to the Directory.

This plan was strictly followed; but, as one name was wanting to make up the forty-five, that of Cambacérès was added, to the great satisfaction of the new third and of all the moderates. When the list was presented to the Ancients, they appeared to be extremely displeased at this manner of forcing their choice. Dupont of Nemours moved an adjournment. "The forty-five persons who complete this list," said he, "are no doubt not unworthy of your choice, for, in the contrary case, it would be evident that an attempt has been made to do you violence in favour of five individuals. No doubt, these names, which reach you for the first time, belong to men of modest virtue, and who are also worthy of representing a great republic; but it requires time to become acquainted with them. Their very modesty, which has kept them concealed, compels us to make inquiries before we can appreciate their merit, and authorizes us to demand an adjournment." The Ancients, though dissatisfied with this procedure, shared the sentiments of the majority of the Five Hundred, and confirmed the choice of the five persons who had thus been forced upon them. Out of two hundred and eighteen votes, Lareveillère-Lepeaux obtained two hundred and sixteen, such was the unanimity of esteem for that excellent man; Le Tourneur obtained one hundred and eighty-nine; Rewbel, one hundred and seventy-six; Sieyes, one hundred and fifty-six; Barras, one hundred and twenty-nine. This last was more of a party man than the others; it was therefore natural that he should excite greater difference of opinion and gain fewer votes.

The election of these five persons gave the greatest satisfaction to the revolutionists, who thus saw themselves assured of the government. It was yet to be ascertained whether the five directors would accept the appointment. There was no doubt respecting three of them, but two were known to care very little about power. Lareveillère-Lepeaux, a simple, modest man, but little qualified for the management of affairs and of men, sought and found no pleasure but in the Jardin des Plantes with the brothers Thouin. It was doubtful whether he could be prevailed upon to accept the functions of director. Sieyes, with a mighty mind, capable of conceiving everything, a matter of business as well as a principle, was nevertheless incapable, from disposition, of the duties of government. Perhaps, too, full of spleen against a republic which was not constituted to his fancy, he would not be

disposed to accept the direction of it. In fact, it was requisite that, among these five individuals, men of business or of action, there should be one of pure and well known virtue. Such a one was found among them by the acceptance of Lareveillère-Lepeaux. As for Sieyes, his repugnance was not to be overcome; he declined, alleging that he considered himself unfit for the government.

It was necessary to provide another in his stead. There was a man who enjoyed immense reputation in Europe—namely, Carnot. His military services, though important, were exaggerated: to him were attributed all our victories; and, though he had been a member of the great committee of public welfare, the colleague of Robespierre, St. Just, and Couthon, it was known that he had opposed them with great energy. In him was seen the union of a great military genius with a stoic character. His reputation, and that of Sieyes, were the two greatest of the time. The best thing that could be done, to give consideration to the Directory, was to supply the place of one of these two reputations by the other. Carnot was, accordingly, inserted in the new list beside the men who rendered his nomination compulsory. Cambacérès was also added to the list, which contained only eight unknown persons. The Ancients, however, had no hesitation in preferring Carnot; he obtained one hundred and seventeen votes against one hundred and thirteen, and became one of the five directors.

Thus Barras, Rewbel, Lareveillère-Lepeaux, Le Tourneur, and Carnot, became the five magistrates invested with the government of the republic. Among these five persons there was not a man of genius, nor even any man of high reputation, excepting Carnot. But what was to be done at the end of a sanguinary revolution, which in a few years, had devoured several generations of men of genius of every description? In the assemblies there was not left one extraordinary orator, in diplomacy there remained not one celebrated negotiator. Barthelemy alone, by his treaties with Prussia and Spain, had gained a sort of consideration, but he inspired the patriots with no confidence. In the armies, great generals were already formed, and still greater were training; * but there was yet no decided superiority, and, besides, a distrust was entertained of the military. Thus, as we have observed, there were but two men of high reputation, Sieyes and Carnot. As it was impossible to gain the one, the other was secured. Barras had action; Rewbel and Le Tourneur were assiduous at business; Lareveillère-Lepeaux was a discreet and upright man: it would have been difficult, at the moment, to compose the supreme magistracy in any other way.

The state of things on the accession of these five magistrates to power was deplorable; and it required great courage and virtue in some, and great ambition in others, to accept the task that was imposed upon them. A combat was just over, in which it had been found necessary to call in one faction to fight another. The patriots who had spilt their blood had become importunate; the sectionaries had not ceased to be daring. The affair of the 13th of Vendémiaire had, in short, not been one of those victories followed by terror, which, while they subject the government to the yoke of the victorious faction, deliver it, at least, from the vanquished fac-

* "Under the stern rule of the Convention, which knew no excuse for ill success, and stimulated by opportunities, which seemed to offer every prize to honourable ambition, arose a race of generals whom the world scarcely ever saw equalled, and of whom there certainly never, at any other period, flourished so many in the same service. In those early wars, and summoned out by the stern proscription, were trained men whose names began already to stir the French soldier as with the sound of the trumpet."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

tion. The patriots had lifted their heads again; the sectionaries had not submitted. Paris was full of intriguers of all parties, agitated by every kind of ambition, and plunged into the deepest distress.

At this time, as in Prairial, there was a scarcity of the first necessities of life in all the great communes: the paper-money produced confusion in trade, and left the government without resources. The Convention having refused to assent to the disposal of the national domains for thrice their value in 1790 in paper, the sales had been suspended; the paper, which could only come back by means of the sales, had continued in circulation, and its depreciation had made alarming progress. To no purpose had the scale of proportion for diminishing the loss of those who received the assignats been devised; that scale reduced them only to a fifth, whereas they had not even the one-hundred-and-fiftieth of the primitive value. The state, receiving nothing but paper for the taxes, was ruined as well as private individuals. It levied, it is true, one-half of the land-tax in kind, which furnished some supplies for the consumption of the armies; but the means of transport were frequently wanting, and those articles remained in the magazines till they were spoiled. To add to its expenditure, it was obliged, as we know, to feed Paris. It furnished the ration at a price in assignats which scarcely covered the hundredth part of the cost. This expedient, however, was the only possible one for supplying the annuitants and the public functionaries, who were paid in assignats, with bread at least; but this obligation had raised the expenditure to an enormous amount. Having nothing but paper to defray it, the state had issued assignats without limit, and had increased the quantity of them, in a few months, from twelve to twenty-nine thousand million. The old returns and the sums in the treasury reduced the actual amount in circulation to nineteen thousand million, which exceeded all the amounts known in finance. To keep down the issues as much as possible, the commission of five, instituted in the last days of the Convention for devising extraordinary means of police and finance, had induced the Assembly to decree, in principle, an extraordinary war-contribution of twenty times the land-tax, and ten times the tax on patents, which might produce about six or seven thousand million in paper. But this contribution was decreed only in principle; and, meanwhile, inscriptions of *rentes* were given to the contractors, which they received at a ruinous rate. A *rente* of five francs was allowed for a capital of ten. An experiment was also made of a voluntary loan at 3 per cent., which was ruinous and ill filled.

In this dreadful distress, the public functionaries, being unable to live upon their salaries, gave in their resignation. The soldiers left the armies, which had lost one-third of their effective force, and returned to the towns, where the weakness of the government allowed them to remain unmolested. Thus to supply five armies and an immense capital, with the mere faculty of issuing assignats without value; to recruit those armies; to reconstitute the entire government between the two hostile factions—such was the task of the five magistrates who had just been called to the supreme administration of the republic.

The necessity of order is so great in all communities, that they naturally favour its re-establishment, and wonderfully second those who undertake the duty of reorganizing them: but it would be impossible to reorganize them, unless they were favourably disposed towards it, and we ought not the less to acknowledge the courage and the efforts of

those who venture to undertake such enterprises. The five directors, on taking possession of the Luxembourg, found not a single article of furniture there. The keeper lent them a rickety table, a sheet of letter-paper, and an inkstand, for the purpose of writing the first message, notifying to the two councils that the Directory was constituted.* In the treasury there was not a sou in specie. Every night the assignats necessary for the service of the following day were printed, and they were issued quite wet from the presses of the republic. The greatest uncertainty respecting supplies prevailed; and, for several days, there had been nothing but a few ounces of bread or rice to distribute among the people.

The first demand made was for funds. According to the new constitution, it was requisite that every expense should be preceded by a demand for funds, with an allotment to each ministry. The two councils granted the demand, and then the treasury, which had been rendered independent of the Directory, paid the sums granted by the decree of the two councils. The Directory demanded at first three thousand million in assignats, which was granted, and which it would be necessary to exchange immediately for specie. Was it the duty of the treasury or of the Directory to negotiate this exchange? That was the first difficulty. The treasury, if it made bargains itself, would be overstepping the duty of mere superintendence. That difficulty, however, was removed by assigning to it the negotiation of the paper. The three thousand million could produce at most twenty or twenty-five million of livres. That sum could do no more than supply the first current wants. A plan of finance was immediately taken into consideration, and the Directory intimated to the two councils that it should submit that plan to them in a few days. Meanwhile it was necessary to feed Paris, which was destitute of every thing; and there was no longer any organized system of requisitions. The Directory demanded the faculty of requiring, by way of summons, in the departments contiguous to that of the Seine, the quantity of two hundred and fifty thousand quintals of corn, on account of the land-tax payable in kind. The next care of the Directory was to demand a number of laws for the repression of all kinds of disorders, and especially of desertion, which was daily diminishing the strength of the armies. At the same time, it set about appointing the persons who were to compose the administration. Merlin of Douai was called to the ministry of justice; Aubert-Dubayet was removed from the army of the coast of Cherbourg to take the portfolio of war; Charles de Lacroix was placed at the head of foreign affairs, Faypoult, over the finances, and Benezech, an enlightened administrator, was appointed to the interior. It then studied to find, among the multitude of applicants by whom it was beset, the men best qualified to fill

* "When the directors entered the Luxembourg, there was not a piece of furniture in it. They procured a small wooden table, one of the feet of which was destroyed by age, upon which they deposited a bundle of letter-paper and a writing desk, which fortunately they had taken the precaution to bring from the committee of public safety. Who would believe that in a closet, seated upon four straw chairs round this table, in front of some half-kindled billets of wood, the whole borrowed from the housekeeper Dupont, the members of the new government, after having examined all the difficulties, nay, I would say, the horrors of their situation, determined boldly to meet every obstacle, and to rescue France from the abyss in which she was plunged, or perish? They drew out upon a sheet of letter-paper the act by which they declared they had entered upon their functions; an act which they immediately addressed to the legislative assemblies."—*Baillcul*. E.

public offices. In this precipitation it was not possible to avoid making some very bad selections. It employed, in particular, a great number of patriots who had rendered themselves too conspicuous to be discreet and impartial. The 13th of Vendémiaire had rendered them necessary, and caused the alarm which they had excited to be forgotten. The entire government, directors, ministers, agents of all sorts, was thus formed in hatred of the 13th of Vendémiaire, and of the party which had brought about that day. The Conventional deputies themselves were not yet recalled from their missions: and for this the Directory needed but to omit to notify its installation to them; it meant thus to allow them time to finish their work. Fréron, sent to the South, to repress the counter-revolutionary fury there, was consequently enabled to continue his tour in those unhappy districts. The five directors laboured without intermission, and displayed, in the first moments, the same zeal that the members of the great committee of public welfare had exhibited in the ever-memorable days of September and October, 1793.

Unluckily, the difficulties of this task were aggravated by defeats. The retreat which the army of the Sambre and Meuse had been forced to make gave rise to the most alarming rumours. Owing to the most vicious of all plans and the treason of Pichegru, the projected invasion of Germany had been quite unsuccessful, as we have seen. The intention was to cross the Rhine at two points, and to occupy the right bank with two armies. Jourdan, leaving Düsseldorf after the most favourable passage of the river, had found himself upon the Lahn, cooped up between the Prussian line and the Rhine, and destitute of everything, in a neutral country, where he could not live at discretion. This distress, however, would have lasted but for a few days, if he could have advanced into the enemy's country and joined Pichegru, who had found in the occupation of Mannheim so easy and so unexpected a way of crossing the Rhine. Jourdan would have repaired by this junction the fault of the plan of campaign prescribed to him; but Pichegru, who was still discussing the conditions of his defection with the agents of the Prince of Condé, had thrown but an insufficient corps beyond the Rhine. He was bent on not crossing the river with the bulk of his army, and left Jourdan alone *en flèche* in the midst of Germany. This position could not last. All who had the least notion of war were alarmed for Jourdan. Hoche, who, while commanding in Bretagne, cast a look of interest on the operations of the other armies, adverted to the subject in all his letters. Jourdan was therefore at length obliged to retreat and to recross the Rhine; and in so doing he acted very judiciously, and deserved esteem for the manner in which he conducted his retreat.

The enemies of the republic triumphed on occasion of this retrograde movement, and spread the most alarming reports. Their malicious predictions were realized at the very moment of the installation of the Directory. The fault of the plan adopted by the committee of public welfare consisted in dividing its forces, and thus leaving to the enemy, who occupied Mayence, the advantage of a central position, and in thereby suggesting to him the idea of collecting his troops, and directing his entire mass against one or other of our two armies. To this situation General Clairfayt was indebted for a happy inspiration, which attested a genius that he had not previously displayed, and that he displayed no more in such a manner as to profit by it. A corps of nearly thirty thousand French blockaded Mayence. Clairfayt, master of that fortress, could debouch from it, and overwhelm the blockading corps, before Jourdan and Pichegru had time to come up.

He actually seized the most suitable moment for this operation with great precision. No sooner had Jourdan retired upon the Lower Rhine by Düsseldorf and Neuwied, than Clairfayt, leaving a detachment to watch him, proceeded to Mayence, and there concentrated his forces, with the intention of debouching suddenly upon the blockading corps. That corps, under the command of General Schaal, extended in a semicircle around Mayence, and formed a line of nearly four leagues. Though great care had been taken to fortify it, still its extent did not permit it to be accurately closed. Clairfayt, who had examined it, had discovered more than one easily accessible point. The extremity of this semicircular line, which was to support itself on the upper course of the Rhine, left an extensive meadow between the last intrenchments and the river. It was upon this point that Clairfayt resolved to make his principal effort. On the 7th of Brumaire (October 29), he debouched by Mayence with an imposing force, but yet not considerable enough to render the operation decisive. Military men have, in fact, censured him for having left on the right bank a corps which, had it been employed on the left bank, would inevitably have brought ruin upon a part of the French army. Clairfayt despatched along the meadow, which occupied the space between the line of blockade and the Rhine, a column which advanced with the musket on the arm. At the same time, a flotilla of gun-boats ascended the river to second the movement of this column. He directed the rest of his army to march upon the front of the lines, and made arrangements for a prompt and vigorous attack. The French division, finding itself at once attacked in front, turned by a corps filing along the river, and cannonaded by a flotilla, whose balls reached its rear, took fright and fled in disorder. The division of St. Cyr, which was placed next to it, then found itself uncovered and likely to be overwhelmed. Fortunately, the firmness and judgment of its general extricated it from danger. He shifted from front to rear, and executed his retreat in good order, sending word to the other divisions to do the same. From that moment the whole semicircle was abandoned; St. Cyr's division retreated towards the army of the Upper Rhine; Mengaud's and Renaud's divisions, which occupied the other part of the line, finding themselves separated, fell back upon the army of the Sambre and Meuse, a corps of which, commanded by Marceau, advanced without accident into the Hunsrück. The retreat of these two latter divisions was extremely difficult, and would have been impossible, had Clairfayt, comprehending the whole importance of his admirable manœuvre, acted with stronger masses and with sufficient rapidity. In the opinion of military men, he might, after breaking the French line, have rapidly turned the divisions which were descending towards the Lower Rhine, surrounded them, and cooped them up in the elbow formed by the Rhine from Mayence to Bingen.

Clairfayt's manœuvre was not the less admirable, and it was considered as the first of the kind executed by the allies. While it had broken up the lines of Mayence, Wurmser had made a simultaneous attack upon Pichegru, taken from him the bridge of the Neckar, and then driven him within the walls of Mannheim. Thus the two French armies, thrown beyond the Rhine, retaining, it is true, Mannheim, Neuwied, and Düsseldorf, but separated from one another by Clairfayt, who had driven off the force blockading Mayence, were liable to incur great risks before a bold and enterprising general. The last event had given them a violent shock: some of the fugitives had run home into the interior; and an absolute destitution added to the discouragement of the defeat. Luckily, Clairfayt was in

no hurry to act, and took more time than was necessary for concentrating all his forces.

These sad tidings, reaching Paris between the 11th and 12th of Brumaire, at the very moment of the installation of the Directory, contributed greatly to augment the difficulties of the new republican organization. Other events, less dangerous in reality, though quite as serious in appearance, were occurring in the West. A fresh landing of emigrants threatened the republic. After the disastrous descent at Quiberon, which, as we have seen, was attempted with only part of the forces prepared by the English government, the wrecks of the expedition had been carried on board the English fleet, and then landed on the little island of Ouat. Thither the unfortunate families of the Morbihan had been conveyed, who had hastened to meet the expedition, and the remnant of the emigrant regiments. An epidemic disease and violent dissensions prevailed on that little rock. After some time, Puisaye, who had been recalled by all the Chouans, (who had broken the pacification, and who attributed the disaster at Quiberon to the English alone, and not to their former chief), had returned to Bretagne, where he had made every preparation for renewing hostilities with double vigour. While the Quiberon expedition was on foot, the chiefs of La Vendée had not stirred, because the expedition had not come to their country, because they were forbidden by the Paris agents to second Puisaye, and lastly, because they waited for success before they durst again commit themselves. Charette alone had engaged in an altercation with the republican authorities, concerning various disorders committed in his district, and certain military preparations, which he was reproached with making, and he had almost come to an open rupture with them. He had just received, by way of Paris, new favours from Verona, and the appointment of commander-in-chief of the Catholic districts, which was the particular object of his wishes. This new dignity, while it cooled the zeal of his rivals, had singularly excited his own. He had hopes that a new expedition would be sent to these coasts; and, Commodore Warren having offered him the stores remaining from the Quiberon expedition, he had no longer hesitated; he had made a general attack on the beach, driven back the republican posts, and secured some powder and muskets. The English had, at the same time, landed on the coast of the Morbihan the unfortunate families whom they had dragged after them, and who were perishing with hunger and want in the isle of Ouat. Thus the pacification was broken, and war again began.

The three republican generals, Aubert-Dubayet, Hoche, and Conclaux, who commanded the three armies called the armies of Cherbourg, of Brest, and of the West, had long considered the pacification as broken, not only in Bretagne, but also in Lower Vendée. They had all three met at Nantes, but could not resolve upon anything. They nevertheless held themselves in readiness to hasten individually to the first point that should be threatened. A new landing was talked of; it was said, and this was perfectly true, that the Quiberon division was only the first, and that another was coming. Aware of the fresh dangers which menaced the coast, the French government appointed Hoche to the command of the army of the West. The conqueror at Weissenburg and Quiberon was, in fact, the man to whom, in this imminent danger, the whole national confidence was due. He immediately repaired to Nantes to supersede Conclaux.

The three armies destined to overawe the insurgent provinces had been reinforced by some detachments from the North, and by several of the divisions which the peace with Spain rendered disposable. Hoche

obtained authority to draw fresh detachments from the two armies of Brest and Cherbourg, to strengthen that of La Vendée. He thus increased it to forty-four thousand men. He established strongly intrenched posts on the Nantes Sèvre, which runs between the two Vendées, and which separated Stofflet's country from that of Charette. His aim in this was to divide those two chiefs, and to prevent them from acting in concert. Charette had entirely thrown off the mask, and proclaimed war anew. Stofflet, Sapinaud, Scepeaux, jealous of seeing Charette appointed generalissimo, intimidated also by the preparations of Hoche, and uncertain of the coming of the English, did not yet stir. At last, the English squadron made its appearance, at first in the bay of Quiberon, and afterwards in that of Ile Dieu, facing Lower Vendée. It had on board two thousand English infantry, five hundred horse, full equipped, skeletons of emigrant regiments, a great number of officers, arms, ammunition, provisions, clothing for a considerable army, funds in metallic specie, and lastly, the prince so long expected.* A still more considerable force was to follow, if the expedition was at all successful at its outset, and if the prince received proofs of a sincere desire that he should put himself at the head of the royalist party. No sooner was the expedition descried from the coast than all the royalist chiefs sent messengers to the prince, to assure him of their devoted attachment, to claim the honour of his presence, and to concert measures. Charette, master of the coast, was best situated for concurring in the disembarkation; and his reputation, as well as the wishes of all the emigrants, directed the expedition towards his district. He also sent agents to concert a plan of operations.

Hoche was meanwhile making his preparations with his wonted activity and resolution. He formed the plan of despatching three columns, from Challans, Clisson, and St. Hermine, three points situated on the circumference of the country, to Belleville, which was the head-quarters of Charette. These three columns, twenty or twenty-two thousand strong, were destined by their mass to overawe the country, to destroy Charette's principal establishment, and to throw him, by a brisk and vigorous attack, into such disorder, that he should not be able to protect the landing of the emigrant prince. Hoche, accordingly, marched off these three columns, and united them again at Belleville, without encountering any obstacles. Charette, whose principal force he hoped to meet with and to fight, was not at Belleville; he had collected eight or nine thousand men, and proceeded towards Luçon, with a view to transfer the theatre of the war to the south of the country, and to divert the attention of the republicans from the coasts. His plan was well conceived, but it failed through the energy opposed to it. While Hoche was entering Belleville with his three columns, Charette was before the post of St. Cyr, which covers the road from Luçon to Les Sables. This post he attacked with all his forces. Two hundred republicans, intrenched in a church, made an heroic resistance, and gave the Luçon division, which heard the cannonade, time to hasten

* "The broken remains of the Quiberon expedition were landed in the isle of Houat, where they were soon after joined by an expedition of two thousand five hundred men from England, which took possession of the Isle Dieu, and where the Count d'Artois assumed the command. Several partial insurrections, about the same time, broke out in Brittany; but, from want of concert among the royalist chiefs, they came to nothing. Soon afterwards, the English expedition, not having met with the expected co-operation, abandoned Isle Dieu, which was found to be totally unserviceable as a naval station, and returned with the Count d'Artois to Great Britain. From that moment the affairs of the royalists rapidly declined in all the western provinces."—*Atison*. E.

up to their relief. Charette, taken in flank, was completely beaten, and his band, being dispersed, was obliged to return to the interior of the Marais.

Hoche, not finding the enemy before him, and discovering the real intention of his movement, led back his columns to the points from which they had started, and began to form an intrenched camp at Soullans near the coast, for the purpose of dashing upon the first corps that should attempt to land. During this interval, the emigrant prince, surrounded by a numerous council and the envoys of all the Breton and Vendean chiefs, continued to deliberate on the plans for landing, and allowed Hoche time to prepare his means of resistance. The English ships, keeping within sight of the coast, continued to excite the fears of the republicans and the hopes of the royalists.

Thus, from the earliest days of the installation of the Directory, a defeat before Mayence, and a threatened landing in La Vendée, were subjects of alarm, of which the enemies of the government most maliciously availed themselves, to render its establishment more difficult. It caused explanations and contradictions to be published relative to part of the reports that were circulated concerning the situation of the two frontiers, and furnished information respecting the events that had just occurred. It was not possible to deny the defeat sustained before the lines; but it caused the declamations of the alarmists to be met with this reply, that we still retained Düsseldorf and Neuwied; that Mannheim was yet in our possession; that consequently the army of the Sambre and Meuse had two *têtes de pont*, and the army of the Rhine one, for debouching, whenever it would suit them, beyond the Rhine; that we were, therefore, in the same situation as the Austrians, since, if they were enabled by Mayence to act upon both banks, so were we too by Düsseldorf, Neuwied, and Mannheim. This reasoning was just; but it remained to be seen whether the Austrians, following up their success, would not soon take from us Neuwied and Mannheim, and establish themselves on the left bank between the Vosges and the Moselle. As for La Vendée, the government communicated the vigorous dispositions made by Hoche, which were satisfactory to considerate minds, but which did not prevent enthusiastic patriots from conceiving apprehensions, and the counter-revolutionists from circulating them.

Amidst these dangers, the Directory redoubled its efforts for reorganizing the government, the administration, and especially the finances. Three thousand million in assignats had been granted to it, as we have seen, and had produced at the utmost some twenty million livres. The voluntary loan at three per cent., opened in the last days of the Convention, had just been suspended; for the state promised a real *rente* for a paper capital, and thus made a ruinous bargain. The extraordinary war-tax, proposed by the commission of five, had not yet been carried into execution, and excited complaints, as a last revolutionary act of the Convention towards those who were liable to the payment of it. All the public institutions were on the point of being broken up.* The individuals compensated according to the scale of proportion raised such bitter complaints, that it was found necessary to suspend the compensations. The post-masters paid in assignats, gave notice that they must resign, for the insufficient relief afforded

* "The servants of government and the public creditors, paid in mandates at par, were literally dying of famine. Employment from government, instead of being solicited, was universally shunned; persons in every kind of public services sent in their resignations; and the soldiers deserted from the armies in as great crowds as they had flocked to it during the reign of Terror."—*Alison*. E.

by the government did not cover their losses. The post-office was likely soon to become unproductive, that is to say, all communications, even in writing, were about to cease in all parts of the territory. The plan of the finances intended to be presented in a few days, was therefore to be given immediately. This was the most urgent want of the state, and the first duty of the Directory. It was, at length, communicated to the commission of the finances.

The mass of the assignats in circulation might be computed at twenty thousand million. Even reckoning the assignats at the one-hundredth, and not the one-hundred-and-fiftieth of their value, they would form a real amount of no more than 200 million: it is certain that they would not figure for more in the circulation, and that the holders could not pay them away for a higher value. One might have reverted all at once to reality, not take assignats for more than they were really worth, not admit them, unless at the current value, either in dealings between individuals, or in payment of the taxes, or for the national domains. That prodigious and frightful mass of paper, that enormous debt, would then have immediately disappeared. There would be left nearly seven thousand million livres' worth in domains, including the national domains in Belgium and the national forests: thus there were immense resources for withdrawing those twenty thousand millions reduced to two hundred, and for meeting fresh expenses. But this great and bold determination was difficult to adopt. It was repelled both by scrupulous minds, who considered it as a bankruptcy, and by the patriots, who cried out that it was a scheme for ruining the assignats.

Both were rather shallow. This bankruptcy, if it were one, was inevitable, as was proved in the sequel. The question was merely to abridge the evil, that is, the confusion, and to re-establish order in the worth of effects, the only justice that the state owes to every one. At first sight, indeed, it would be a bankruptcy to take at the moment for one franc an assignat which had been issued in 1790 for 100 francs, and which then contained the promise of the worth of 100 francs in land. Upon this principle, the twenty thousand million in paper must have been taken for twenty thousand million livres, and paid integrally; but the national domains would scarcely have paid a third of that sum. Even in case the sum could have been paid integrally, it must be asked how much the state had received in issuing these twenty thousand million? Four or five thousand million perhaps. Those who received them from its hands had not taken them for more, and it had already reimbursed, by the sales, an equal value in national domains. There would, therefore, have been a cruel injustice towards the state, that is, towards all payers of taxes, to consider the assignats according to their primitive value. It was, therefore, necessary to consent not to take them but at a reduced value. This had even begun to be done, when the scale of proportion was adopted.

Most certainly, if there were persons still holding the first assignats issued, and who had kept without exchanging them a single time, these would be exposed to an enormous loss; for, having taken them nearly at par, they would now have to submit to the whole reduction. But this was an absolutely false fiction. Nobody had kept assignats by them, for nobody hoards paper: every one had got rid of them as soon as possible, and each had sustained a portion of the loss. Every body had suffered his share of this pretended bankruptcy, and, therefore, it was no longer one. The bankruptcy of a state consists in making some individuals, namely, the

creditors, support the debt which one does not wish to make all the tax-payers support. Now, if everybody had more or less suffered his share of the depreciation of the assignats, there was no bankruptcy for any one. Lastly, a still stronger reason than any of the others could be adduced. If the assignat had fallen in some hands only, and lost only for some individuals, it had now passed into the hands of the speculators in paper, and it would have been this class, rather than that of the real sufferers, who would have reaped the benefit of a silly restoration of value. Thus Calonne, in a pamphlet written in London, observed very sensibly that people were egregiously mistaken, who believed France to be overwhelmed with the burden of the assignats; and that this paper-money afforded the means of becoming bankrupt without declaring herself so. To express himself more correctly, he should have said that it afforded the means of making the bankruptcy bear upon everybody, that is, of rendering it null.

It was, therefore, reasonable and just to revert to reality, and to take the assignat for no more than it was worth. The patriots said that it was ruining the assignat, which had saved the Revolution, and looked upon this idea as a conception springing from the brain of the royalists. Those who pretended to reason with more enlightened views and a better acquaintance with the subject, asserted that paper would be deprived at once of all its value, and that the circulation could no longer be carried on, for want of the paper which would have perished, and for want of the metals which were hoarded or had gone to other countries. Time convinced those who thus argued of their error; but a simple calculation ought to have put them immediately in the way of forming a more correct opinion. In reality the twenty thousand million of assignats represented less than two hundred million; now, according to all calculations, the circulation could not formerly be carried on with less than two thousand million, in gold or silver. If, therefore, the assignats constituted no more than two hundred million in the circulation, with what were the rest of the transactions carried on? It is very evident that the metals must circulate in very great quantity, and they did actually circulate, but in the provinces and in the country, far from the eyes of the government. Besides, the metals, like all commodities, always come to the spot to which need calls them, and, had paper been driven away, they would have returned, as they did actually return when it perished of itself.

It was, therefore, a double error, and one deeply rooted in men's minds, to consider the reduction of the assignat to its real value as a bankruptcy, and as a sudden destruction of the means of circulation. It had only one inconvenience, but it was not this for which it was censured, as we shall presently see. The commission of the finances, cramped by the ideas which prevailed, could adopt only in part the real principles of the matter. After concerting with the Directory, it decided upon the following plan.

Until, by the new plan, the sale of the domains and the collection of the taxes should bring back not fictitious but real values, it would be necessary still to employ assignats. It was proposed to extend the issue to thirty thousand million, but to engage not to go beyond that point. On the 30th of Nivose, the plate was solemnly broken up. Thus the public was set at ease respecting the quantity of the new issues. For the thirty thousand million issued, there were to be devoted national domains to the amount of one thousand million. Consequently the assignat, which in circulation was really worth only the one-hundred-and-fiftieth part, and much less,

would be liquidated at one-thirtieth, which was a very great advantage given to the holders of paper. Another thousand million in lands was set apart for rewarding the soldiers of the republic—a recompense which had long been promised them. Five out of the seven, therefore, still remained to be disposed of. In these five were the national forests, the moveable property of the emigrants and of the crown, the royal residences, and the possessions of the Belgian clergy. There were then five thousand million still disposable. But the difficulty consisted in disposing of that amount. The assignat had, in fact, been the means of putting it in circulation before the property was sold. But if the assignat were suppressed, as only ten thousand million could be added to the existing twenty, a sum which represented at most one hundred million of livres, how was the value of the property to be realized beforehand, and to be employed in defraying the expenses of the war? This was the only objection that could be made to the liquidation of the paper and to its suppression. A sort of notes, called *cedules hypothécaires*, which had been talked of in the preceding year, were resorted to. According to this old plan, the government was to borrow and to give to the lenders notes conveying a special mortgage on particular properties. In order to raise this loan, it was to have recourse to financial companies, which were to take off these notes. In short, instead of a paper, the circulation of which was forced, which had but a general mortgage on the national domains, and which was daily fluctuating in value, there was created by the notes a voluntary paper, to which was attached a mortgage upon some particular estate or house, and which could not undergo any other change in value than that of the very object which it represented. It was not a paper-money; it was not liable to fall because it was not forcibly put into circulation; but, on the other hand, one might not find means to dispose of it. In short, the difficulty still consisting at this time, as at the outset of the Revolution, in putting the value of the property into circulation, the question was, whether it would be better to force the circulation of that value, or to leave it voluntary. The former expedient being completely exhausted, it was natural that it should be proposed to try the other.

It was decided, therefore, that, after increasing the paper to thirty thousand million, after having set apart one thousand million to absorb it, and reserved the worth of one thousand million in lands for the soldiers of the country, notes should be made for a sum proportionate to the public wants, and that negotiations should be set on foot with financial companies for these notes. The national forests were not to be thus assigned; they were to be retained by the state. They formed nearly two out of the five thousand million remaining disposable. Companies were to be treated with for the alienation of their produce for a certain number of years.

The consequence of this plan, founded on the reduction of the assignats to their real value, was to admit them no longer but at the current worth in all transactions. Till they could be withdrawn by the sale of the thousand million appropriated to them, they were no longer to be taken by individuals or by the state, but for their value at the moment. Thus all confusion in dealings would cease, all fraudulent payments were rendered impossible. The state would receive by means of the taxes real values, which would cover at least the ordinary expenses, and it would have in future to pay with the domains the extraordinary expenses only of the war. The assignat was to be received at par only in the arrears of the impositions, arrears which were considerable and amounted to thirteen thousand million. Thus those

who were behindhand in their payments, were furnished with an easy method of discharging their arrears, on condition that they should do it immediately; and the sum of thirty thousand million reimbursable in national property at one-thirtieth, was diminished by so much.

This plan, adopted by the Five Hundred, after a long discussion in secret committee, was immediately carried to the Ancients. While the Ancients were engaged in discussing it, new questions were submitted to the Five Hundred, on the manner of recalling to their colours the soldiers who had deserted into the interior, and on the mode of nominating the judges, municipal officers, and functionaries of all kinds, whom the electoral assemblies, which were agitated by the passions of Vendémiaire, had not had time or inclination to nominate. Thus did the Directory labour without intermission, and furnish fresh subjects of deliberation for the two councils.

The plan of finance submitted to the Ancients rested on sound principles; it presented resources, for the resources of France were still immense: unfortunately, it did not surmount the real difficulty, for it did not render those resources actual enough. It is very evident that, with taxes which would suffice for her annual expenditure as soon as the paper should cease to render the receipts illusory, with seven thousand million for reimbursing the assignats and providing for the extraordinary expenses of the war—France possessed resources. The difficulty consisted, while founding a plan on sound principles and adapting it to the future, in providing for the present.

Now the Ancients were of opinion that the assignats ought not to be so speedily renounced. The faculty of creating ten thousand million more, furnished, at most, a resource of one hundred million, and this was but little while awaiting the receipts which the new plan was to procure. Besides, should they find companies to treat for the working of the forests for twenty or thirty years? Should they find any to take the notes, that is, the free assignats? In this uncertainty about rendering the national domains available for the new means, ought they to renounce the former method of expending them, namely, the forced assignats? The Council of the Ancients, which most strictly investigated the resolutions of the Five Hundred, and which had rejected more than one of them, put its *veto* upon the financial scheme, and refused to sanction it.

This rejection caused great anxiety, and the public mind again plunged into the most painful uncertainty. The counter-revolutionists, delighted with this conflict of ideas, asserted that the difficulties of the situation were insuperable, and that the republic would be ruined by the state of the finances. The most enlightened men, who are not always the most resolute, entertained this apprehension. The patriots, irritated to the highest degree on perceiving that there had been an idea of abolishing the assignats, cried out that the government intended to destroy the last revolutionary creation which had saved France; they insisted that, without groping about so long, it ought to re-establish the credit of the assignats by the means of 1793, the *maximum*, *requisitions*, and *death*. A violence and an excitement was manifested which reminded people of the most turbulent years. To crown our misfortunes, affairs on the Rhine had grown worse;*

* "At this period the military situation of the republic was far from brilliant; its victories had diminished at the close of the Convention; and there was a relaxation in the discipline of the troops. Besides, the generals, disappointed at having signalized their command by so few victories, and not having the support of an energetic government.

Clairfayt, without profiting like a great captain by his victory, had, nevertheless, derived from it new advantages. Having called La Tour's corps to him, he had marched upon Pichegru, attacked him on the Pfim and on the canal of Frankendal, and gradually driven him back to Landau. Jourdan had advanced upon the Nahe, through a difficult country, and displayed the noblest zeal in carrying on the war among tremendous mountains, in order to extricate the army of the Rhine; but his efforts could do no more than damp the ardour of the enemy, without repairing our losses.

If, then, the line of the Rhine was left us in the Netherlands, it was lost higher up at the Vosges, and the enemy had taken from us an extensive semicircle around Mayence.

In this state of distress, the Directory sent a most urgent despatch to the Council of Five Hundred, and proposed one of those extraordinary resolutions which had been taken on the decisive occasions of the Revolution. This was a forced loan of six hundred million in real value, either specie or assignats at the current value, divided among the wealthiest classes. This was giving an opening to a new series of arbitrary acts, such as Cambon's forced loan from the rich; but, as this new loan was requirable immediately, as it was likely to bring back all the assignats in circulation, and to furnish besides a surplus of three or four hundred million in specie, and it was absolutely necessary to find at length prompt and energetic resources, it was adopted.

It was decided that the assignats should be received at the rate of one hundred for one; two hundred million of loan would, therefore, suffice to absorb twenty thousand million of paper. All that came in was to be burnt. It was hoped that the paper, being thus almost entirely withdrawn, would rise, and that, in case of emergency, the government would be able to issue more, and to avail itself of this resource. Out of the six hundred million there would remain to be raised four hundred million in specie, which would furnish resources for the first two months, for the expenditure of this year (year IV, 1795-6) was estimated at one thousand five hundred million.

Certain adversaries of the Directory, who, without caring much about the state of the country, merely wished to thwart the new government at any rate, raised the most alarming objections. This loan, they said, would run away with all the specie in France, nay, there was not even enough to pay it—as if the state, in taking four hundred million in metal, would not pour them back into the circulation, by purchasing corn, cloth, leather, iron, &c. The state was not going to burn anything but the paper. The question was, whether France could furnish immediately four hundred million's worth of articles of consumption, and burn two hundred million in paper which was pompously called twenty thousand million. She certainly could. The only inconvenience was in the mode of collection, which was likely to be vexatious, and on that account less productive. But what was to be done? To confine the assignats to thirty thousand million, that is to say, to make a provision beforehand of only one hundred real millions, then to destroy the plate, and to depend for the supply of the state on the alienation of the revenue of the forests and the disposal of the notes, that is, on the issue of a voluntary paper, had appeared too bold.

began to incline to insubordination. The Convention had directed Pichegru and Jourdan to surround and make themselves masters of Mayence, in order that they might, by that means, occupy the whole line of the Rhine. This scheme entirely failed through the misconduct of Pichegru."—*Mignet*. E.

Uncertain as to what could be raised voluntarily, the Councils thought it best to compel the French to contribute extraordinarily.

By means of the forced loan, it was argued, part at least of the paper would come back; it would come back with a certain quantity of specie; then again, there would still be the plate, which would have acquired more value by the absorption of the greater part of the assignats. The other resources were not on this account renounced; it was decided that part of the domains should be noted—a tedious operation, for it was necessary to mention every property in the note, and then to make a bargain with the financial companies. The sale of the houses situated in towns, of lands under three hundred acres, and lastly of the possessions of the Belgian clergy, was decreed. The alienation of all the late royal residences, excepting Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Compiègne, was resolved upon. The moveable property of the emigrants was also to be sold forthwith. All these sales were to take place by auction.

The government durst not yet decree the reduction of the assignats to the currency, which would have put an end to the greatest evil, that of ruining all those who received them, private individuals as well as the state. It was afraid of destroying them all at once by this simple measure. It was decided that in the forced loan they should be received at one hundred for one; that in the arrears of contributions they should be received at their full value, in order to encourage the payment of those arrears, which were to bring in thirteen thousand million; that the reimbursement of capital should be still suspended, but that the *rentes* and interests of all kinds should be paid at the rate of ten for one, which again would be ruinous for those who received their income at that rate. The payment of the land-tax and rents of farms was kept upon their former footing, that is, half in kind and half in assignats. The customs were to be paid half in assignats and half in specie. This exception was made in favour of the customs, because there was abundance of specie on the frontiers. There was likewise an exception in favour of Belgium. The assignats had not found their way thither; it was decided that the forced loan, or the taxes, should there be levied in specie.

The government, therefore, returned timidly to specie, and durst not boldly cut the difficulty, as is usual in such cases. Thus the forced loan, the sale of domains, the arrears, in bringing back considerable quantities of paper, allowed more to be issued. Some receipts in specie might also fairly be reckoned upon.

The two most important determinations, after the laws of finance, were the determinations relative to desertion, and to the mode of nominating the functionaries not yet elected. The one was to serve to recompose the armies, the other to complete the organization of the communes and of the tribunals.

Desertion to the foreign enemy, a crime extremely rare, was to be punished with death. A warm discussion took place relative to the penalty to be inflicted on crimping. In spite of the opposition, the same punishment was fixed for it as for desertion to the enemy. All furloughs granted to young men of the requisition were to expire in ten days. The pursuit of the young men who had abandoned their colours, committed to the municipalities, was slack and ineffective; it was given to the gendarmerie. Desertion to the interior was to be punished with imprisonment for the first time, and with chains for the second. The great requisition of August, 1793, which was the only measure of recruiting that had been adopted,

produced men enough to fill the armies ; it had sufficed for the last three years to keep them on a respectable footing, and it might still suffice, with the aid of a law which should insure its execution. The new arrangements were combated by the opposition, which tended naturally to diminish the action of the government, but they were adopted by the majority of the two councils.

Many of the electoral assemblies, agitated by the decrees of the 6th and the 13th of Fructidor, had wasted their time and not completed the nomination of the individuals who were to compose the local administrations and the tribunals. Such of them as were situated in the provinces of the West had not been able to do so, on account of the civil war. Others had been guilty of negligence and the abandonment of their rights. The Conventional majority, to insure the homogeneousness of the government, and a homogeneousness entirely revolutionary, proposed that the Directory should have the nominations. It is natural that the government should inherit all the rights which the citizens renounce, that is, that the action of the government should make up for that of individuals. Thus, in those cases where the assemblies had suffered the constitutional term to expire, where they had not cared to exercise their rights, it was natural that the Directory should be called upon to nominate. To convoke new assemblies would be violating the constitution, which forbade that ; it would be rewarding revolt against the laws ; in short, it would be opening a door to fresh troubles. There were, besides, analogies in the constitution which must lead to a resolution of the question in favour of the Directory. It was empowered to make the nominations in the colonies, and to appoint successors to the functionaries, who had died or resigned in the interval between one election and another. The opposition did not fail to attack this arrangement. Dumolard in the Council of the Five Hundred, Portalis, Dupont of Nemours, Tronçon-Ducoudray, in the Council of the Ancients, maintained that this was conferring a royal prerogative on the Directory. This minority, which secretly leant more to monarchy than to the republic, here changed parts with the republican majority, and supported democratic ideas with the utmost exaggeration. In other respects, the warm and solemn discussion was not disturbed by any outburst of passion. The Directory had the nominations, on the sole condition of choosing from among those who had already been honoured with the suffrages of the people. Principles led to this solution ; but policy recommended it still more strongly. New elections were avoided for the moment, and greater homogeneousness was given to the whole administration, to the tribunals, and to the government.

The Directory had, therefore, the means of procuring funds, of recruiting the army, of completing the organization of the administration and of justice. It had the majority in the two councils. A temperate opposition arose, it is true, in the Five Hundred and in the Ancients ; some voices of the new third disputed its authority with it, but this opposition was calm and decorous. It seemed to respect its extraordinary situation and its arduous labours. No doubt it respected also in this government, elected by the Conventionists and upheld by them, the Revolution still all-powerful and deeply enraged. The five Directors had shared the general task among them. Barras had the *personnel*, and Carnot, the movement of the armies ; Rewbel, the foreign affairs ; Le Tourneur and Lareveillère-Lepeaux, the internal administration. They, nevertheless, deliberated all together on every important measure. They had long made shift with the most wretched furniture ; but at length they had obtained from the Garde-Meu-

ble such things as were necessary for fitting up the Luxembourg, and they began to represent the French republic in a worthy manner. Their antechambers were full of applicants, among whom it was not always easy to choose. The Directory, faithful to its origin and its nature, always selected the most decisive men. Warned by the insurrection of the 13th of Vendémiaire, it had provided a considerable and imposing force to secure Paris and the seat of the government from a fresh *coup de main*. Young Bonaparte, who had figured on the 13th of Vendémiaire, had been appointed to the command of this army, called the army of the interior.* He had entirely reorganized and placed it in the camp of Grenelle. He had collected into a single corps, by the name of the legion of police, part of the patriots who had offered their services on the 13th of Vendémiaire. Most of these patriots belonged to the old gendarmerie, dissolved after the 9th of Thermidor, which was itself full of old soldiers of the French Guards. Bonaparte then organized the constitutional guard of the Directory and that of the Councils. This imposing and well-directed force was capable of overawing everybody, and keeping the parties in order.

Steady in its course, the Directory pronounced itself still more decidedly on a great number of measures of detail. It persisted in not notifying its installation to the Conventional deputies on mission in the departments. It enjoined all the managers of theatres not to suffer any other air to be sung than the Marseillaise. The *Réveil du Peuple* was proscribed. This measure was deemed puerile: it would certainly have been more dignified to prohibit all songs; but it was desirable to enliven the republican enthusiasm, which, unfortunately, had somewhat cooled. The Directory caused some royalist journals, which had continued to write with the same violence as in Vendémiaire, to be prosecuted. Though the liberty of the press was unlimited, the law of the Convention against writers who should advocate the restoration of royalty, furnished a medium of repression in extreme cases. Richer-Serizy was prosecuted; Lemaître and Brottier, whose correspondence with Verona, London, and La Vendée, proved their quality of royalist agents and their influence in the disturbances of Vendémiaire, were brought to trial. Lemaître was condemned to death as the principal agent. Brottier was acquitted. It was ascertained that two secretaries of the committee of public welfare had furnished them with important papers. The three deputies, Saladin, Lhomond, and Rovère, put under arrest on account of the 13th of Vendémiaire, after their re-election had been declared by the electoral assembly of Paris, were reinstated by the two councils, on the ground that they were already deputies at the time of the proceedings against them, and that the forms prescribed by the constitution in regard to deputies, had not been observed. Cormatin, and the Chouans seized with him for infraction of the pacification, were also brought to trial. Cormatin was banished for having secretly continued to foment civil war; the others were acquitted, to the great displeasure of the patriots, who complained bitterly of the indulgence of the tribunals.

The conduct of the Directory towards the minister of the court of Flo-

* "The few months, during which Bonaparte was at the head of the army of the interior, were replete with difficulties and disturbance; and he frequently had occasion to harangue the people at the sections and the faubourgs. One day, while he was addressing the crowd, a fat woman, interrupting him, said, 'Never mind these smart officers, who, so that they themselves get fat, do not care who else is starved.' Napoleon, who was then very thin, turned round and replied, 'Look at me, good woman, and then tell me, which of us two is the fatest.' This repartee turned the laugh against her, and the mob dispersed."—*Hazlitt*. E.

rence proved still more strongly the republican rigour of its sentiments. It had been at length agreed with Austria to deliver up to her the daughter of Louis XVI., the only one left of the family that had been confined in the Temple, on condition that the deputies placed in her hands by Dumouriez should be given up to the French advanced posts.* The princess set out from the Temple on the 28th of Frimaire (December the 19th). The minister of the interior went himself to fetch her, and conducted her with the greatest respect to his hotel, whence she set out accompanied by persons of her own selection. An ample provision was made for her journey, and she was thus conveyed towards the frontiers. The royalists did not fail to make verses and allusions concerning the unfortunate prisoner, at length restored to liberty. Count Carletti, the minister of Florence, who had been sent to Paris on account of his known attachment to France and the Revolution, applied to the Directory for permission to see the princess, in his quality of minister of an allied court. That minister had become suspected, no doubt wrongfully, on account of the very exaggeration of his republicanism. It was scarcely conceivable that the minister of an absolute prince, and above all, of an Austrian prince, could be so republican. The only answer given by the Directory was an order to quit Paris immediately, but it declared, at the same time, that this measure was purely personal to the envoy, and not to the court of Florence, with which the French republic continued on terms of friendship.

It was now six weeks, at most, since the Directory was instituted; it began to settle itself; the parties accustomed themselves to the idea of an established government, and, thinking less of overthrowing it, prepared to oppose it within the limits marked out by the constitution. The patriots, not renouncing their favourite idea of a club, had assembled at the Pantheon; they already met to the number of more than four thousand, and formed an assembly very much like that of the old Jacobins. Faithful, however, to the letter of the constitution, they had avoided what it forbade in the meetings of citizens, namely, the organization of a political assembly. Thus they had not a bureau; they had not provided themselves with tickets; the persons present were not divided into spectators and members; there existed neither correspondence nor affiliation with other societies of the same kind. With these exceptions, the club had all the characteristics of the old parent society, and its passions, still older, were, on that account, the more stubborn.

The sectionaries had composed societies more analogous to their tastes and manners. At this time, as under the Convention, they numbered in their ranks some secret royalists, but in very small number; most of them were enemies, from fear or fashion of the Terrorists and of the Convention-
alists, whom they affected to confound, and whom they were vexed to find again almost all in the new government. Societies had been formed at which the newspapers were read, at which the members conversed on political subjects with the politeness and in the tone of the drawing-rooms, and

* "The princess royal experienced from the period of her brother's death a mitigated captivity. Finally, on the 19th of December, 1795, this last remaining relic of the family of Louis was permitted to leave her prison and her country, in exchange for Lafayette and others, whom, on that condition, Austria delivered from captivity. She became afterwards the wife of her cousin, the Duke d'Angouleme, and obtained, by the manner in which she conducted herself at Bordeaux, in 1815, the highest praise for gallantry and spirit."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

It was of this princess that Napoleon observed to one of his ministers, "She is the only man of the family." E.

where dancing and music succeeded reading and conversation. The winter began, and these gentry indulged in pleasure as an act of opposition to the revolutionary system—a system which nobody thought of reviving, for there were no St. Justs, no Robespierres, no Couthons, to bring us back by terror to impossible manners.

The two parties had their newspapers. The patriots had *Le Tribun du Peuple*, *L'Ami du Peuple*, *L'Eclaireur du Peuple*, *L'Orateur plébien*, *Le Journal des Hommes Libres*. These papers were thoroughly Jacobin. *La Quotidienne*, *L'Eclair*, *Le Véridique*, *Le Postillon*, *Le Messager*, *La Feuille du Jour*, passed for royalist papers. The patriots, in their club and their journals, though the government certainly was strongly attached to the Revolution,* manifested great irritation. It was, it is true, not so much with it as with events that they were angry. The reverses on the Rhine, the new movements in La Vendée, the alarming financial crisis, were with them a motive for reverting to their favourite ideas. If the armies were beaten, if the assignats fell, it was because the government was indulgent, because it knew not how to recur to great revolutionary means. The new financial system, in particular, which denoted a desire to abolish the assignats, and which seemed to forebode their speedy suppression, had greatly irritated the patriots.

Their adversaries needed no other cause of complaint than this very irritation. Terror, according to them, was ready to rise again. Its partisans were incorrigible; it was to no purpose that the Directory did all that they wished; they were not satisfied; they were again bestirring themselves; they had re-opened the old den of the Jacobins, and there they were again hatching all sorts of crimes.

Such were the labours of the government, the march of mind, and the state of parties, in Frimaire, year IV (November and December, 1795).

The military operations, continued in spite of the season, began to promise more propitious results, and to afford the new administration some compensation for its arduous efforts. The zeal with which Jourdan had advanced into the Hunsrück through a frightful country, and without any of the material resources which ought to have mitigated the sufferings of his army, had somewhat re-established our affairs on the Rhine. The Austrian generals, whose troops were as much worn out as ours, finding themselves exposed to a series of obstinate combats in the heart of winter, proposed an armistice, during which the Imperial and the French armies should retain the positions which they then occupied. The armistice was accepted, on condition of ten days' notice being given before recommencing hostilities. The line which separated the two armies, following the Rhine from Düsseldorf to above Neuwied, left the river there, formed a semicircle from Bingen to Mannheim, passing along the foot of the Vosges, rejoined the Rhine above Mannheim, and did not leave it again as far as Basle. Thus we had lost all the semicircle on the left bank. It was, however, a loss which a more well-conceived manœuvre might repair. The principal

* "The Directorial government, which was warmly attached to the Revolution, endeavoured to recall the enthusiasm and unanimity of its first years. 'You,' they wrote to their agents, 'whom we call to participate in our labours; you, whose duty it is, in conjunction with ourselves, to put the republican constitution in operation; your first feeling, your chief virtue should be that decided wish, that patriotic faith, which has produced its happy enthusiasts and performed its miracles. Surely it is a highly interesting spectacle to see the banners of liberty waving over every house, the republican motto over every door! Go on, hasten the day when the sacred name of the republic shall be voluntarily engraven on every heart.'"—*Mignet*. E.

misfortune consisted in having lost, for the moment, the ascendancy of victory. The armies, exhausted with fatigue, entered into cantonments, and all the necessary preparations began to be made for enabling them, in the following spring, to open a decisive campaign.

On the frontiers of Italy, the season had not yet wholly forbidden military operations. The army of the Eastern Pyrenees had been removed to the Alps. The march from Perpignan to Nice had taken considerable time, and the want of provisions and shoes had rendered it still slower. At length, towards the month of November, Augereau came with a superb division, which had already signalized itself in the plains of Catalonia. Kellermann, as we have seen, had been obliged to draw back his right wing, and to relinquish the immediate communication with Genoa. He had his left on the high Alps, and his centre at the Col de Tende. His right was placed behind the line called the line of Borghetto, one of the three which Bonaparte had reconnoitered and marked out in the preceding year, in case of a retreat. Devins, quite proud of his petty success, was resting in the Riviera of Genoa, and making a great parade of his plans, without executing any of them. The brave Kellermann was impatiently awaiting the reinforcements from Spain, to resume the offensive, and to recover his communication with Genoa. He wished to terminate the campaign by a brilliant action, which should restore the Riviera to the French, open to them the door to the Apennines and to Italy, and detach the King of Sardinia from the coalition. Barthelemy, our ambassador in Switzerland, was constantly repeating that a victory towards the maritime Alps would gain us an immediate peace with Piedmont, and the definitive concession of the line of the Alps. The French government agreed with Kellermann upon the necessity of attacking, but not upon the plan to be adopted, and sent Scherer, who was already advantageously known for his success at the battle of the Ourthe and in Catalonia, to supersede him. Scherer arrived in the middle of Brumaire, and resolved to attempt a decisive action.

The reader is aware that the chain of the Alps, when it takes the name of Apennines, runs very close to the Mediterranean from Albenga to Genoa, leaving between the sea and the crest of the mountains only narrow and rapid slopes, scarcely three leagues in extent. On the opposite side, on the contrary, that is, towards the plains of the Po, the slopes decline gently for a space of twenty leagues. The French army, placed on the maritime declivities, was encamped between the mountains and the sea. The Piedmontese army, under Colli, established in the intrrenched camp below Ceva, on the other side of the Alps, guarded the entrance to Piedmont against the left of the French army. The Austrian army was partly on the crest of the Apennines at Rocca-Barbenne, partly on the maritime slope in the basin of Loano, communicated thus with Colli by its right, occupied by its centre the crest of the mountains, and intercepted the line of coast by its left, so as to cut off our communications with Genoa. At the sight of such a state of things, an idea occurred. If the French, operating in force upon the right and centre of the Austrian army, were to drive it from the summit of the Apennines, and to take from it the upper crests, they would thus separate it from that of Colli, and, marching rapidly along those crests, they would enclose its left in the basin of Loano between the mountains and the sea. This plan had suggested itself to Massena, one of the generals of division, who had proposed it to Kellermann. It occurred also to Scherer, and he purposed carrying it into execution.

Devins, after making some attempts, during August and September, on our line of Borghetto, had renounced all idea of making an attack for that year. He was ill, and Wallis had been sent, on his application, to succeed him. The officers thought only of indulging in the dissipations of winter in Genoa and its environs. Scherer, having procured for his army some provisions and twenty-four thousand pair of shoes, of which it was in absolute want, fixed his movement for the 2d of Frimaire (November the 23d). He started with thirty-six thousand men to attack forty-five thousand; but the excellent choice of the point of attack compensated for the inequality of force. He directed Augereau to drive the left of the enemy into the basin of Loano; Massena to fall upon their centre at Rocca-Barbenne, and to make himself master of the summit of the Apennines; lastly, he ordered Serrurier to keep in check Colli, who formed the right on the opposite slope. Augereau, while pushing the Austrian right into the basin of Loano, was to act but slowly; Massena, on the contrary, was to file rapidly along the crests, and turn the basin of Loano, in order to shut up the Austrian left there; and Serrurier was to deceive Colli by false attacks.

On the morning of the 2d of Frimaire (November 23d, 1795), the French cannon awoke the Austrians, who had no expectation of a battle. The officers hastened from Loano and Finale to put themselves at the head of their astonished troops. Augereau attacked with vigour, but without precipitation. He was stopped by the brave Roccavina. This general, placed on a knoll, in the middle of the basin of Loano, defended it with obstinacy, and suffered himself to be surrounded by Augereau's division, but still refused to surrender. When encompassed, he rushed headlong upon the line that hemmed him in, and rejoined the Austrian army, cutting his way through a French brigade.

Scherer, repressing the ardour of Augereau, obliged him to employ his small arms only before Loano, that he might not push the Austrians too speedily on their line of retreat. Meanwhile Massena, charged with the brilliant part of the plan, climbed, with the vigour and boldness which distinguished him on all occasions, the crests of the Apennines, surprised d'Argenteau, who commanded the right of the Austrians, threw him into extreme disorder, drove him from all his positions, and encamped in the evening on the heights of Melogno, which formed the circumference of the basin of Loano, and closed its rear. Serrurier, by firm and well calculated attacks, had occupied Colli and the whole right of the enemy.

In the evening of the 2d, the troops encamped, in dreadful weather, on the positions which they had occupied. On the morning of the 3d, Scherer continued his operation; Serrurier, having been reinforced, began to attack Colli more seriously, in order to cut him off completely from his allies; Massena continued to occupy all the crests and outlets of the Apennines; Augereau, ceasing to restrain himself, vigorously pushed the Austrians, whose rear had been intercepted. From that moment they commenced their retreat, in tremendous weather, and by miserable roads. Their right and centre fled in disorder on the back of the Apennines; their left, pent in between the mountains and the sea, retired with difficulty along the shore by the road of La Corniche. A storm of wind and snow prevented so active a pursuit as might otherwise have taken place; nevertheless, five thousand prisoners, several thousand killed, forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, were the fruit of this battle, one of the most disastrous that the allies had fought since the beginning of the war, and one of the

most skilfully conducted on the part of the French, in the judgment of military men.

Piedmont was in consternation at these tidings. Italy gave itself up for lost, and was cheered only by the season, which was too far advanced for the French to follow up their operations. Considerable magazines served to mitigate the hardships and the privations of the army. There needed a victory so important to raise the drooping spirits, and to give strength to the new government. It was published and hailed with great joy by all the genuine patriots.

At the same moment, affairs took a no less favourable turn in the provinces of the West. Hoche, having increased the army which occupied the two Vendées to forty-four thousand men, having placed intrenched posts on the Nantes Sèvre, so as to separate Stofflet from Charette, having dispersed the first assemblage formed by Charette, and guarding by a camp at Soullans the whole coast of the Marais, was in a condition to oppose a landing. The English squadron, lying at the Ile-Dieu, was, on the contrary, in a very melancholy position. The island on which the expedition had so injudiciously landed, presented only a surface without shelter, without resources, and less than three-quarters of a league in extent. The shore of the island offered no safe anchorage. The ships were there exposed to all the fury of the wind over a bottom of rocks, which cut their cables and placed them every night in the greatest danger. The opposite coast, on which it was proposed to land, was one vast beach, without any depth of water, upon which the waves broke incessantly, and where boats, owing to the violence of the breakers, could not reach the shore without running the risk of foundering. Every day increased the dangers of the English squadron and the resources of Hoche. The French prince had been at the Ile-Dieu above six weeks. All the envoys of the Chouans and of the Vendéans surrounded him, and, mingling with his staff, each presented his ideas and strove to obtain their adoption. All were desirous of having the prince among them; but they all agreed in one thing, that he ought to land as soon as possible, no matter to what point the preference was given.

It must be confessed that, owing to this stay of six weeks at Ile-Dieu, in face of the coast, the landing had become difficult. Long hesitation ought no more to precede a descent, than the passage of a river, since the enemy is put on the alert, and apprized of the point threatened. The determination to land on the coast being once taken, notice should have been given to all the chiefs, and the descent should have been effected unawares, at a point which would have permitted the troops to remain in communication with the English squadron, and to which the Vendéans and the Chouans could have directed considerable forces. Assuredly, if the expedition had landed on the coast without threatening it so long, forty thousand royalists of Bretagne and La Vendée might have been collected before Hoche would have time to move his regiments. When we recollect what happened at Quiberon, the facility with which the landing was effected, and the time that it took to assemble the republican troops, we shall be convinced that the landing would have been very easy, had it not been preceded by a long cruise off the coast. While the name of Puisaye paralyzed all the chiefs, that of the prince would have rallied them all, and have caused risings in twenty departments. It is true that the new invaders would afterwards have had severe battles to fight, that they would have been obliged to disperse perhaps before the enemy, to run away like parti-

sans, to hide themselves in the woods, to reappear, hide again, and lastly, to run the risk of being taken and shot. Such is the price of thrones. There was nothing unworthy in *chouanning* in the forests of Bretagne, or in the marshes and moors of La Vendée. A prince issuing from those retreats to ascend the throne of his ancestors would not have been less glorious than Gustavus Vasa, emerging from the mines of Dalecarlia. Moreover, it is probable that the presence of the prince would have excited such zeal in the royalist districts that a numerous army, continually at his side, would have permitted him to attempt enterprises of importance. It is probable that none of those about him would have had sufficient genius to conquer the young plebeian who commanded the republican army; but, at least, they might have given him some trouble to conquer them. There are frequently many consolations in a defeat; Francis I. found great consolation in that of Pavia.

If the landing was practicable at the time when the squadron arrived, it was no longer so after passing six weeks at the Ile-Dieu. The English seamen declared that it would soon be impossible to keep the sea, and that it was absolutely necessary to come to some determination; the whole coast of Charette's country was covered with troops; there was no possibility of landing unless beyond the Loire, near the mouth of the Vilaine, or in the country of Scepeaux, or in Bretagne in Puisaye's. But the emigrants and the prince would not land anywhere but in that of Charette, in whom alone they placed confidence. Now the thing was impracticable on Charette's coast. The prince, according to the assertion of M. de Vauban, solicited the English ministry to recall him. The ministry at first refused, unwilling that the cost of its expedition should be thrown away. However, it left the prince at liberty to pursue whatever course he thought proper.

From that moment, every preparation was made for departure. Long and useless instructions for the royalist chiefs were drawn up. They were told that superior orders prevented for a moment the execution of a descent; that Messrs. Charette, Stofflet, Sapinaud, and Scepeaux, must arrange among themselves to bring together a force of twenty-five or thirty thousand men beyond the Loire, which, united to the Bretons, might form a picked corps of forty or fifty thousand men, sufficient to protect the landing of the prince; that they should be apprized of the point of landing as soon as these preliminary measures were taken; and that all the resources of the English monarchy would be employed in seconding the efforts of the royalist provinces. To these instructions were added a few thousand pounds sterling for each chief, some muskets, and a small quantity of powder. These things were put ashore at night on the coast of Bretagne. The provisions with which the English had loaded their squadron were spoiled and thrown into the sea. They were obliged also to throw over the five hundred horses belonging to the English cavalry and artillery, which were almost all diseased from being so long on shipboard.

The English squadron set sail on the 15th of November (Brumaire 26th), and, at its departure, left the royalists in consternation. They were told that it was the English who had obliged the prince to go back; they were indignant, and again gave full scope to their abhorrence of the perfidy of England. The most incensed was Charette, and he had some reason to be so, for he was the most compromised. Charette had taken up arms again in the hope of a great expedition, in the hope of immense means, which would counterbalance the inequality of force between him and the

republicans; this hope disappointed, he could have no other prospect but that of infallible and very speedy destruction. The threat of a descent had drawn upon him all the forces of the republicans; and this time he was obliged to renounce all hope of negotiating; he had nothing to expect but to be shot without mercy, and without even having any right to complain of an enemy by whom he had already been so generously pardoned.

He resolved to sell his life dearly and to employ his last moments in desperate efforts. He fought several actions with a view to get upon the rear of Hoche, to break through the line of the Nantes Sèvre, to throw himself into Stofflet's country, and to force this colleague to resume his arms. He could not accomplish this purpose, and was driven back into the Marais by Hoche's columns. Sapinaud, whom he had prevailed upon to arm again, surprised the town of Montaigu, and endeavoured to reach Châtillon; but he was stopped before that place, beaten, and obliged to disperse his corps. The line of the Sèvre could not be broken. Stofflet, behind that fortified line, was obliged to keep quiet, and besides he was not disposed to resume arms. He beheld with secret pleasure the destruction of a rival who had been loaded with titles, and who had intended to deliver him up to the republicans. Scepeaux, between the Loire and the Vilaine, durst not yet stir. Bretagne was disorganized by discord. The division of Morbihan, commanded by George Cadoudal, had revolted against Puisaye. This was at the instigation of the emigrants, who surrounded the French prince, and who had retained their old resentment against the latter chief. They wished to deprive him of the command of Bretagne, but it was the division of Morbihan alone that threw off the authority of the generalissimo.

Such was the state of things when Hoche commenced the great work of pacification. This young general, a skilful politician as well as soldier,* clearly perceived that it was not by arms that he must endeavour to conquer an enemy with whom it was impossible to grapple, and who was nowhere to be come at. He had already despatched several moveable columns in pursuit of Charette; but heavily armed soldiers, who were obliged to carry everything with them and were unacquainted with the country, could not equal in speed peasants carrying nothing but their musket, who were sure of finding provisions everywhere, and acquainted with every ravine and every copse. In consequence, he immediately ordered all pursuit to cease, and formed a plan which, being followed up with firmness and perseverance, could not fail to restore peace to those desolated districts.

The inhabitant of La Vendée was at once peasant and soldier. Amid the horrors of civil war, he had not ceased to cultivate his fields and to attend to his cattle. His musket was at his side, hid beneath straw or in the ground. At the first signal of his chiefs, he hastened to them, attacked the republicans, then stole away through the woods, returned to his fields, and again concealed his piece; and the republicans found but an unarmed

* "Young Hoche was every way qualified for the important but difficult duty with which he was charged—the pacification of La Vendée. Endowed by nature with a clear judgment, an intrepid character, and an unconquerable resolution, firm, sagacious, and humane, he was eminently fitted for that mixture of gentleness and resolution which is necessary to heal the wounds, and subdue the passions, of civil war. This rare combination of civil and military qualities might have rendered him a formidable rival of Napoleon, and possibly endangered the public peace, had he not united to these shining parts a patriotic heart and a love of liberty, which rendered him superior to all temptation; and more likely, had he lived, to have followed the example of Washington, than the footsteps of Cæsar or Cromwell."—*Alison*. E.

peasant, in whom they could not by any means recognise a soldier. In this manner the Vendéans fought, subsisted, and continued to be almost inaccessible. While they still possessed the means of annoyance and of recruiting themselves, the republican armies, whom a ruined administration could no longer support, were in want of everything, and found themselves in a state of utter destitution.

The Vendéans could not be made to feel the war except by devastations—a course which had been tried during the time of terror, but which had only excited furious resentments without putting an end to the civil war.

Hoche devised an ingenious method of reducing the country without laying it waste, by depriving it of its arms, and taking part of its produce for the supply of the republican army. In the first place, he persisted in the establishment of several intrenched camps, some of which, situated on the Sèvre, separated Charette from Stofflet, while others covered Nantes, the coast, and Les Sables. He then formed a circular line, which was supported by the Sèvre and the Loire, and tended to envelop progressively the whole country. This line was composed of very strong posts, connected by patrols, so as to leave no free space by which an enemy who was at all numerous could pass. These posts were directed to occupy every hamlet and village, and to disarm them. To accomplish this, they were to seize the cattle, which usually grazed together, and the corn stowed away in the barns; they were also to secure the principal inhabitants: they were not to restore the cattle and the corn, nor to release the persons taken as hostages, till the peasants should have voluntarily delivered up their arms. Now, as the Vendéans cared much more about their cattle and their corn than about the Bourbons and Charette, they could not fail to surrender their arms. In order not to be overreached by the peasants, who might give up a few wretched muskets and keep the others, the officers charged with the disarming were to demand the list of enrolment kept in every parish, and to require as many muskets as there were persons enrolled. In default of these registers, it was recommended to them to make an estimate of the population, and to require a number of muskets equal to one-fourth of the male portion of it. After receiving the arms, they were faithfully to restore the cattle and the corn, with the exception of a part to be levied by the name of a tax, and to be collected in magazines formed on the rear of that line. Hoche had directed that the inhabitants should be treated with the utmost mildness, and that the most scrupulous punctuality should be observed in restoring their cattle, their corn, and especially their hostages. He had particularly recommended to the officers to have intercourse with them, to treat them well, to send them even sometimes to his head-quarters, and to make them presents of corn or other things. He had also enjoined the greatest respect to be paid to the *curés*. The Vendéans, said he, have but one real sentiment, that is, attachment to their priests. These latter want nothing but protection and tranquillity; let us insure both to them, let us add some benefits, and the affections of the country will be restored to them.

That line, which he called the line of disarming, was to envelop Lower Vendée circularly, to advance by degrees, and, at length, to embrace the whole of it. As it advanced, it left behind it the disarmed country, reduced, nay, even reconciled with the republic. It moreover protected it against a return of the insurgent chiefs, who usually punished submission to the republic and the surrender of arms by devastations. Two moveable columns preceded it, to fight those chiefs and to seize

them if possible; and, cooping them up more and more, it could not fail at last to enclose and to secure them. The utmost vigilance was recommended to all the commandants of posts, to keep them constantly connected by means of patroles, and to prevent the armed bands from breaking through the line and again carrying the war upon its rear. But, in spite of all their caution, it was, nevertheless, possible that Charette and some of his partisans might elude the vigilance of the posts, and pass the line of disarming; yet, even in this case, they could not pass with more than a few persons, and they would find themselves in disarmed districts, restored to tranquillity and security, pacified by kind treatment, and intimidated, besides, by that vast net of troops which encompassed the country. The case of a revolt on the rear was provided against. Hoche had given orders that one of the moveable columns should immediately fall back upon the insurgent commune, and that, to punish it for not having surrendered all its arms, and having again made use of them, its cattle and corn should be taken away and its principal inhabitants seized. The effect of these punishments was certain, and dispensed with justice, they were calculated to inspire not hatred but a salutary fear.

Hoche's plan was immediately carried into execution in the months of Brumaire and Frimaire (November and December). The line of disarming, passing through St. Gilles, Legé, Montaigu, and Chantonay, formed a semicircle, the right extremity of which was supported by the sea and the left by the river Lay, and which was progressively to hem Charette in impracticable morasses. It was chiefly by the manner of its execution that a plan of this nature could succeed. Hoche directed his officers by luminous instructions, full of sound reason, and was indefatigable in attending to all the details. It was not merely a war, it was a great military operation, which required as much prudence as energy. The inhabitants soon began to surrender their arms, and to become reconciled with the republican troops. Hoche granted relief to the indigent from the magazines of the army; he himself saw the inhabitants detained as hostages, caused them to be kept a few days, and sent them away satisfied. To some he gave cockades, to others police caps, sometimes even corn to such as had none for sowing their fields. He was in correspondence with the *curés*, who placed great confidence in him, and acquainted him with all the secrets in the country. He thus began to acquire a great moral influence—a real power, with which it was requisite to terminate such a war. Meanwhile, the magazines, formed on the rear of the line of disarming, gradually filled: great numbers of cattle were collected; and the army began to live in abundance through the simple expedient of levying a tax and fines in kind.

Charette had sought refuge in the woods, with one hundred and fifty men as desperate as himself. Sapinaud, who, at his instigation, had again taken arms, offered to lay them down a second time, on the mere condition that his life should be spared. Stofflet, pent up in Anjou with his minister Bernier, collected there all the officers who had forsaken Charette and Sapinaud, and strove to enrich himself with their spoils. At his head-quarters at Lavoir he kept a sort of court, composed of emigrants and officers. He enrolled men and levied contributions, upon pretext of organizing the territorial guards. Hoche watched him very attentively, hemmed him in more and more by intrenched camps, and threatened him with a speedy disarming, on the first cause of dissatisfaction. An expedition ordered by Hoche into Le Loroux, a district which had a sort of independent existence, without obeying either the republic or any chief, struck

terror into Stofflet. Hoche sent this expedition to bring away the wine and the corn in which Le Loroux abounded, and of which the city of Nantes was utterly destitute. Stofflet was alarmed, and solicited an interview with Hoche, for the purpose of protesting his adherence to the treaty, interceding for Sapinaud and the Chouans, making himself, in some sort, the mediator of a new pacification, and securing, by these means, the continuance of his influence. He wished, also, to discover Hoche's intentions in regard to him. Hoche enumerated the grievances of the republic, and intimated that, if he afforded an asylum to all the brigands, if he continued to levy men and money, if he was determined to be anything more than the temporary chief of the police of Anjou, and to play the part of prince, he would carry him off immediately and then disarm his province. Stofflet promised the utmost submission, and retired full of apprehensions respecting the future.

Hoche had, at the moment, difficulties of a very different kind to encounter. He had drawn to his army part of the two armies of Brest and Cherbourg. The imminent danger of a landing had procured him these reinforcements, which had increased the number of the troops collected in La Vendée to forty-four thousand men. The generals commanding the armies of Brest and Cherbourg claimed the troops which they had lent, and the Directory seemed to approve of their claims. Hoche wrote that the operation which he had commenced was one of the utmost importance, that, if the troops, which he had spread like a net around the Marais, were taken from him, the submission of Charette's district and the destruction of that chief, which were near at hand, would be indefinitely deferred; that it would be better to finish what was so far advanced, before proceeding elsewhere; that he would then be the first to return the troops that he had borrowed, and even to assist the general commanding in Bretagne with his own, for the purpose of carrying into execution there the measures which were already found to have such happy effects in La Vendée. The government, struck with the reasons of Hoche, called him to Paris with the intention of approving of all of his plans, and giving him the command of the three armies of La Vendée, Brest, and Cherbourg. He was summoned thither at the end of Frimaire, to concert with the Directory the operations destined to put an end to the most calamitous of all wars.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1795. The reduction of Luxemburg, the passage of the Rhine, the victories in the Pyrenees, followed by the peace with Spain, and the destruction of the emigrant army at Quiberon, distinguished the beginning and the middle of it. The end was less prosperous. The return of the armies across the Rhine, the loss of the lines of Mayence, and of part of the territory at the foot of the Vosges, for a moment dimmed the brilliancy of our triumphs. But the victory of Loano, opening to us the door to Italy, re-established the superiority of our arms; and the operations of Hoche in the West commenced the real pacification of La Vendée, which had been so often and so vainly proclaimed.

The coalition, reduced to England, Austria, and a few princes of Germany and Italy, had reached the term of its efforts, and would have demanded peace but for its recent victories on the Rhine. These gained Clairfayt an immense reputation; and it seemed to be the opinion that the next campaign would open in the heart of our provinces on the Rhine.

Pitt, who needed subsidies, called parliament together again in autumn, in order to apply for fresh sacrifices. The people of London continued to cry out for peace as obstinately as ever. The Corresponding Society had

met in the open air, and had voted the boldest and most threatening addresses against the war-system and in behalf of parliamentary reform. When the king went to open the parliament, his carriage was pelted with stones, the glasses were broken, and it was even believed that an air-gun had been discharged at it.* Pitt, riding through the streets on horseback, was recognised by the populace, pursued to his own house and covered with mud. Fox and Sheridan, more eloquent than they had ever been, called him severely to account. Holland conquered, the Netherlands incorporated with the French republic, their conquest rendered definitive in some measure by the reduction of Luxemburg, enormous sums spent on La Vendée, unfortunate Frenchmen exposed to be uselessly shot, were serious charges against the judgment and policy of the administration. The expedition to Quiberon, in particular, excited general indignation. Pitt attempted to excuse himself by saying that English blood had not been spilt. "True," replied Sheridan, with an energy which it is difficult to transmute into another language; "true, English blood has not been spilt, but English honour has oozed from every pore." Pitt, unimpassioned as usual, called all the events of the year mishaps, for which those ought to be prepared who stand the chance of arms; but he laid great stress on the recent victories of Austria on the Rhine; he greatly exaggerated their importance, and the facilities which they were likely to afford for treating with France. As usual, he asserted that our republic was approaching the term of its power; that an inevitable bankruptcy must plunge it into complete confusion and impotence; that, in continuing the war a year longer, the allies had gained a great point, that of reducing the common enemy to extremity. He solemnly promised that, if the new French government should appear to establish itself and to assume a regular form, the first opportunity for negotiating should be seized. He then asked for a new loan of three millions sterling and for restrictive laws against the press and against the political societies, to which he attributed the outrages committed upon the king and himself. The opposition replied that the boasted victories on the Rhine were victories only of a day; that defeats in Italy had since destroyed the effect of the advantages obtained in Germany; that the French republic, always held at bay, sprang up stronger at the opening of each successive campaign, that the assignats had long been done up, that they had completed their service, that the resources of France were elsewhere, and, besides, if she were exhausting herself, Great Britain was exhausting herself much more rapidly; that the debt, every day increasing, was overwhelming, and must soon crush the three kingdoms. As for the laws relative to the press and to the political societies, Fox, in a transport of indignation, declared that if they were adopted, the English people would have no resource left but resistance, and that he considered resistance no longer as a question of right but of prudence. This proclamation of the right of insurrection excited a great tumult, which ended in compliance with the demands of Pitt: he carried his motions for a new loan and for repressive measures, and promised to open a negotiation as soon as possible. The parliament was prorogued to the 2d of February, 1796.

* "On occasion of the king's going to parliament, at its opening in 1795, the general discontent broke out into open outrages of the most disgraceful kind. The royal carriage was surrounded by an immense crowd of turbulent persons, loudly demanding peace and the dismissal of Mr. Pitt. One of the windows was broken by a stone or bullet from an air gun; showers of stones were thrown at the state-coach both going and returning from parliament; and the monarch narrowly escaped the fury of the populace in his way from St. James's Palace to Buckingham House."—*Alison*. E.

Pitt had no thoughts whatever of peace. He merely meant to make demonstrations, in order to satisfy opinion, and to hasten the success of his loan. The possession of the Netherlands by France rendered all idea of peace intolerable to him. He promised himself, in fact, to seize a moment for opening a feigned negotiation and offering inadmissible conditions.

Austria, in order to satisfy the Empire, which cried out for peace, had caused overtures to be made through Denmark. That power had proposed, on behalf of Austria, to the French government, the formation of a European congress; the French government had replied that a congress would render all negotiation impossible, because it would be necessary to reconcile too many interests; that, if Austria was desirous of peace, she had but to make direct overtures for it; that France was determined to treat individually with all her enemies, and to arrange matters with themselves without any mediator. This reply was just; for a congress would complicate the peace with Austria with the peace with England and the Empire, and render it impossible. In fact, Austria desired no other answer, for she did not mean to negotiate. She had lost too much, and her last successes had led her to hope too much, for her to consent to lay down her arms. She strove to infuse fresh courage into the King of Sardinia, terrified by the victory of Loano, and promised him a numerous army and another general for the ensuing campaign. The honors of a triumph were decreed to General Clairfayt, on his entry into Vienna; his carriage was drawn by the people; and the favours of the court were added to the demonstrations of popular enthusiasm.

Thus ended, for all Europe, the fourth campaign of this memorable war.

THE DIRECTORY.

CONTINUATION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OPERATIONS OF THE DIRECTORY—CREATION OF MANDATS—DISCONTENT OF THE JACOBINS—CONSPIRACY OF BABŒUF.

THE republican government was cheered and strengthened by the events with which the campaign had just terminated. The Convention, by uniting Belgium with France, and by incorporating it with the constitutional territory, had imposed upon its successors the obligation to treat with the enemy on no other condition than the line of the Rhine. New efforts, and a new campaign, more decisive than the preceding, were required to force the house of Austria and England to consent to our aggrandizement. To attain this end, the Directory laboured with energy to complete the armies, to re-establish the finances, and to repress the factions.

It particularly laid stress upon the execution of the laws relative to the young requisitionists, and obliged them with the utmost rigour to rejoin the armies. It had caused all kinds of exemptions to be annulled, and had formed in every district a commission of medical men to decide upon cases of infirmity. A great number of young men had thrust themselves into

the administrations, where they plundered the republic and showed the worst spirit. The strictest orders were given to admit into the public offices none but men who did not belong to the requisition. The finances, in particular, attracted the attention of the Directory; it caused the forced loan of six hundred millions to be raised with extreme activity. But it was obliged to wait for the proceeds of that loan, for the alienation of the produce of the national forests, for the sale of the domains of three hundred acres, and for the collection of the arrears of contributions: meanwhile it was necessary to provide for expenses which unfortunately came all at once, because the installation of the new government was the time to which all payments were deferred, and because the winter was the season destined for preparations for the next campaign. But, while awaiting the moment for all these returns, the Directory had been obliged to avail itself of the resource which some had insisted on its retaining—that of assignats. But it had already issued in one month from twelve to fifteen thousand millions, in order to procure a few millions in specie, and it was on the point of not being able to make them pass anywhere. It conceived the idea of issuing a current paper at a short date, which should represent the revenue of the year, as is done in England with exchequer bills, and as we are now doing with royal *bons*. By the name of rescriptions it issued bills payable to bearer at the Treasury, with the specie which was to come in immediately either from the forced loan, which in Belgium was demandable in cash, or from the customs, or from the first treaties with the companies which should undertake the working of the forests. At first it issued thirty millions in these rescriptions, and soon raised them to sixty, availing itself of the assistance of bankers for the purpose.

Financial companies were no longer prohibited. It thought of employing them for the creation of a bank, which credit needed, especially at a moment when it was imagined that all the specie had been carried out of France. It formed a company, and proposed to give up to it a certain quantity of national domains, to serve for the capital of a bank. This bank was to issue notes, which would have lands for their pledge, and would be payable at sight like all bank-notes. It was to lend to the state these notes to an amount proportionate to the lands given in pledge. This was, as we see, another way of drawing upon the value of the national domains: it was, in fact, resorting to the expedient of bank-notes, instead of employing that of assignats.

The success was not very probable; but, in its unfortunate situation, the government tried everything and was right to do so. Its most meritorious operation was abolishing the rations, and restoring freedom of traffic in articles of consumption. We have seen what efforts it cost the government when it took upon itself to bring corn to Paris; and what an expense was entailed upon the exchequer, which paid for the corn in real value, and sold it again to the people of the capital for nominal value. Scarcely a two-hundredth part of the expense was repaid, so that the republic was nearly at the entire cost of feeding the population of Paris.

Benezech, the new minister of the interior, who had felt the inconvenience of this system, and who conceived that circumstances would permit it to be relinquished, advised the Directory to have the courage to give it up. Commerce began to revive; corn began to circulate; the people insisted on being paid their wages in cash, and thenceforward they could afford to buy their own bread, which was at a moderate price in specie. Benezech, in consequence, proposed to the Directory to suppress the dis-

tribution of rations which were paid for in assignats, and to continue them only to the indigent, or to the annuitants and the public functionaries whose annual income was under a thousand livres. All others, excepting these three classes, were to supply themselves at the bakers by the way of free trade.

This was a bold measure, and required real courage. The Directory carried it into immediate execution, regardless of the rage which it might excite in the populace, and the means of disturbance with which it might furnish the two factions conspiring against the tranquillity of the republic.

Besides these measures, it devised others which could not prove less prejudicial to private interests, but which were quite as necessary. A want particularly felt by the armies, and always felt by them after long wars, was that of horses. The Directory applied to the two councils for authority to levy all horses kept for luxury, and to take every thirtieth horse employed in tillage and draught on paying for it. The receipt for the horse was to be taken in payment of taxes. This measure, though harsh, was indispensable, and was adopted.

The two councils seconded the Directory and manifested the same spirit, with the exception of the still temperate opposition of the minority. Some discussions had arisen relative to the verification of the powers, the law of the 3d of Brumaire, the successions of emigrants, the priests, the occurrences in the South, and parties had begun to declare themselves.

The verification of the powers had been referred to a commission which had numerous inquiries to make relative to the members whose eligibility could be contested. Its report, therefore, could not be made till very late, after the legislature had been sitting upwards of two months. It gave rise to many altercations respecting the application of the law of the 3d of Brumaire. This law, as we have seen, granted an amnesty for all offences committed during the Revolution, excepting such as related to the 13th of Vendémiaire; it excluded from public offices the relatives of emigrants and those persons, who, in the electoral assemblies, had set themselves in rebellion against the decrees of the 5th and 13th of Fructidor. It had been the last act of energy of the Conventional party, and was singularly offensive to men of moderate sentiments and to the counter-revolutionists, who concealed themselves behind them. It was necessary to enforce it in regard to several deputies, and especially to one Job Aymé, deputy of the Drôme, who had raised the electoral assembly of his department, and was accused of belonging to the companies of Jesus. A member of the Five Hundred ventured even to demand a repeal of that law. This motion caused all the parties to throw off the reserve which they had hitherto maintained. A dispute, similar to those which had decided the Convention, arose in the Five Hundred. Louvet, ever stanch to the revolutionary cause, rushed to the tribune to defend the law. Tallien, who had performed so conspicuous a part since the 9th of Thermidor, and who had been prevented, by the want of personal consideration, from attaining a seat in the Directory, here showed himself the constant advocate of the Revolution, and delivered a speech which produced a great sensation. Preceding speakers had recapitulated the circumstances under which the law had been passed; they seemed to insinuate that it was an abuse of the victory of Vendémiaire in regard to the vanquished; and a great deal had been said concerning the Jacobins and their new audacity. "Let them cease to alarm us," exclaimed Tallien, "by talking of terror, by reminding us of epochs totally different from the present, by exciting apprehensions of their

return. Times are, indeed, greatly changed. In the epochs on which people are so fond of descanting, the royalists did not lift an audacious head; the finatical priests, the returned emigrants, were not protected; the chiefs of the Chouans were not acquitted. Why, then, compare circumstances which have no resemblance to each other? It is too evident that the intention is to sit in judgment on the 13th of Vendémiaire, on the measures which have followed that memorable day, and on the men who, amid these great dangers, saved the republic. Well then, let our enemies ascend this tribune; the friends of the republic will defend us there. The very men, who, in those disastrous circumstances, urged the misguided multitude to the cannons' mouth, would now reproach us with the efforts which we were obliged to make to repulse it; they would fain procure the repeal of the measures, which the most imminent danger forced you to take; but no, they will not succeed. The law of the 3d of Brumaire, the most important of those measures, will be upheld by you, for it is necessary to the constitution, and, assuredly, you are determined to uphold the constitution." "Yes, yes, we are," cried a multitude of voices. Tallien then moved the expulsion of Job Aymé. Several members of the new third opposed it. The discussion became extremely warm; the law of the 2d of Brumaire was sanctioned anew; Job Aymé was expelled, and the inquiry concerning those members of the new third to whom the same dispositions were applicable was continued.

The next question related to the emigrants and their right to successions not yet open. A law of the Convention had, with a view to prevent the emigrants from receiving any aid, seized their patrimony, and declared the successions to which they had a claim forfeited and vested in the republic. In consequence, the property of their relatives had been laid under sequestration. A resolution was proposed in the Five Hundred for authorizing the division and the seizure of the portion belonging to the emigrants, in order that the sequestration might be removed. A very warm opposition arose in the new third. This measure, which was quite revolutionary, was impugned on grounds deduced from the common law; it was alleged to involve a violation of property. This resolution was, nevertheless, adopted. In the Ancients it fared otherwise. This council, from the age of its members, and its function of supreme examiner, had more moderation than that of the Five Hundred. It partook less of the opposite passions. It was less revolutionary than the majority, and much more so than the minority. Like every intermediate body, it had an intermediate spirit, and rejected the measure, because it would lead to the execution of a law which it considered as unjust. The councils afterwards decreed that the Directory should be supreme judge of the applications for erasure from the list of emigrants. They renewed all the laws against the priests who had not taken the oath, or who had retracted it, and against those whom the authorities of the departments had sentenced to banishment. They decreed that these priests should be treated as returned emigrants, if they appeared again upon the territory. They merely consented to put into confinement such of them as were infirm and could not expatriate themselves.

Another subject greatly agitated the councils and produced an explosion in them. Fréron was still prosecuting his mission in the South, and composing the administrations and the tribunals of ardent revolutionists. The members of the companies of Jesus, the counter-revolutionists of all kinds, who had been committing murders ever since the 9th of Thermidor, found themselves, in their turn, exposed to new reprisals and raised loud outeries.

Simeon, the deputy, had already made temperate remonstrances. Jourdan of Aubagne, a man of an ardent mind, and Isnard, the ex-Girondin, complained vehemently in the Five Hundred; and filled several sittings with their declamations. The two parties were strongly excited. Jourdan and Talot quarrelled in the Assembly itself, and had nearly come to blows. Their colleagues interposed and separated them. A commission was appointed to make a report on the state of the South.

These different scenes caused the parties to declare themselves more decidedly. The majority in the councils was great, and wholly devoted to the Directory. The minority, though a cipher, grew daily bolder, and openly manifested a spirit of reaction. It was the continuation of the same spirit which had displayed itself ever since the 9th of Thermidor, and which had, at first, justly attacked the excesses of terror, but which, becoming from day to day more severe and more excited, at length ventured to sit in judgment on the entire Revolution. Some of the members of the Conventional two-thirds voted with the minority, and some of the members of the new third with the majority.

The Conventionalists seized the opportunity with which the anniversary of the 21st of January was about to furnish them, to put their colleagues suspected of royalism to a painful test. They proposed a festival to celebrate, every 21st of January, the death of the late King, and, on their motion, it was decided that every member of the two councils and of the Directory should, on that day, take an oath of hatred to royalty. This formality of an oath, so frequently employed by parties, never could be considered as a guarantee; it has never been anything but an annoyance of the conquerors, who have taken delight in forcing the conquered to perjure themselves. The proposal was adopted by the two councils. The Conventionalists awaited with impatience the sitting of the 1st of Pluviose (January 21st), to see their colleagues of the new third ascend the tribune. Each of the councils sat that day in solemn state. An entertainment was prepared in Paris, which was to be attended by the Directory and all the authorities. When the oath was to be pronounced, some of the new members appeared embarrassed. Dupont of Nemours, the ex-Constituent, who was a member of the Ancients, who retained to an advanced age a great vivacity of disposition, and showed the boldest opposition to the existing government—manifested, upon this occasion, some vexation, and, after pronouncing the words, *I swear hatred to royalty*, added, *and to every kind of tyranny*. This was one way of revenging himself, and of swearing hatred to the Directory under evasive words. Violent murmurs arose, and Dupont was obliged to adhere to the official form. In the Five Hundred, one André would have used the same expression as Dupont, but he was, in like manner, obliged to observe the usual form. The president of the Directory delivered an energetic speech, and the whole government thus made the most revolutionary profession of faith.

At this juncture the deputies who had been exchanged for the daughter of Louis XVI. arrived. These were Quinette, Bancal, Camus, Lamarque, Drouet, and Beurnonville, the ex-minister at war. They made a report of their captivity; the Assembly heard it with profound indignation, and bestowed on them just demonstrations of interest; and, amidst general satisfaction, they took that place which the Convention had insured to them in the councils. It had been decreed, in fact, that they should be, by right, members of the legislative body.

Such were the proceedings of the government and of parties during the winter of the year IV (1795-6).

France, which wished for a government and for the re-establishment of the laws, began to be satisfied with the new state of things, and would even have entirely approved it, but for the efforts that were required of her for the salvation of the republic. The rigorous execution of the laws concerning the requisitions, the forced loan, the levy of the thirtieth horse, and the wretched state of the annuitants paid in assignats, were grievous subjects of complaint: but for these causes, she would have deemed the new government excellent. It is only the select few of a nation who are alive to glory, to liberty, to noble and generous ideas, and who consent to make sacrifices for them. The mass wishes for quiet, and to have to make as few sacrifices as possible. There are moments when this entire mass is roused, moved by deep and mighty passions: such instances had been seen in 1789, when the French had been obliged to conquer liberty, and in 1793, when they were forced to defend it. But, exhausted by these efforts, the great majority of France was unwilling to make any more.* It required an able and vigorous government to secure the resources requisite for the salvation of the republic. Fortunately, the youth of the country, ever ready for an adventurous life, offered great resources for recruiting the armies. At first, they showed great unwillingness to leave their homes, and yielded after some resistance. When transferred to the camps, they acquired a decided partiality for war, and performed prodigies of valour. It was much more difficult to manage, and to reconcile with the government, those from whom sacrifices in money were demanded.

The enemies of the Revolution, taking for their text the new sacrifices required from France, declaimed in their journals against the requisition, the forced loan, the forced levy of horses, the state of the finances, the distress of the annuitants, and the strict execution of the laws relating to emigrants and priests. They affected to consider the government as being still a revolutionary government, and as having all its despotism and violence. According to them, it was impossible to place confidence in it any longer, and to feel security respecting the future. They inveighed particularly against the design of a new campaign. They alleged that the government was sacrificing the peace, the property, the lives of the citizens to the mania of conquest, and seemed mortified that the Revolution had the honour of giving Belgium to France. It was not surprising, they said, that the government should have such a spirit and such projects, since the Directory and the councils were full of the members of an Assembly which had sullied itself with all sorts of crimes.

The patriots, who were never behindhand with reproaches and recriminations, on the contrary, considered the government as too weak, and were quite ready to accuse it of indulgence to the counter-revolutionists. According to them, emigrants and priests were suffered to return; the conspirators of Vendémiaire were every day acquitted; the young men of the requisition were not sent back with sufficient severity to the armies; and the forced loan was too leniently raised. They disapproved, in particular, of the financial system, which appeared likely to be adopted. We have already seen that the idea of abolishing the assignats had exasperated them,

* "The age was far removed from France of the 14th of July, 1789, with its enthusiastic feelings, its high resolves, its ardent aspirations, its popular magistrates, and its buoyant population; it was still further removed from France of the 10th of August, when a single class had usurped the whole authority of the state, and borne to the seat of government its vulgar manners and sanguinary ideas, its distrust of all above, and its severity to all beneath itself. Society had now emerged, weakened and disjointed, from the chaos of revolution."—*Alison*. E.

and that they had immediately demanded the revolutionary means which, in 1793, had raised paper to par. The intention of having recourse to the financial companies, and of establishing a bank, revived all prejudices. The government, they said, was going to give itself up again to stockjobbers; it was about, by establishing a bank, to ruin the assignats and to destroy the paper-money of the republic, in order to substitute for it a private paper created by jobbers. They were incensed at the abolition of the rations. To restore a free trade in articles of consumption, to cease to feed the city of Paris, was an attack on the Revolution. It was an attempt to starve the people and to drive them to despair. On this point the journals of royalism seemed to agree with those of Jacobinism, and Benezech, the minister, was loaded with invectives by all parties.

One measure raised the indignation of the patriots against the new government to the highest pitch. The law of the 3d of Brumaire, while pardoning all offences relative to the Revolution, nevertheless excepted particular crimes, such as robbery and murder, which were still amenable to the laws. Thus the proceedings, commenced during the latter time of the Convention against the authors of the massacres of September, were prosecuted like ordinary proceedings against murder. At the same time, the conspirators of Vendémiaire were brought to trial and almost all acquitted. The proceedings against the authors of September were, on the contrary, extremely strict. The patriots were enraged. Babœuf,* a furious Jacobin, who had been confined in Prairial, and recovered his liberty by the effect of the law of amnesty, had commenced a paper, in imitation of that of Marat, by the title of the *Tribun du Peuple*. It is easy to conceive what the imitation of such a model was likely to be. Babœuf's paper, more violent than Marat's, was not cynical but low. What extraordinary circumstances had provoked were here reduced to a system, and supported with a folly and a frenzy hitherto unknown. When ideas which have engrossed the public mind are approaching their end, they stick fast in some heads, and are transformed into mania and idiocy. Babœuf was the head of a sect afflicted with mental malady, who insisted that the massacre of September had been incomplete, and that it ought to be renewed and rendered general, in order that it might be definitive. They publicly preached up the agrarian law, which the Hebertists themselves had never dared to

* "Babœuf was the son of a collector of the salt-tax, and, in 1777, entered into the service of a gentleman, who gave him some sort of education, and made him his confidential man of business. He soon afterwards married a chambermaid, made himself conspicuous by his revolutionary doctrines, and, in 1792, was appointed elector of the department of Somme. On the overthrow of Robespierre, he turned journalist, styled himself Gracchus, and wrote with severity against the Jacobins, to whom he gave the title of Terrorists. He afterwards attacked Tallien and the Thermidorians, and, on the establishment of the Directory, published his 'Tribune of the People,' in which he displayed the most extravagant democracy. Being brought before the minister of police, Babœuf confessed himself the author of a plan of insurrection, and showed great firmness, refusing to name his accomplices. He was condemned to death in 1797, and, on learning his sentence, stabbed himself, but his body was nevertheless dragged to the scaffold and beheaded."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

"Gracchus Babœuf, who called himself the 'Tribune of the People,' was a bold man, of an excited imagination, and fantastically attached to an extraordinary kind of democracy. This man, who possessed great power over his party, prepared it by his journal for the reign of, what he called, general happiness."—*Mignet*. E.

"On being arrested, Babœuf wrote thus to the Directory: 'Whatever may be my fate, my name will be placed with those of Barneveldt and Sidney; whether conducted to death or to banishment, I am certain of arriving at immortality.'"—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

do, and employed a new expression, the *common happiness*, to denote the aim of their system. This expression alone characterized in them the utmost limit to the tyranny of demagogues. It makes one shudder to read Babœuf's pages. In upright minds they excited pity; the alarmists pretended to believe in the approach of a new Terror, and it is true that the meetings of the society of the Pantheon afforded a specious pretext for their apprehensions. It was in the spacious church of St. Geneviève that the Jacobins had recommenced their club, as we have observed.* More numerous than ever, they amounted to nearly four thousand, vociferating all together, till the night was far advanced. By degrees they had overstepped the limits of the constitution, and given themselves all that it had forbidden, namely, a bureau, a president, and tickets. In short, they had resumed the character of a political assembly. There they declaimed against the emigrants and the priests, the stockjobbers, the bloodsuckers of the people, the plan of a bank, the suppression of the rations, the abolition of the assignats, and the proceedings instituted against the patriots.

The Directory, finding itself daily more and more firmly established, began to feel solicitous to please moderate and reasonable minds. It deemed it right to visit with severity this outburst of the Jacobin faction. The constitution of the existing laws furnished it with the means of doing so; and it resolved to employ them. In the first place, it ordered several numbers of Babœuf's paper to be seized, as instigating to the overthrow of the constitution; it then caused the Pantheon to be shut up, as well as the places of meeting of several other societies formed by the *gilded youth*, where the members read the newspapers and amused themselves with dancing. These latter were situated in the Palais-Royal and the Boulevard des Italiens, and were called *Société des Echees*, *Salon des Princes*, *Salon des Arts*. There was little to be feared from them, and they were comprehended in the measure merely to show impartiality. The ordinance was published and executed on the 8th of Ventose (February 27, 1796). A resolution, proposed by the Five Hundred, added another condition to those which were already imposed by the constitution on the popular societies: they were not to consist of more than sixty members.

Benezech, the minister, accused by both parties, tendered his resignation. The Directory refused to accept it, and wrote him a letter commending his services. The letter was published. The new system relative to articles of consumption was maintained; the indigent, the annuitants, and the public functionaries, who had not an income of one thousand francs, were alone supplied with rations. Something was likewise done for the unfortunate *rentiers*, who were still paid in paper. The two councils decreed that they should receive ten for one in assignats; a very trifling augmentation, for the assignats had fallen to the two-hundredth part of their nominal value.

To the measures which it had just adopted, the Directory added that of, at last, recalling the Conventional deputies on mission. It appointed commissioners of the government in their stead. These commissioners, with armies or administrations, represented the Directory, and superintended the execution of the laws. They had not, as formerly, unlimited powers

* "The democrats had re-established their club at the Pantheon, and it was, for some time, tolerated by the Directory. The society, however, became daily more numerous and more alarming to the government, which, at first, endeavoured to restrain it within bounds, but its sittings were, in a short time, prolonged to a late hour. The democrats at length repaired thither in arms, and projected an expedition against the Directory and the Councils, who then determined on making an open attack upon them."—*Mignet*. E.

in the armies; but, in an emergency, when the power of the general was insufficient, such as a requisition for provisions or troops, they were authorized to adopt a decision on the spur of the moment, which was carried into execution, and afterwards submitted to the approbation of the Directory. Complaints were made against many of the functionaries appointed by the Directory at the first moment of its installation; it enjoined its civil commissioners to keep an eye upon them, and to point out those whom it would be proper to supersede.

In order to watch the factions, which, being now obliged to conceal themselves, were likely to act in the dark, the Directory resolved upon the institution of a special ministry of police.

The police is an important object in times of disturbance. The three preceding assemblies had appropriated to it a numerous committee; the Directory did not deem it right to leave it among the auxiliary duties of the ministry of the interior, and proposed to the two councils to establish a special ministry. The opposition pretended that it was an inquisitorial institution, which was true, and which, unfortunately, was inherent in a time of factions, and, especially, of obstinate factions, and factions that were obliged to plot in secret. The plan was approved. Cochon, the deputy, was placed at the head of this new ministry. The Directory wished, moreover, for laws to regulate the liberty of the press. The constitution declared it to be unlimited, excepting the dispositions which might become necessary for repressing its excesses. The two councils, after a solemn discussion, rejected every restrictive *projet de loi*. The parts were again reversed in this discussion. The partisans of the Revolution, who should have been partisans of unlimited liberty, demanded means of repression; and the opposition, whose secret sentiments inclined rather to monarchy than to the republic, voted for unlimited liberty—so strongly are parties governed by their interest. For the rest, the decision was discreet. The press may be unlimited without danger; truth alone is formidable; that which is false is impotent; the more it exaggerates, the weaker it becomes. There never yet was a government that was overthrown by lies. What signified it if a Babœuf extolled the agrarian law, if a *Quotidienne* depreciated the grandeur of the Revolution, slandered its heroes, and strove to set up banished princes again? The government had only to allow them to declaim: a week's exaggeration and lies exhaust all the pens of pamphleteers and libellers. But a government must have time and philosophy before it admits these truths. It was, perhaps, not time for the Convention to listen to them. The Directory, which was more tranquil and more settled, ought to have begun to hearken to and to practise them.

The last measures of the Directory, such as the closing of the Pantheon, the refusal to accept the resignation of Benezech, the recall of the Conventionalists on mission, and the change of certain functionaries, produced the best effect. They gave confidence to those who dreaded the revival of Terror; they condemned to silence such as affected to dread it; and they gratified sober minds who wished the government to place itself above all parties. The continuity and activity of the operations of the Directory contributed, not less than all the rest, to gain it esteem. People began to hope for quiet, and to associate the idea of stability with the existing system. The five directors were surrounded by a certain degree of state. Barras, a man of pleasure, did the honours of the Luxembourg. He acted, in some measure, for his colleagues. Society wore nearly the same aspect as in the preceding year. It exhibited a singular medley of

conditions, great freedom of manners, an inordinate fondness for amusements, and extraordinary luxury.* The saloons of the Directory were full of generals, who had finished their education and made their fortune in a couple of years; of contractors and men of business, who had enriched themselves by speculations and rapine; of exiles, who had returned and were seeking to connect themselves with the government; of men of superior talents, who began to have confidence in the republic, and wished to take their place in it; and lastly, of intriguers, who were running after favour. Women of high and low birth came to these saloons to display their charms, and, sometimes, to use their influence at a moment when anything might be demanded and obtained. If, at times, manners had neither that decorum nor that dignity, on which so much stress is now laid in France, and which are the fruit of a polished, tranquil, exclusive society, there prevailed an extreme freedom of mind, and that great abundance of positive ideas, which the sight and the practice of great things suggests. The men who composed that society were not controlled by any kind of routine; they did not repeat insignificant traditions; what they knew, they had learned by their own experience. They had witnessed the greatest events in history. They had taken part, they were still taking part, in them; and it is easy to conceive what ideas such a spectacle must have excited in young minds, ambitious and full of hope. There young Hoche shone in the first rank, who, from a private in the French guards, had become, in one campaign, general-in-chief, and acquired in two years the most finished education. Handsome, of polished manners, renowned as one of the first captains of his time, and scarcely twenty-seven years of age, he was the hope of the republicans, and the idol of those females smitten with beauty, talent, and glory. Beside him was already remarked young Bonaparte, who had not yet acquired renown, but whose services at Toulon and on the 13th of Vendémiaire were well known, whose character and person astonished by their singularity, and whose understanding struck by its originality and vigour.† In this society, Madame Tallien fascinated by her beauty, Madame Beauharnais by her grace, Madame de Staël dis-

* The following is the Duchess d'Abrantes's account of the state of society in Paris at this period: "All those delightful reunions, which formerly constituted the charm of intimate acquaintance, now no longer existed, or were poisoned by odious politics, which engendered sharp contradiction, anger, quarrels, frequently terminating in ruptures between husband and wife, brother and sister, and, sometimes, between father and son. Such was the picture presented by society in Paris at the period of which I am now treating, that is, 1796. The word society was vulgarly used to designate assemblages of persons; but, in point of fact, there were no social meetings. Private individuals were afraid of appearing wealthy by receiving company habitually, and they contented themselves with frequenting those public assemblages, where, at that time, the best society was to be found. Such was the system adopted, not only in regard to concerts, but also to balls." E.

† Madame Bourrienne has drawn a curious and striking portrait of Bonaparte, as he appeared in Paris previous to his departure for the army of Italy, which we subjoin: "At this period (towards the close of year 1795) I remarked that Bonaparte's character was reserved, and frequently gloomy. His smile was hypocritical and often misplaced; and I recollect that he one day gave us one of those specimens of savage hilarity which prepossessed me against him. He was telling us that, being before Toulon, where he commanded the artillery, one of the officers was visited by his wife, to whom he had been but a short time married, and whom he tenderly loved. A few days after, orders were given for another attack upon the town, in which this officer was to be engaged. His wife came to General Bonaparte, and with tears entreated him to dispense with her husband's services on that day. The general was inexorable, as he himself told us. The moment of the attack arrived, and the officer, though a very brave man, as Bonaparte assured us, felt a presentiment of his approaching death. He turned pale and

played all the brilliancy of her intellect, heightened by circumstances and by liberty.*

Those young men called to govern the state chose their wives, some from among the ladies formerly of rank, who deemed themselves honoured by an alliance with them, others out of families enriched by the times, who were desirous of ennobling wealth by reputation. Bonaparte had just married the widow of the unfortunate General Beauharnais. Every one was anxious to fix his destiny, and foreboded a brilliant career for himself. Roads to fortune were open to all. The war upon the continent, the naval war, the tribune, the magistracy, in short, a great republic to defend and govern—these were grand objects, worthy to inflame every mind! The government had recently made a valuable acquisition; it was that of an ingenious and profound writer, who had devoted his youthful talents to reconcile opinion with the new republic. M. Benjamin Constant† had recently published a pamphlet, entitled *De la Force du Gouvernement*, which had produced a strong sensation. He therein demonstrated the necessity of rallying round a government which was the only hope of France and of all parties.

A daily recurring subject of anxiety was that of the finances. The recent measures were but an adjournment of the difficulty. A certain quantity of domains had been given to the government to sell, the letting of the great forests, and the forced loan; and the plate of the assignats had been left it as a last resource. To anticipate the produce of these different resources, it had, as we have seen, created sixty millions of rescriptions, something like exchequer bills, or royal *bons*, payable with the first specie that should reach the public coffers. But these rescriptions had not obtained currency without great difficulty. The bankers, who met to concert a plan for a territorial bank, founded on the national domains, separated amidst shouts uttered by the patriots against jobbers and brokers. The

trembled. He was stationed beside the general, and, during an interval when the firing from the town was very strong, Napoleon called out to him, 'Take care, there is a bomb-shell coming.' The officer, instead of moving to one side, stooped down, and was literally severed in two. The general laughed loudly while he described this event with horrible minuteness. There was always something eccentric in Bonaparte's behaviour. He would often slip away from us at the theatre without saying a word, and, when we supposed he had quitted it, we would suddenly discover him in the second or third tier sitting alone in a box, and looking rather sulky." E.

* "Madame de Staël was always in her element in Parisian society, and exhibited herself there to the greatest advantage; she could not live happily without the excitements and novelties that Paris alone could supply; and when these were withdrawn, not all the vivacity of her genius, nor all the warmth of her heart, could protect her from the benumbing influence of ennui."—*Edinburgh Review*. E.

† "Benjamin de Constant de Rebecque, born at Lausanne, in 1767, and one of the most distinguished authors and orators of the liberal party on the left side of the French chamber of deputies, was the son of a general in the Dutch service, who had retired into his native country, French Switzerland, and commanded the militia there. Young Benjamin was educated at Brunswick, in Germany, and, at a later period, studied the law. At the period of the Revolution he went to Paris, and, with equal courage and sternness of purpose, opposed both anarchy and despotism. In 1797 he distinguished himself by the fire of his orations, which caused his election to the office of tribune. He was the principal cause of the appointment of Talleyrand to the foreign office, by the Directory, in the same year. His speeches and writings rendered him odious to the First Consul, and he was consequently dismissed from his station in 1802. Similarity of sentiment connected him with Madame de Staël, with whom he travelled through several countries, till Napoleon permitted him to return to Paris for a limited period. In 1814 Constant showed himself zealous for the cause of the Bourbons; he suffered himself, however, to be elected councillor of state by Napoleon; and, on the return of the king, retired to Brussels. In 1816 he was allowed to return to Paris, and in 1819 was elected a member of the chamber of deputies. He was the author of several works, some of which are held in high repute."—*Encyclopædia Americana*. E.

forced loan was levied much more slowly than had been expected. The assessment rested on extremely arbitrary bases; as the loan was to be raised from the wealthiest classes every one complained; and each portion of it to be levied occasioned an altercation with the collectors. In two months, scarcely a third of it had been received. Some millions in specie and some thousand millions in paper had been collected. In the inadequacy of this resource, recourse had, once more, been had to the last engine left to the government for the purpose of supplying the deficiency of all the others—the plate for assignats. The issues had been extended, during the last two months, to the unheard-of sum of forty-five thousand millions. Twenty thousand millions had furnished scarcely one hundred millions, for the assignats were not worth more than the two-hundredth part of their nominal value. The public decidedly refused to take them, for they were good for nothing. They could not serve for the reimbursement of credits which were suspended; they could pay only half the rents and taxes, the other half of which was paid in kind; they were refused in the markets, or taken at their reduced value; lastly, they were taken in the sale of the domains, only at the same rate as in the markets, owing to the sales by auction; which caused the offer to rise in proportion to the depreciation of the paper. It was, therefore, impossible to put them to any use that could give them value. An issue, the limit of which was not known, gave reason to expect still more extraordinary figures for the purpose of expressing very moderate sums. Thousands of millions signified at most millions. This fall, to which we have already adverted, when the government refused to forbid the sale of the national domains by auction, was now realized.

Those minds in which the Revolution had left its prejudices, for all systems and all powers do leave them, wished that assignats might be raised by setting apart a great quantity of domains in mortgage for them, and by resorting to violent measures to make them circulate. But there is nothing which it is so impossible to re-establish as the reputation of paper-money; it was, therefore, found absolutely necessary to renounce the assignats.

One may ask why the paper-money was not immediately abolished, by reducing it to its real value, which was about two hundred millions at most, and by demanding payment of the taxes, and for the national domains, either in specie or in assignats at their current worth. Specie was, in fact, again making its appearance, and that in some abundance, especially in the provinces; thus it was an egregious error to apprehend its scarcity; for the paper reckoned as two hundred millions in the circulation: but another reason prevented the relinquishment of paper-money. The only resource, it should be borne in mind, consisted in the national domains. Their sale was considered as by no means certain, and, above all, as not very near at hand. Unable, therefore, to wait till their value should come spontaneously to the exchequer by sales, it was necessary to represent it beforehand in paper, and to issue it for the purpose of withdrawing it afterwards: in short, it was necessary to suspend the value before it was received. This necessity of spending before selling suggested the idea of the creation of a new species of paper-money.

The notes, which were a special mortgage upon each domain, would require long delays, because it was requisite that they should bear the description of each; besides, they would depend on the will of the taker, and would not remove the real difficulty. A paper was devised, which, by the name of *mandats*, was to represent a fixed value in land. Every domain was to be delivered, without sale by auction and upon a mere *procès-verbal*,

for a price in mandats equal to that of 1790 (twenty-two times its annual worth).

Mandats, to the amount of two thousand four hundred millions, were to be created, and domains to the like amount, according to the estimate of 1790, were to be immediately appropriated to them. Thus these mandats could not undergo any other variation than that of the domains themselves, since they represented a fixed quantity of them. It would not thence absolutely result that they should be on a par with money, for the domains were not worth so much as in 1790; but, at any rate, they must have the same value as the domains.

It was resolved to employ part of these mandats to withdraw the assignats. The plate of the assignats was broken upon the 30th of Pluviose: 45,500 millions had been issued. By the different returns, either by means of loans or of arrears, the circulating quantity had been reduced to 36,000 millions, and was soon to be further reduced to 24,000. These 24,000 millions, reduced to one-thirtieth, represented 800 millions: it was decreed that they should be exchanged for 800 millions in mandats, which was a liquidation of the assignat at one-thirtieth of its nominal value. Six hundred millions more in mandats were to be issued for the public service, and the remaining 1,200 were to be deposited in the chest with three keys, to be taken out, by decree, as they were wanted.

This creation of mandats was a reprint of the assignats, with a lower figure, another denomination, and a fixed value with respect to the domains. It was as if there had been created, besides the 24,000 millions that were to be left in circulation, 48,000 millions more, which would have made 72,000; it was as if it had been decided that these 72,000 millions should be taken in payment for domains, at thirty times their value in 1790, which would suppose 2,400 millions' worth of domains to be mortgaged. Thus the figure was reduced, the relation to the domains fixed, and the name changed.

The mandats were created on the 26th of Ventose. The domains were to be sold immediately, and delivered to the bearer of the mandat on a mere *procès-verbal*. Half the price was to be paid in the first decade, the other half in three months. The national forests were set apart; and the 2,400 millions' worth of domains were taken from those of less than three hundred acres. The measures which accompany a paper-money were immediately adopted. The mandat being the money of the republic, all payments were to be made in mandats. Credits stipulated in specie, rents, interest of capital, taxes, excepting the arrears, the *rentes* on the state, the pensions and salaries of the public functionaries, were all to be paid in mandats. There were great discussions on the land-tax. Those who foresaw that the mandats were liable to fall, like the assignats, proposed that, to insure to the state a certain return, the land-tax should continue to be paid in kind. Others objected strongly against the difficulties of the collection, and it was decided that it should be paid in mandats, as well as the customs, the registration and stamp-duty, the posts, &c. But the government did not stop there. It was deemed right to accompany the creation of the new paper with the severities that usually accompany forced values. It was declared that silver and gold should be no longer considered as merchandise, and that paper could, thenceforward, not be sold against gold and gold against paper. After the experience gained on former occasions, this was a miserable measure. Another that was adopted was not less so, and injured the Directory in the public opinion. This was, the shutting up of

the Exchange. It ought to have known that the closing of a market does not prevent a thousand others from being established elsewhere.

In making mandates the new money, and putting them everywhere in the place of specie, the government committed an egregious error. Even if it kept up its value, the mandat could never equal the standard of money. The mandat, it is true, was worth as much as the land, but it could not be worth more. Now land was not worth half as much as in 1790; even a patrimonial estate worth 100,000 francs would not have fetched 50,000 in money. How could 100,000 francs in mandates have been equal in value to 100,000 in specie? This difference, then, ought at least to have been admitted. The government, therefore, could not help finding, independently of all the other causes of depreciation, a first mistake arising from the depreciation of the domains.

The pressure was so urgent that, till the mandates themselves should be ready to be issued, promises of mandates were put into circulation. The promises were presently circulating at a value far inferior to their nominal value. People were extremely alarmed. They said to themselves that the new paper, from which so much was hoped, was about to fall like the assignats, and to leave the republic without any resource. There was, however, a cause for this anticipated fall, and it might very soon be removed. It was requisite that instructions should be addressed to the local administrations, for their guidance in the extremely complicated cases that must arise from the sale of the domains upon a mere *procès-verbal*. It took considerable time to draw up these instructions, before the sales could commence. During this interval the mandat fell, and it was said that its value would soon be so low, that the state would refuse to open the sales and to give up the domains for such a consideration; and the same thing would happen to the mandates as had happened to the assignats; that they would gradually fall to nothing, and that then they would be taken in payment for domains, not at their value when issued, but at their reduced value. Malevolent persons thus spread the idea that the new paper was a lure, that the domains would never be alienated, and that the republic was determined to reserve them to itself, as an apparent and everlasting pledge for all the kinds of paper that it should be pleased to issue. The sales, nevertheless, were opened. The subscriptions were numerous. The mandat of one hundred francs had passed at fifteen. It rose successively to thirty, forty, and in some places to eighty francs. Hopes, therefore, were for a moment entertained of the success of the new operation.

It was amid factions secretly conspiring against it that the Directory prosecuted its labours. The agents of royalty had continued their clandestine intrigues. The death of Lemaître had not dispersed them. Brottier, who was acquainted, had become the chief of the agency. Duverne de Presle,* Laville-Heurnois, and Despernelles, had joined him, and secretly formed the royal committee. These wretched agitators had no more influence than in time past. They intrigued, loudly demanded money, wrote a great many letters, and promised wonders. They were always the channel of communication between the pretender and La Vendée, where they had

* "Duverne-de-Presle, an officer in the royal navy, was denounced as one of the contrivers of a royalist conspiracy. He was arrested at the barracks of the military academy, and summoned by the Directory before a council of war. He was condemned to ten years' imprisonment, but ultimately purchased his pardon by turning evidence against the persons accused with him. He was afterwards said to have served in the police."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

numerous agents. They persisted in their ideas, and, when they saw the insurrection quelled by Hoche, and ready to expire under his strokes, they confirmed themselves more and more in the system of doing everything in Paris, even by a movement in the interior. They boasted, as in the time of the Convention, of being in connexion with several deputies of the new third, and they concluded that they ought to temporize, to influence public opinion by the newspapers, to deery the government, and to prepare things in such a manner that the elections of the next year should bring in a new third of deputies entirely counter-revolutionary. They thus flattered themselves that they should destroy the republican constitution by means of the constitution itself. This plan was certainly the least chimerical, and it is the one that affords the most favourable idea of their intelligence.

The patriots were, on their part, contriving plots, but fraught with a different kind of danger, owing to the means which they had at their disposal. Driven from the Pantheon, absolutely condemned by the government, which had separated itself from them, and which had turned many of them out of the places that it had given them, they had declared against it and become its irreconcilable enemies. Finding themselves closely followed and watched, they had seen no other resource but to conspire most secretly, and in such a manner that the chiefs of the conspiracy should remain absolutely unknown. They had chosen four to form a secret directory of public welfare. Babœuf and Drouet were of the number. The secret directory was to communicate with twelve principal agents, who were unacquainted with one another, and who were to organize societies of patriots in all the quarters of Paris. These twelve agents, each thus acting by himself, were forbidden to name the four members of the secret directory; they were to speak and to enforce obedience in the name of a mysterious and supreme authority, which was instituted to direct the efforts of the patriots towards what was called the *common happiness*. In this manner the prime movers of the conspiracy could scarcely be laid hold of, and, if even one were seized, that circumstance would not insure the apprehension of the others. This organization was actually established agreeably to Babœuf's plan; societies of patriots existed all over Paris, and, through the medium of the twelve principal agents, received the impulse of an unknown authority.

Babœuf and his colleagues were considering what method should be employed to effect what they called *the deliverance*, and to whom the authority should be consigned, when the Directory should be despatched, the councils dispersed, and the people put in possession of their sovereignty. They still felt too much distrust of the provinces and of public opinion, to run the risk of an election and to convoke a new assembly. They meant merely to appoint one composed of chosen Jacobins selected from each department. They meant to make this selection themselves, and to complete the Assembly by adding to it all the Mountaineers of the old Convention who had not been re-elected. Even these Mountaineers did not seem to them to give sufficient guarantees, for many of them had adhered, before the close of the Convention, to what they called *liberticide* measures, and had even accepted office under the Directory. They had, nevertheless, chosen sixty-eight of them who were considered the purest, and had agreed upon their admission into the new assembly. That assembly was to take all the powers into its hands till the *common happiness* was insured.

It was deemed right to consult the Conventionals not re-elected, most of whom were in Paris. Babœuf and Drouet entered into communication with them. Great discussions arose on the choice of the means. The

Conventionalists considered those proposed by the insurrectional directory as too extraordinary. They wished for the re-establishment of the old Convention, with the organization prescribed by the constitution of 1793. At length, the arrangements were agreed upon, and the insurrection was fixed for the month of Floreal. The means which the secret directory purposed to employ were truly terrible. In the first place, it had put itself in correspondence with the principal cities of France, so that the Revolution might be simultaneous and every where alike. The patriots were to issue from their quarters, bearing banners inscribed with these words: *Liberty, Equality, Constitution of 1793, Common Happiness*. Whoever should resist the sovereign people was to be put to death; as were also the five directors, certain members of the Five Hundred, and the general of the army of the interior. The insurgents were to make themselves masters of the Luxembourg, the treasury, the telegraph, the arsenals, and the depot of artillery at Meudon. To induce the people to rise, and to pay them no longer with empty promises, all the inhabitants in easy circumstances were to be forced to board and lodge every man who should have taken part in the insurrection. The bakers and the wine-dealers were to be required to furnish the people with bread and drink, for which an indemnity was to be paid them by the republic, upon pain of being hanged from the lamp in case of refusal. Every soldier who should go over to the side of the insurrection should have his equipments for his own property, be paid a sum of money, and be at liberty to return to his home. The insurgents hoped, in this manner, to gain all those who disliked the service. As for professed soldiers, who had contracted a fondness for war, they meant to give them the houses of the royalists to plunder. To keep up the armies to their complement, and to replace those who should be allowed to return to their homes, they purposed granting to the soldiers such advantages as would induce the spontaneous levy of a multitude of new volunteers.

We see what terrible and insensate combinations these desperate spirits had conceived. They had appointed Rossignol, ex-general of La Vendée, to command the Parisian army of insurrection. They had tampered with that police legion which constituted part of the army of the interior, and which had been composed of patriots, gendarmes of the tribunals, and old French Guards. It actually mutinied, but too soon, and was dissolved by the Directory. Cochon, the minister of the police, who was watching the progress of the conspiracy, of which he had been apprized by an officer of the army of the interior, whom the insurgents had attempted to gain, suffered it to proceed that he might secure all its threads. On the 20th of Floreal, Babœuf, Drouet, and the other chiefs and agents, were to meet at a cabinet-maker's in the Rue Bleue. Officers of police, stationed in the environs, seized the conspirators and immediately conducted them to prison. They apprehended also the ex-Conventionalists Laignelot,* Vadier, Amar, Ricord, Choudieu, Buonarotti, the Piedmontese, Antonelle, ex-member of the Legislative Assembly, and Pelletier de St. Fargeau, brother of him who had been assassinated. Application was forthwith made to the two councils to put Drouet, who was a member of the Five Hundred, under accusation;

* "Laignelot, deputy from Paris to the Convention, was born in 1752. Before the Revolution he cultivated letters and wrote tragedies. He voted for the King's death, and distinguished himself as a violent Jacobin. After the overthrow of Robespierre, he spoke against that party, but, subsequently, on the establishment of the Directory, joined the conspiracy of Babœuf, and, being acquitted, devoted himself wholly to literature, and published a tragedy entitled *Rienzi*."—*Biographie Moderne*. E.

and the whole of the prisoners were sent before the national court, which was not yet formed, but which the government immediately set about organizing. Babœuf, whose vanity equalled his fanaticism, wrote an extraordinary letter to the Directory, which showed in a striking manner the delirium of his mind. "I am a power," he wrote to the five directors; "you need not then be afraid to treat with me as with an equal. I am the chief of a formidable sect, which you will not destroy by sending me to death, and which, after my execution, will be only more exasperated and more dangerous. You have yet but a single thread of the conspiracy; you have done nothing in apprehending a few individuals; chiefs will spring up again continually. Spare the useless effusion of blood; you have not yet made much noise, make no more, treat with the patriots; they recollect that you were formerly sincere republicans; they will forgive you, if you will concur with them in the salvation of the republic."

The Directory took no notice of this extravagant letter, but ordered the institution of proceedings. These proceedings were likely to be long continued, for it was resolved that all the forms should be duly observed. This last act of vigour completely established the Directory in public opinion. The end of the winter approached; the factions were watched and repressed; the administration was directed with zeal and with care; the renewed paper-money alone caused uneasiness; it had, nevertheless, furnished momentary resources towards making the first preparations for the campaign.

THE DIRECTORY.

CAMPAIGN OF 1796—DEATH OF STOFFLET AND CHARETTE—PACIFICATION OF LA VENDEE—CONQUEST OF PIEDMONT AND LOMBARDY BY GENERAL BONAPARTE—BATTLES OF MONTENOTTE, MILLESIMO, AND LODI; ESTABLISHMENT AND POLICY OF THE FRENCH IN ITALY—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE BY GENERALS JOURDAN AND MOREAU; BATTLE OF RASTADT AND OF ETTLINGEN—FRENCH ARMIES ON THE DANUBE AND ON THE ADIGE.

THE season for military operations had now arrived. The English ministry, always wily in its policy, had made those overtures to the French government which public opinion expected from it. It had directed Wickham, its agent in Switzerland, to address some insignificant questions to Barthelemy, the minister of France. The object of these overtures, made on the 17th of Ventose (March 8th, 1796), was to inquire whether France was disposed for peace, whether she would consent to a congress for discussing its conditions, and whether she would intimate, beforehand, the principal bases on which she was resolved to treat.

Such an inquiry was only a vain satisfaction given by Pitt to the English nation, in order that he might be authorized, by a refusal, to demand new sacrifices. Had Pitt really been sincere, he would not have employed an agent without powers to make this overture; he would not have pro-

posed a European congress, which, from the complicated nature of the questions, could not bring anything to a close, and which, moreover, France had already refused to Austria, through the medium of Denmark; lastly, he would not have inquired on what bases the negotiation was likely to be opened, since he knew that, according to the constitution, the Netherlands had become part of the French territory, and that the existing government could not consent to the separation of that country from it. The Directory, unwilling to pass for dupes, caused the following answer to be given to Wickham: that neither the form nor the object of this procedure tended to prove its sincerity; that, nevertheless, in order to demonstrate its pacific intentions, it consented to give a reply to questions which did not deserve any; and that it declared that it was willing to treat on no other bases than those fixed by the constitution. This was declaring, in a definitive manner, that France would never relinquish Belgium. The letter of the Directory, written with temper and firmness, was immediately published together with that of Wickham. This was the first instance of a frank and firm diplomacy, without boasting.

Every one approved of the conduct of the Directory, and, on both sides, preparations were made in Europe for renewing hostilities. Pitt demanded of the English parliament a new loan of seven millions sterling, and he endeavoured to negotiate another of three millions for the emperor. He had taken great pains to persuade the King of Prussia to break his neutrality, and to engage again in the conflict. He had offered him funds, and had represented to him, that, when the war should be over and all parties exhausted, he would possess a decided superiority. The King of Prussia, resolving to shun his first faults, would not suffer himself to be misled, and persisted in his neutrality. One part of his army, stationed in Poland, was employed in the incorporation of new conquests; the other, drawn up along the Rhine, was ready to defend the line of neutrality against any of the powers that should violate it, and to take under its protection such of the states of the empire as should claim the Prussian mediation. Russia, still liberal of promises, sent as yet no troops, and was engaged in organizing that portion of Poland which had fallen to her share.

Austria, inflated with her successes at the close of the preceding campaign, prepared for war with ardour, and indulged the most presumptuous hopes. The general to whom she owed this slight favour of fortune, had, nevertheless, been displaced, notwithstanding all the brilliancy of his glory. Clairfayt had displeased the aulic council, and had been succeeded in the command of the army of the Lower Rhine by the young Archduke Charles, of whom great hopes were entertained, though no one had yet any foreboding of his talents. He had displayed in the preceding campaigns the qualities of a good officer. Wurmser still commanded the army of the Upper Rhine. To decide the King of Sardinia to continue the war, a considerable reinforcement had been sent to the imperial army which was fighting in Piedmont; and Beaulieu, who had gained great reputation in the Netherlands, was appointed to the command of it. Spain, beginning to enjoy peace, was attentive to the new struggle that was about to commence, and now, more enlightened respecting her true interests, her wishes were in favour of France.

The Directory, zealous as a new government, and anxious to give *éclat* to its administration, meditated important projects. It had put its armies on a respectable footing; but it had only been able to send them men, without furnishing them with the supplies which they needed. All Belgium

had been laid under contribution for the subsistence of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; extraordinary efforts had been made to furnish that of the Rhine, in the heart of the Vosges, with provisions. But it had not been possible either to afford them means of transport or to remount their cavalry. The army of the Alps had lived upon the stores taken from the Austrians after the battle of Loano; but it had neither shoes nor clothing, and its pay was in arrear.* The victory of Loano had thus been productive of no result. The armies of the western provinces were, thanks to the attention of Hoche, in a better state than any of the others, without, however, being provided with all that they needed. In spite of this want of many essential articles, our armies, accustomed to hardships, to live by expedients, and moreover injured to war by their glorious campaigns, were disposed to attempt great things.

The Directory meditated vast projects. It was anxious to finish in the spring the war in La Vendée, and then to take the offensive on all points. Its object was to push forward the armies of the Rhine into Germany, in order to blockade and besiege Mayence, to complete the submission of the princes of the empire, to separate Austria, to transfer the theatre of war to the heart of the hereditary dominions, and to subsist its troops at the expense of the enemy in the rich valleys of the Mayn and the Neckar. With respect to Italy, it cherished still more vast ideas, which had been suggested to it by General Bonaparte. The victory of Loano had not been followed up, according to that young officer, the French ought to gain a second, to force the King of Sardinia to make peace or to take his dominions from him, then to cross the Po, and to wrest from Austria the fairest jewel of her crown—Lombardy. There was the theatre of decisive operations, there they might inflict the severest blow on Austria, conquer equivalents to pay for the Netherlands, decide peace, and perhaps liberate beautiful Italy. Besides this course would afford the means of feeding and restoring the poorest of our armies amidst the most fertile country in the world.

The Directory, adopting these ideas, made some changes in the command of its armies. Jourdan retained the command which he had so well deserved, and continued at the head of the army of the Sambre and Meuse. Pichegru, who had betrayed his country, and whose guilt was already suspected, was succeeded by Moreau, who commanded in Holland. Pichegru was offered the embassy to Sweden, which he refused. Beurnonville, who had lately returned from captivity, replaced Moreau in the command of the French army in Holland. Scherer, with whom the government was dissatisfied on account of the little advantage which he had derived from the victory of Loano, was removed. A young and enterprising man was required to try a bold campaign. Bonaparte, who had already distinguished himself in the army of Italy, and who was, moreover, so impressed with the advantages of a march beyond the Alps, appeared to be the fittest man to succeed Scherer. He was, therefore, promoted from the command of the army of the interior to that of the army of Italy; and immediately set out for Nice. Full of ardour and joy, he declared, at starting, that in a month he would be either in Milan or in Paris.† This ardour appeared

* "An idea of the penury of the army may be collected from the correspondence of the commander-in-chief, who appears to have once sent Massena a supply of twenty-four francs to provide for his official expenses."—*Jomini*. E.

† "It may be imagined with what delight Napoleon, aged scarcely twenty-six, advanced to an independent field of glory and conquest, confident in his own powers, and his perfect knowledge of the country. His mind was made up to the alternative of conquest or ruin, as may be judged from his words to a friend at taking leave of him.

rash; but in a young man, and in a hazardous enterprise, it was a good omen.

Similar changes had been made in the armies which occupied the insurgent provinces. Hoche, who had been summoned to Paris, to concert with the Directory a plan for putting an end to the civil war, had there obtained the most deserved favour, and received the strongest testimonies of esteem. The Directory, acknowledging the excellence of his plans, had approved of them all; and, that no one might have it in his power to thwart the execution of them, it had united the three armies of the coasts of Cherbourg, the coasts of Brest, and of the West, into one, by the name of the army of the coasts of the Ocean, and had given the supreme command of it to Hoche. This was the largest army of the republic, for it amounted to one hundred thousand men, extended over several provinces, and required in the commander a combination of very extraordinary powers, civil and military. A command so vast was the strongest proof of confidence that could be given to a general. Hoche certainly deserved it. Possessing, at the age of twenty-seven, such a variety of qualities, military and civil, as frequently becomes dangerous to liberty, cherishing even a lofty ambition, he had not that culpable boldness of mind which is capable of impelling an illustrious commander to aspire to more than the quality of citizen; he was a sincere republican, and equalled Jourdan in patriotism and integrity. Liberty might applaud his successes without fear and wish him victories.

Hoche had passed scarcely a month in Paris. He had returned immediately to the West, that he might complete the pacification of La Vendée by the end of winter or the beginning of spring. His plan of disarming and pacification had been reduced into articles, and converted into an ordinance by the Directory. It was agreed, conformably with this plan, that a disarming cordon should surround the insurgent provinces, and scour them in succession. Until their complete pacification, they were to be subject to military law. All the towns were declared in a state of siege. It was acknowledged, in principle, that the army was to live at the expense of the insurgent country; consequently, Hoche was authorized to levy the taxes and the forced loan, either in kind or in specie, as was most convenient to him, and to form magazines and chests for the supply of the army. The towns, which the country sought to starve by withholding from them articles of consumption, were to be provisioned in a military manner by columns attached to the principal of them. Pardon was granted to all the rebels who should lay down their arms. As for the chiefs, such of them as should be taken in arms were to be shot; those who should submit were to be either confined or kept under *surveillance* in particular towns, or conducted out of France. The Directory, approving Hoche's plan, which consisted in first pacifying La Vendée before meddling with Bretagne, authorized him to finish his operations on the left bank of the Loire before he should bring back his troops to the right bank. As soon as La Vendée should be completely reduced, a line of disarming was to inclose Bretagne from Granville to the Loire, and thus advance across the Breton peninsula to the extremity of the Finistère. It was for Hoche to fix the moment when these provinces, appearing to him to be reduced, should be relieved from military law, and readmitted to the constitutional system.

'In three months,' he said, 'I will be either at Milan or at Paris,' intimating at once his desperate resolution to succeed, and his sense that the disappointment of all his prospects must be the consequence of a failure."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Hoche, on his arrival at Angers, towards the end of Nivose, found his operations greatly deranged by his absence. The success of his plan, depending particularly on the manner in which it should be executed, indispensably required his presence. His place had been ill-supplied by General Willot. The line of disarming, which embraced Lower Vendée, had made little progress. Charette had crossed it, and got again upon his rear. The regular system of provisioning had not been well followed up; the army had frequently been in want of necessaries, had fallen again into insubordination, and had committed acts calculated to alienate the inhabitants. Sapinaud, after making, as we have seen, a hostile attempt on Montaigu, had offered to submit, and had obtained from General Willot a ridiculous peace, to which Hoche could not consent. Lastly, Stofflet, still playing the part of prince, and Bernier, his prime minister, were reinforcing themselves with the deserters who had forsaken Charette, and making secret preparations. The cities of Nantes and Angers were in want of provisions. The patriots, who had fled from the surrounding country, were crowded together there, and launched out in the clubs into furious declamations, worthy of Jacobins. Lastly, it was reported that Hoche had been recalled to Paris only to be stripped of his command. Some said that he had been displaced as a royalist, others as a Jacobin.

His return silenced all these rumours, and repaired all the evils occasioned by his absence. He gave directions for recommencing the disarming, for filling the magazines, and for provisioning the towns; he declared them all in a state of siege; and, thenceforth authorized to exercise a military dictatorship in them, he shut up the Jacobin clubs formed by the refugees, and particularly a society known at Nantes by the appellation of *Chambre ardente*. He refused to ratify the peace granted to Sapinaud; he occupied his district, and left to himself the option of quitting France or hiding in the woods at the risk of being taken and shot. He hemmed in Stofflet more closely than ever, and renewed the pursuit of Charette. He committed to Adjutant-general Travot, who combined with great intrepidity all the activity of a partisan, the task of pursuing Charette with several columns of light infantry and cavalry, so as to leave him neither rest nor hope.

Pursued night and day, Charette had now no means of escape. The inhabitants of the Marais, disarmed and watched, could no longer afford him assistance. They had already delivered up seven thousand muskets, several pieces of cannon, and forty barrels of powder; and it was impossible for them to betake themselves to arms. Had it even been in their power, they would not have done so, because they were happy in the quiet which they enjoyed, and had no inclination to expose themselves to fresh devastations. The peasants came to acquaint the republican officers with the roads which Charette was taking, with the retreats where he was for a moment resting his head; and when they could secure some of those who accompanied him, they brought and delivered them up to the army. Charette, attended by scarcely a hundred devoted servants, and followed by a few women who administered to his pleasures, had nevertheless no thoughts of surrendering. Full of confidence, he sometimes caused his hosts to be put to death, when he was apprehensive of being betrayed by them. It was said that he ordered a *curé* to be murdered, whom he suspected of having denounced him to the republicans. Travot fell in with him several times, killed about sixty of his men, several of his officers,

and, among the rest, his brother. He had now only about forty or fifty men left.

While Hoche was thus causing Charette to be harassed without intermission, and prosecuting his plan of disarming, Stofflet saw, with consternation, that he was surrounded on all sides, and was well aware that, when Charette and Sapinaud were destroyed, and all the Chouans subdued, he should not be long suffered to retain the princely kind of state which he had arrogated to himself in Upper Anjou. He thought that it would not be right to wait till all the royalists were exterminated before he began to act: alleging, as a pretext, a regulation of Hoche's, he again raised the standard of revolt and resumed arms. Hoche was at this moment on the banks of the Loire, preparing to set out for the Calvados, that he might judge from actual observation of the state of Normandy and Bretagne. He immediately deferred his departure, and made his preparations for taking Stofflet, before his revolt could acquire any importance. Hoche was otherwise pleased that Stofflet himself furnished him with occasion to break the pacification. This war embarrassed him but little, and authorized him to treat Anjou like the Marais and Bretagne. He despatched his columns from several points at once, from the Loire, the Layon, and the Nantes Sèvre. Stofflet, assailed on all sides, could not keep his ground. The peasants of Anjou were still more sensible of the benefits of peace than those of the Marais; they had not responded to the call of their old chief, and had allowed him to begin the war with the profligates of the country, and the emigrants, with whom his camp was filled. Two assemblages which he had collected were dispersed, and he was obliged to betake himself, like Charette, to the woods. But he had neither the obstinacy nor the dexterity of that chief, and his district was not so favourably disposed for concealing a troop of marauders. He was delivered up by his own followers. Lured to a farm house, upon pretext of a conference, he was seized, bound, and given up to the republicans. It is asserted that his trusty minister, the Abbé Bernier, had a hand in this treachery. The capture of this chief was of great importance, on account of the moral effect which it could not fail to produce in those parts. He was conveyed to Angers; and, after undergoing an examination, he was shot, on the 7th of Ventose, in the presence of an immense concourse.*

These tidings produced the greatest joy and anticipations of the speedy conclusion of the civil war in that unfortunate country. Hoche, amid the arduous duties of this kind of warfare, was overwhelmed with disgust. The royalists called him a villain and a drinker of blood; this was natural enough, though he resorted to the fairest means for destroying them; but the patriots themselves annoyed him by their calumnies. The refugees of La Vendée and Bretagne, whose fury he checked, and whose indolence he thwarted by ceasing to feed them as soon as they could return with safety to their lands, denounced him to the Directory. The authorities of the towns, also, which he placed in a state of siege, complained of the establishment of the military system, and denounced him. Communes, subjected to fines, or to the military levy of the taxes, complained in their turn. There was an incessant chorus of complaints and remonstrances. Hoche, whose

* "That intrepid Vendean chief, Stofflet, pressed by the forces of the republic, after braving and escaping a thousand dangers, was, at length, betrayed by one of his own followers, at the farm of Pegrimaud, where he was seized, gagged, conducted to Angers, and executed."—*Jomini*. E.

temper was irritable, was several times driven to despair, and formally tendered his resignation. The Directory refused it, and cheered him by new testimonies of confidence and esteem. It made him a national present of two fine horses—a present which was not merely a reward, but an indispensable aid. This young general, who was fond of pleasure, who was at the head of an army of one hundred thousand men, and who had at his disposal the revenues of several provinces, was frequently in want of necessities. His appointments, paid in paper, were reduced to nothing. He was in want of horses, saddles, bridles, and he solicited permission to take, on paying for them, six saddles, six bridles, horse-shoes, a few bottles of rum, and some loaves of sugar, from the stores left by the English at Quiberon—an admirable example of delicacy, which our republican generals frequently gave, and which daily grew more rare as our invasions became more extended, and as the manners of our military men became corrupted by the effect of conquests and of the manners of a court.

Encouraged by the government, Hoche continued his efforts for finishing his work in La Vendée. The complete pacification now depended entirely on the capture of Charette. That chief, reduced to extremity, sent to Hoche to demand permission to retire to England. Hoche granted it, agreeably to the authority which he found for doing so in the ordinance of the Directory relative to the chiefs who should submit. But Charette had made this application merely to gain a short respite, and had no intention of availing himself of the permission. The Directory, on its part, was resolved not to pardon Charette, because it conceived that this famous chief would always be a firebrand in the country. It wrote to Hoche, desiring him not to enter into any compromise. But, when Hoche received these new orders, Charette had already declared that his application was only a feint to obtain a few moments' rest, and that he wanted no pardon from republicans *. He had again betaken himself to the woods.

Charette could not escape the republicans much longer. Pursued at once by columns of infantry and cavalry, watched by troops of disguised soldiers, denounced by the inhabitants, who were anxious to save their country from devastation, tracked in the woods like a wild beast, he fell, on the 2d of Germinal (March 23), into an ambuscade laid for him by Travot. Armed to the teeth, and surrounded by some brave fellows, who strove to cover him with their own bodies, he defended himself like a lion, and at length fell, after receiving several sabre wounds. He would not deliver his sword to any but the brave Travot, who treated him with all the respect due to such extraordinary courage. He was taken to the republican head-quarters, and admitted to table by Hedouville, chief of the staff. He conversed with great serenity, and showed no concern about the fate that awaited him. Conveyed first to Angers, he was afterwards removed to Nantes, to end his life in the same place that had witnessed his triumph. He underwent an examination, at which he answered with great calmness and temper. He was questioned concerning the pretended secret articles of the treaty of La Jaunaye, and confessed that there existed none. He attempted neither to palliate his conduct nor to excuse his motives.

* "When the Directory offered Charette a safe retreat into England with his family, and a million of francs for his own maintenance, he replied, 'I am ready to die with arms in my hands, but not to fly and abandon my companions in misfortune. All the vessels of the republic would not be sufficient to transport my brave soldiers into England. Far from fearing your menaces, I will myself come to seek you in your own camp.'" E.

He acknowledged that he was a servant of royalty, and that he had striven with all his might to overthrow the republic. He behaved with dignity, and showed great unconcern. When led forth to execution, amidst an immense concourse of people, who were not generous enough to forgive him for the calamities of civil war, he retained all his assurance. He was covered with blood, had lost three fingers in the last combat, and carried his arm in a sling. A handkerchief was wrapped round his head. He would neither suffer his eyes to be bandaged, nor kneel down. Standing erect, he removed his arm from the sling, gave the signal, and instantly fell dead.* This was on the 9th of Germinal (March 30). Thus died that celebrated man, whose indomitable courage brought so many evils upon his country, and might have covered him with glory in a different career. Compromised by the last attempt at invasion which had been made upon these coasts, he would not again recede, and closed his life under the influence of despair. He is said to have expressed strong resentment against the princes whom he had served, and by whom he considered himself as having been abandoned.

The death of Charette caused as much joy as the most glorious victory over the Austrians. His death decided the termination of the civil war. Hoche, conceiving that there was nothing more for him to do in La Vendée, withdrew from it the mass of his troops, for the purpose of carrying them beyond the Loire, and disarming Bretagne. He left, however, forces sufficient to repress the solitary robberies which usually follow civil wars, and to complete the disarming of the country. Before he went to Bretagne, he had to quell an insurrectionary movement which broke out in the vicinity of Anjou, towards Le Berry. This was only the business of a few days. He then proceeded with twenty thousand men into Bretagne, and, adhering to his plan, inclosed it with a vast cordon from the Loire to Granville. The wretched Chouans could not withstand an effort so powerful and so well concerted. Scepeaux, between the Vilaine and the Loire, first tendered his submission. He delivered up a considerable quantity of arms. The nearer the Chouans were pushed to the sea, the more obstinate they grew. Having spent their ammunition, they fought hand to hand, with daggers and bayonets. At length they were driven back to the very sea. The Morbihan, which had long separated itself from Puisaye, surrendered its arms. The other divisions successively followed this example. All Bretagne was soon reduced, and Hoche had nothing to do but to distribute his hundred thousand men into a multitude of cantonments, that they might watch the country, and be enabled to subsist with the greater ease. The duties which still required his attention consisted only in mat-

* "After his capture, Charette entered into Nantes preceded by a numerous escort, closely guarded by gendarmes, and generals glittering in gold and plumes; himself on foot, with his clothes torn and bloody, pale and attenuated; yet more an object of interest than all the splendid throng by whom he was surrounded. Such was his exhaustion from loss of blood, that he fainted on leaving the Quarter of Commerce; but no sooner was his strength revived by a glass of water, than he marched on, enduring for two hours, with heroic constancy, the abuse of the populace. He was conducted to the military commission, and sentenced to death. On the following morning he was brought out on the scaffold. The roll of drums, the assemblage of all the troops and national guard, and a countless multitude of spectators, announced the great event which was approaching. At length the hero appeared, descended with a firm step the prison stairs, and walked to the place where his execution was to take place. A breathless silence prevailed. Charette advanced to the appointed place, bared his breast, and himself gave the command, uttering, with his last breath, the words 'Vive le Roi!'" —*Alison*. E.

ters of administration and police. A few more months of mild and able government were requisite to appease animosities and to re-establish peace. Notwithstanding the outcry of the furious of all parties, Hoche was feared, beloved, and respected, in the country, and the royalists began to forgive a republic that was so worthily represented. The clergy in particular, whose confidence he had continued to gain, were wholly devoted to him, and gave him correct information of every matter that it was interesting for him to know. All things promised peace and the end of horrible calamities. England could no longer reckon upon the provinces of the West for attacking the republic in its own bosom. She beheld, on the contrary, one hundred thousand men, half of whom became disposable, and might be employed in some enterprise injurious to her: Hoche, in fact, had formed a grand plan, which he reserved for the middle of the summer. The government, pleased with the services which he had rendered, and wishing to reward him for the disgusting task that he had so ably performed, obtained for him, as for the armies which gained important victories, a declaration that the army of the Ocean and its commander had deserved well of the country.

Thus La Vendée was pacified so early as the month of Germinal, before any of the armies had taken the field. The Directory was enabled to attend, without uneasiness, to its great operations, and even to draw useful reinforcements from the coasts of the Ocean.

The fifth campaign of liberty was about to commence. It was going to open on the two finest military theatres in Europe—on those most beset with obstacles, with accidents, with lines of defence and attack. These were, on the one hand, the extensive valley of the Rhine and the two transverse valleys of the Mayn and the Neckar; and, on the other, the Alps, the Po, and Lombardy. The armies which were about to take the field were the most inured to war that had ever been seen under arms. They were sufficiently numerous to cover the ground on which they were to act, but not to render combinations useless, and to reduce war to a mere invasion. They were commanded by young generals, free from all routine, emancipated from all tradition, but yet well informed and roused by great events. Everything, therefore, concurred to render the conflict obstinate, varied, fertile in combinations, and worthy of the attention of men.

The plan of the French government was, as we have seen, to invade Germany, in order to maintain its armies in an enemy's country, to detach the princes from the Empire, to invest Mayence, and to threaten the hereditary states. It purposed, at the same time, to make a bold attempt upon Italy, with a view to maintain its armies and to wrest that rich country from Austria.

Two fine armies, of from seventy to eighty thousand men each, were given upon the Rhine to two celebrated generals. About thirty thousand famished soldiers were given to an unknown, but bold young man, to try Fortune beyond the Alps.

Bonaparte arrived at the head-quarters at Nice on the 6th of Germinal (March 27). Everything there was in a deplorable state. The troops were in the utmost distress. Without clothing, without shoes, without pay, sometimes without food,* they, nevertheless, endured their privations with

* "The misery of the French army, until these Alpine campaigns were victoriously closed by the armistice of Cherasco, could, according to Bonaparte's authority, scarce bear description. The officers, for several years, had received no more than eight livres

extraordinary fortitude. Owing to that industrious spirit which characterizes the French soldier, they had organized plunder, and descended by turns and in bands into the plains of Piedmont to procure provisions. The artillery was absolutely destitute of horses. The cavalry had been sent to the rear, to seek subsistence on the banks of the Rhone. The thirtieth horse and the forced loan had not yet been levied in the south, on account of the troubles. Bonaparte had been furnished, as his sole resource, with two thousand louis in money, and a million in bills, part of which were protested. With a view to supply the deficiency, negotiations were set on foot with the Genoese government, in order to obtain from it some resources. Satisfaction for the outrage on the *Modeste* frigate had not yet been obtained, and, in reparation of that violation of neutrality, the senate of Genoa was required to grant a loan, and to deliver up to the French the fortress of Gavi, which commands the road from Genoa to Milan. The recall of the Genoese families, expelled for their attachment to France, was likewise insisted upon. Such was the state of the army when Bonaparte joined it.

It exhibited a totally different aspect in regard to the men who composed it. They generally consisted of soldiers who had hastened to the armies at the time of the levy *en masse*, well informed, young, accustomed to privations, and inured to war by the combats of giants amid the Pyrenees and the Alps. The generals were of the same quality. The principal were Massena, a young Nissard, of uncultivated mind, but precise and luminous amid dangers, and of indomitable perseverance; Augereau, formerly a fencing-master, whom great bravery and skill in managing the soldiers had raised to the highest rank; Laharpe, an expatriated Swiss, combining information with courage; Serrurier, formerly a major, methodical and brave; lastly, Berthier, whom his activity, his attention to details, his geographical acquirements, and his facility in measuring with the eye the extent of a piece of ground or the numerical force of a column, eminently qualified for a useful and convenient chief of the staff.

This army had its depots in Provence. It was ranged along the chain of the Alps, connecting itself by its left with that of Kellermann, guarding the Col di Tende, and stretching towards the Apennines. The active army amounted, at most, to thirty-six thousand men. Serrurier's division was at Garession, beyond the Apennines, to observe the Piedmontese in their intrenched camp of Ceva. Augereau's, Massena's, and Laharpe's divisions, forming a mass of about thirty thousand men, were on this side of the Apennines.

The Piedmontese, to the number of twenty or twenty-two thousand men, and under the command of Colli, were encamped at Ceva, on the back of the mountains. The Austrians, thirty-six or thirty-eight thousand strong, were advancing by the roads of Lombardy towards Genoa. Beaulieu, who commanded them, had distinguished himself in the Netherlands. Though advanced in years, he possessed all the ardour of youth. The enemy had, therefore, about sixty thousand men to oppose to the thirty thousand whom Bonaparte had to bring into line; but the Austrians and the Piedmontese were far from agreeing. Pursuant to the old plan, Colli was for covering

a month (twenty pence sterling a-week) in name of pay, and staff officers had not among them a single horse. Berthier preserved, as a curiosity, an order of the day, dated Albenga, directing an advance of four louis d'or to every general of division, to enable them to enter on the campaign."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

Piedmont; while Beaulieu wished to keep himself in communication with Genoa and the English.

Such was the respective force of the two parties. Though Bonaparte had already acquired reputation with the army of Italy, he was thought very young to command it. Short, slender, without any thing remarkable in his appearance but Roman features and a bright and piercing eye, there was nothing in his person or past life to make an impression upon men. He was not received with much cordiality. Massena owed him a grudge for having gained an influence over Dumerbion in 1794. He addressed the army in energetic language. "Soldiers," said he, "you are ill-fed and almost naked. The government owes you much, but can do nothing for you. Your patience, your courage, do you honour, but procure you neither glory nor advantage. I am going to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world; you will there find large cities, rich provinces; you will there find honour, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, would your courage fail you?" The army hailed this language with delight: young generals who all had their fortune to make, poor and adventurous soldiers, desired nothing better than to see the beautiful countries to which they were bound. Bonaparte made an arrangement with a contractor, and procured for his soldiers part of the arrears of their pay. He gave to each of his generals four louis in gold, which shows what was then the state of their fortunes. He afterwards removed his head-quarters to Albenga, and made all the authorities proceed along the coast under the fire of the English gun-boats.

The plan to be followed was the same that had suggested itself the year before at the battle of Loano. To penetrate by the lowest heights of the Apennines, to separate the Piedmontese from the Austrians by bearing strongly on their centre—such was the very simple idea conceived by Bonaparte on a survey of the situation. He commenced operations so early that he had hopes of surprising his enemies and throwing them into disorder. However, he was not able to anticipate them. Before he arrived, General Cervoni had been sent forward upon Voltri, quite close to Genoa, to intimidate the senate of that city, and to force it to consent to the demands of the Directory. Beaulieu, apprehensive of the result of this step, hastened to get into action, and moved his army upon Genoa, partly on one slope of the Apennines, partly on the other. Bonaparte's plan, therefore, was still practicable, excepting his intention of surprising the Austrians. Several roads led from the back of the Apennines to their maritime slope: in the first place, that running by the Bocchetta to Genoa, then that of Acqui and Dego, which crosses the Apennines at the Col de Montenotte, and debouches in the basin of Savona. Beaulieu left his right wing at Dego, despatched his centre under d'Argenteau to the Col de Montenotte, and preceded himself with his left by the Bocchetta and Genoa, upon Voltri, along the coast. Thus his position was the same as that of Devins at Loano. Part of the Austrian army was between the Apennines and the sea; the centre, under d'Argenteau, was on the very summit of the Apennines, at the Col de Montenotte, and was connected with the Piedmontese encamped at Ceva, on the other side of the mountains.

The two armies, breaking up at the same time, met by the way, on the 22d of Germinal (April 11). Along the coast, Beaulieu fell in with the advanced guard of Laharpe's division, which had been detached upon Voltri, to alarm Genoa, and repulsed it. D'Argenteau, with the centre, crossed the Col de Montenotte, with the intention of falling at Savona upon the centre of the French army, during its supposed march towards

Genoa. At Montenotte he found only Colonel Rampon, at the head of twelve hundred men, and obliged him to fall back into the old redoubt of Monteleghino, which intercepted the Montenotte road. The brave colonel, aware of the importance of this position, obstinately resisted all the efforts of the Austrians. Thrice was he attacked by the whole of the enemy's infantry, and thrice did he repulse it. Amidst the most galling fire, he called upon his soldiers to swear that they would die in the redoubt rather than give it up. The soldiers swore, and remained all night under arms. This act of courage saved the plans of General Bonaparte, and, perhaps, decided the fate of the campaign.

Bonaparte was at this moment at Savona. He had not caused the Col de Montenotte to be intrenched, because a general never intrenches himself when he is determined to take the offensive. He learned what had occurred during the day at Monteleghino and Voltri. He immediately perceived that the moment was come for putting his plan in execution, and manœuvred in consequence. The very same night, he drew back his right, formed by Laharpe's division, and engaged along the coast with Beaulieu, and sent it by the Montenotte road to meet d'Argenteau. He then despatched Angereau's division upon the same point, to support Laharpe's. He ordered Massena's division to march by a by-road to the other side of the Apennines, so as to bring it into the very rear of d'Argenteau's corps. On the morning of the 23d (April 12), all his columns were in motion, and he was on an elevated knoll,* whence he saw Laharpe and Angereau marching upon d'Argenteau, and Massena coming by a circuit upon his rear. The Austrian infantry made a brave resistance; but, enveloped on all sides by superior forces, it was put to the route, and left two thousand prisoners and several hundred slain. It fled in disorder towards Dego, where the rest of the army was.

Thus Bonaparte, whose intention Beaulieu supposed it to be to file off along the coast upon Genoa, had suddenly slipped away, and, proceeding by the road which crosses the Apennines, had broken through the enemy's centre and victoriously debouched beyond the mountains.

In his estimation, it was nothing to have overwhelmed the centre, so long as the Austrians were not separated for ever from the Piedmontese. He proceeded, on the same day (23d), to Carcare, to render his position more central between the two allied armies. He was in the valley of the Bormida, which runs into Italy. Lower down, before him, and at the extremity of the valley, were the Austrians, who had rallied at Dego, guarding the road from Acqui into Lombardy. On his left, he had the gorges of Millesimo, which join the valley of Bormida, and in which the Piedmontese were posted, guarding the road to Ceva and Piedmont. It was requisite, therefore, that, at one and the same time, his left should force the gorges of Millesimo, to make itself master of the Piedmont road, and that, in front, he should take Dego, to open for himself the road to Acqui and Lombardy. Then, master of both roads, he would have separated the allies for ever, and might fall at pleasure upon either of them. On the morning of the next day, the 24th (April 13th), he pushed forward his army; Angereau, towards the right, attacked Millesimo, and Massena's and Laharpe's divisions advanced into the valley upon Dego. The impetuous Angereau dashed with such spirit upon the gorges of Millesimo that he forced them, entered, and

* "Napoleon placed himself on a ridge in the centre of his divisions, the better to judge of the turn of affairs, and to prescribe the manœuvres which might become necessary."—*Jomini*. E.

reached the extremity before General Provera, who was on a height, had time to fall back. The latter was posted in the ruins of the old castle of Cossaria. Finding himself enveloped, he attempted to defend himself there. Augereau surrounded and summoned him to surrender. Provera began to parley, and wanted to treat. It was of importance not to be stopped by this obstacle, and the troops immediately mounted to the assault of the position. The Piedmontese poured upon them a deluge of stones, and rolled down enormous rocks, which crushed whole lines. The brave Joubert* nevertheless encouraged his men, and climbed the height at their head. On arriving within a little distance, he sunk pierced by a ball. At this sight, the soldiers fell back. They were obliged to encamp in the evening at the foot of the height; here they protected themselves by some abatis, and kept watch the whole night to prevent the escape of Provera. The divisions sent to act at the bottom of the valley of the Bornida had, meanwhile, marched upon Dego and made themselves masters of the approaches to it. The morrow was to be the decisive day.

Accordingly, on the 25th (April 14), the attack again became general on all points. On the left, Augereau, in the gorge of Millesimo, repulsed all the efforts made by Colli to extricate Provera, fought him the whole day, and drove Provera to despair. At length the latter laid down his arms at the head of fifteen hundred men. Laharpe and Massena, on their part, fell upon Dego, where the Austrian army had been reinforced, on the 22d and 23d, by corps brought from Genoa. The attack was terrible. After several assaults, Dego was taken; the Austrians lost part of their artillery, and left four thousand prisoners, among whom were twenty-four officers.

During this action, Bonaparte had remarked a young officer, named Lannes,† charging with great intrepidity. He made him colonel on the field of battle.

* "Joubert had studied for the bar, but at the Revolution he was induced to adopt the profession of arms. He was tall, thin, and naturally of a weak constitution, but he had strengthened his frame amidst fatigues, camps, and mountain warfare. He was intrepid, vigilant, and active. In 1796 he was made a general of division. He was much attached to Napoleon. He fell gloriously at the battle of Novi."—*Hazlitt*. E.

† "Jean Lannes, who for his impetuous valour was called the Rolando and the Ajax of the French camp, was born in 1769. His parents were poor and intended him for some mechanical pursuit, but he was resolved to be a soldier. One of the first actions in which he was engaged was that of Millesimo, where he distinguished himself so highly that he was made a colonel on the field. At the bridge of Lodi he exhibited equal intrepidity. He had taken one ensign, and was about to seize a second from the Austrians, when his horse fell under him, and twelve cuirassiers raised their sabres to cut him down. Lannes instantly sprung on the horse of an Austrian officer, killed the rider, and fought his way through the cuirassiers, killing two or three and wounding more. Soon afterwards he was made general of division. In the Egyptian expedition he was always foremost in danger. He returned to France with Napoleon, whom he assisted to overthrow the Directory. He accompanied the First Consul over St. Bernard and fought nobly at Montebello, which afterwards gave him his title, and at Marengo. Lannes was afterwards sent ambassador to Portugal, and, on his return, was made marshal of France, and then Duke of Montebello. He was not very successful in Spain; he took indeed Saragossa, but stained his character there by perfidy, as well as cruelty. After the fall of this place, he retired to an estate which he had purchased near Paris, but, being recalled to the field, a cannon-ball at the battle of Essling carried away his right leg and the foot and ankle of the left. Napoleon showed great grief upon the occasion. On the ninth day of his wound, Lannes, grasping the Emperor's hand, said, 'Another hour and your majesty will have lost one of your most zealous and faithful friends.' And so indeed it proved. Lannes possessed dauntless courage, but was vulgar, and even coarse in his manners."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"About the time of his marriage, Lannes was twenty-eight years of age, five feet five

After four days' fighting, the army needed repose; but scarcely had the soldiers rested from the fatigues of battle before the din of arms was heard. It was one of the Austrian corps, which had been left on the maritime slope of the Apennines, and which was recrossing the mountains. So great was the disorder, that this corps had got, before it was aware of it, into the middle of the French army. The brave Wukassovich, who commanded these six thousand grenadiers, thought to save himself by a bold stroke and had taken Dego. It was requisite, therefore, to begin the battle again, and to renew the efforts of the preceding day. Bonaparte galloped to the spot, rallied his columns, and urged them upon Dego. They were stopped by the Austrian grenadiers; but they returned to the charge, and, at length, led on by Adjutant-general Lanusse, who held up his hat on the point of his sword, they forced their way into Dego, and recovered their conquest, making some hundreds of prisoners.

Thus Bonaparte was master of the valley of the Bormida. The Austrians fled towards Aquì, upon the Milan road; the Piedmontese, after they had lost the gorges of Millesimo, retired upon Ceva and Mondovì. He was master of all the roads; he had nine thousand prisoners; and he spread consternation before him. By skilfully managing the mass of his forces, and directing it now upon Montenotte and now upon Millesimo and Dego, he had crushed the enemy everywhere by rendering himself superior to him on every point. This was the moment for taking a grand determination. Carnot's plan enjoined him to neglect the Piedmontese and stick to the Austrians. Bonaparte thought the Piedmontese army of too much consequence to be left in his rear; he was aware, moreover, that one stroke would be sufficient to destroy it; and he deemed it more prudent to complete the ruin of the Piedmontese. He did not, therefore, enter the valley of the Bormida and descend towards the Po in pursuit of the Austrians; but, turning to the left, he penetrated into the gorges of Millesimo and took the road to Piedmont. Laharpe's division alone was left in the camp of San

or six inches high, slender and elegant, his feet, legs, and hands being remarkable for their symmetry. His face was not handsome, but it was expressive; and when his voice pronounced one of those military thoughts, which had acquired for him the appellation of the Roland of the army, his eyes, said Junot, which appear so small, become immense, and dart flashes of lightning. Junot also told me that he looked upon Lannes as the bravest man in the army, because his courage was invariably the same. The same coolness with which he re-entered his tent he carried into the midst of the battle, the hottest fire, and the most difficult emergencies. Besides this, Junot considered him to possess the most rapid conception and accurate judgment of any person he had ever met with, except the First Consul. He was also amiable, faithful in friendship, and a good patriot. One curious trait in his character was the obstinacy with which he refused to have his hair cut short. In vain Napoleon entreated him to cut it off; he still retained a short, thick cue, full of powder and pomatum."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Marshal Lannes was one of the most gallant men our armies could at any time boast of. His life was too short for his friends; but his career of honour and glory was without a parallel."—*Duke de Rovigo*. E.

"The education of Lannes had been much neglected. However, he improved greatly; and, to judge from the astonishing progress he made, he would have been a general of the first class. He had great experience in war. He had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and in three hundred combats of different kinds. He was a man of uncommon bravery, cool in the midst of fire; and possessed of a clear, penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity which might present itself. Violent and hasty in his expressions sometimes even in my presence, he was ardently attached to me. In the midst of his anger, he would not suffer any one to join him in his remarks. On that account, when he was in a choleric mood it was dangerous to speak to him, as he used to come to me in his rage, and say, such and such persons were not to be trusted. As a general, he was greatly superior to Moreau or to Soult."—*A Voice from St. Helena*. E.

Benedetto, commanding the course of the Belbo and the Bormida, to watch the Austrians. The soldiers were worn out with fatigue: they had fought on the 22d and 23d at Montenotte, on the 24th and 25th at Millesimo and Dego; they had lost and retaken Dego on the 26th, had rested only on the 27th, and were again marching on the 28th upon Mondovi. Amidst these rapid marches, there had not been time to make regular distributions; they were destitute of everything and ventured to pillage. Bonaparte, indignant, proceeded against the culprits with great severity, and displayed as much energy in re-establishing discipline as in pursuing the enemy. He had won in a few days the utmost confidence of the soldiers. The generals of division were overcome. They listened with attention, nay, with admiration, to the terse and figurative language of the young captain. On the heights of Monte Zemoto, which it is necessary to cross in order to reach Ceva, the army descried the lovely plains of Piedmont and Italy.* It beheld the Tanaro, the Stura, the Po, and all those rivers that run into the Adriatic; it saw in the back-ground the high Alps covered with snow; it was struck by the view of those beautiful plains of the *land of promise*.† Bonaparte was at the head of his troops: he was moved. "Annibal," he exclaimed, "crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them." This expression explained the campaign to every capacity. What destinies then opened before us!

Colli defended the intrenched camp of Ceva only just long enough to slacken our march a little. This excellent officer had contrived to cheer his soldiers and to keep up their courage. He had no longer any hope of beating his formidable enemy; but he determined to retreat foot by foot, and to give the Austrians time to come to his relief, in rejoining them by a circuitous march. He had received a promise to this effect. He halted behind the Cursaglia, in advance of Mondovi. Serrurier, who, on the opening of the campaign, had been left at Garesio to watch Colli, had just rejoined the army. It had thus one more division. Colli was covered by the Cursaglia, a deep and rapid stream, which falls into the Tanaro. On the right, Joubert endeavoured to cross, but he failed, and narrowly escaped drowning. In the front, Serrurier attempted to cross the bridge of St. Michael. He succeeded; but Colli, suffering him to pass, fell upon him unawares with his best troops, and obliged him to recross in disorder. The situation of the army was ticklish. On its rear was Beaulieu, who was reorganizing himself; and it was necessary to finish with Colli as speedily as possible. At the same time, it appeared scarcely possible to carry the position, if it were vigorously defended. Bonaparte ordered a fresh attack to be made on the following day. On the 2d of Floreal (April 21), the troops marched upon the Cursaglia, when they found the bridges abandoned. Colli had made the resistance of the preceding day merely to retard the retreat. He was surprised in line at Mondovi. Serrurier decided the victory by taking the principal redoubt, that of La Bicoque. Colli left three thousand killed or prisoners, and continued to retreat. Bonaparte arrived at Cherasco, an ill-defended place, but important from its position

* "The arrival of the army on the heights of Monte Zemoto was a sublime spectacle. The immense and fertile plains of Piedmont lay before them. The Po, the Tanaro, and a multitude of other rivers, meandered in the distance; in the horizon, a white girdle of snow and ice, of a stupendous height, surrounded these rich valleys—this promised land. Those gigantic barriers, which seemed the limits of another world, which nature had delighted in rendering thus formidable, and to which art had contributed all its resources, had fallen, as if by enchantment."—*Las Cases*. E.

† Bonaparte's own expression

at the conflux of the Stura and the Tanaro, and easy to arm with artillery taken from the enemy. In this position, Bonaparte was twenty leagues from Savona, his point of departure, ten leagues from Turin, and fifteen from Alexandria.

The court of Turin was in confusion. The king, who was very obstinate, would not yield. The ministers of England and Austria beset him with their remonstrances, and advised him to shut himself up in Turin, to send his army beyond the Po, and thus to imitate the great examples of his ancestors. They terrified him with the revolutionary influence which the French were likely to exercise in Piedmont; they demanded for Beaulieu the three fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, and Valenza, that he might shut himself up and defend himself in the triangle which they form with the bank of the Po. It was to this that the King of Sardinia felt the strongest repugnance. To give his three principal fortresses to his ambitious neighbour of Lombardy, was an idea that he could not brook. Cardinal Costa decided him to throw himself into the arms of the French. He represented to him the impossibility of resisting so rapid a conqueror, the danger of irritating him by a long resistance, and thus driving him to revolutionize Piedmont, and all to serve a foreign and even inimical ambition—that of Austria. The king yielded, and caused overtures to be made by Colli to Bonaparte. They reached Cherasco on the 4th of Floreal (April 23); Bonaparte had not powers to sign a peace, but he was at liberty to sign an armistice, and he resolved to do so. He had not followed the plan of the Directory, which enjoined him to complete the reduction of the Piedmontese; but his aim had not been to conquer Piedmont; he merely wished to secure his rear. To conquer Piedmont he must have taken Turin, and he had neither the requisite artillery, nor forces sufficient to furnish a blockading corps and to reserve an active army. Besides, the campaign would then have been confined to a siege. By arranging with Piedmont, and requiring the necessary guarantees, he might push on in security after the Austrians and drive them from Italy. It was said around him that he ought not to grant any conditions, that he ought to dethrone a king who was a kinsman of the Bourbons, and spread the French Revolution in Piedmont. This was the opinion of many soldiers, officers, and generals, in the army, and especially of Augereau, who was born in the fauxbourg St. Antoine, and entertained its sentiments. Young Bonaparte was of a different opinion. He was aware of the difficulty of revolutionizing a monarchy which was the only military one in Italy, and in which old manners were preserved unchanged; he had no wish to raise up obstacles in his route; his aim was to march rapidly to the conquest of Italy, which depended on the destruction of the Austrians, and their expulsion beyond the Alps. He would not, therefore, do anything that might complicate his situation and retard his march.

In consequence, he assented to an armistice; but he represented that, in the respective state of the armies, an armistice would be ruinous to him if certain guarantees for the security of his rear were not given; he therefore required that the three fortresses of Coni, Tortona, and Alexandria, should be given up, with all the magazines which they contained, which would supply his army, and which the republic would afterwards account for; that the roads of Piedmont should be thrown open to the French, which would considerably abridge the distance between France and the banks of the Po; that stations should be prepared on these roads for the troops that should pass along them; and lastly, that the Sardinian army

should be dispersed in the fortresses, so that the French army might have nothing to fear from it. These conditions were accepted, and the armistice was signed at Cherasco on the 9th of Floreal (April 29), with Colonel Lacoste and Count Latour.

It was agreed that plenipotentiaries should set out immediately for Paris to treat for a definitive peace. The three fortresses demanded were delivered up, with immense magazines. From that moment the army had its line of operation covered by the three strongest places in Piedmont; it had safe, commodious roads, much shorter than those running through the Riviera of Genoa; it had abundance of provisions; it was reinforced by a multitude of soldiers, who, at the sound of victory, quitted the hospitals; it had a numerous artillery, taken at Cherasco, and from the different places; it possessed a great number of horses; it was supplied with everything;* and the promises of the general were fulfilled. Within the first few days after its entrance into Piedmont, it had plundered, because, in its rapid marches, it had received no rations. When it had appeased its hunger, order was restored. The Count de St. Marsan, the Sardinian minister, visited Bonaparte, and contrived to please him; even the king's son was desirous to see the young conqueror, and lavished testimonies of esteem, which made an impression upon him. Bonaparte adroitly returned the flatteries which they paid him; he cheered them in regard to the intentions of the Directory, and the dangers of the revolution. He was sincere in his protestations, for he already cherished an idea, of which he cleverly afforded a glimpse in the different interviews. Piedmont had sacrificed all her interests by allying herself with Austria: it was to France that she ought to ally herself; France was her natural friend, for she could not covet her dominions, from which she was separated by the Alps; she could, on the contrary, defend Piedmont against Austria, and even obtain aggrandizements for her. Bonaparte could not suppose that the Directory would consent to give any part of Lombardy to Piedmont; for it was not yet conquered, and, if there was an idea of conquering it, it was only for the purpose of making it an equivalent for the Netherlands; but a vague hope of aggrandizement might dispose Piedmont to ally herself with France, which would procure the latter a reinforcement of twenty thousand excellent troops. He promised nothing, but he contrived by a few words to excite the cupidity and the hopes of the cabinet of Turin.

Bonaparte, who, with a positive mind, possessed a strong and lofty imagination, and was fond of exciting those whom he addressed, resolved to proclaim his successes in a new and striking manner. He sent Murat, his aide-de-camp, to present solemnly to the Directory twenty-one pair of colours taken from the enemy. He then addressed the following proclamation to his soldiers:

"Soldiers! in a fortnight you have gained six victories, taken twenty-one pair of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have made fifteen thousand prisoners,† and killed or wounded more than ten thousand men; you had hitherto

* "The soldiers who had no distributions during the first eight or ten days of this campaign, now began to receive them regularly. Pillage and disorder, the constant attendants of rapid movements, ceased; discipline was restored; and the appearance of the army improved daily amidst the abundance and resources presented by this fine country. Its losses were repaired. Previous to this period, the misery of the French had exceeded all description."—*Las Cases*. E.

† In reality, only from ten to eleven thousand.

been fighting for barren rocks, rendered glorious by your courage, but useless to the country; you now rival by your services the army of Holland and of the Rhine. Destitute of everything, you have supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, bivouacked without brandy, and often without bread. The republican phalanxes, the soldiers of liberty alone, could have endured what you have endured. Thanks be to you for it, soldiers! Your grateful country will owe to you its prosperity; and, if your conquest at Toulon foreboded the glorious campaign of 1793, your present victories forebode one still more glorious. The two armies which so lately attacked you boldly are fleeing affrighted before you; the perverse men who laughed at your distress, and rejoiced in thought at the triumphs of your enemies, are confounded and trembling. But, soldiers, you have done nothing, since more remains to be done. Neither Turin nor Milan is yours; the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trampled upon by the murderers of Basseville.* There are said to be among you some whose courage is subsiding, and who would prefer returning to the summits of the Apennines and of the Alps. No; I cannot believe it. The conquerors of Montenotte, Millesimo, Dego, and Mondovi, are impatient to carry the glory of the French people to distant countries!"

When these tidings, these colours, these proclamations, arrived one after another at Paris, they produced extreme joy. On the first day, it was a victory which opened the Apennines and gave two thousand prisoners; on the second, it was a still more decisive victory, which separated the Piedmontese from the Austrians and gave six thousand prisoners. The following days brought news of farther successes: the destruction of the Piedmontese army at Mondovi, the submission of Piedmont at Cherasco, and the certainty of a speedy peace, which foreboded others. The rapidity of these successes, and the number of the prisoners, surpassed everything that had yet been seen. The language of these proclamations, imbued with the spirit of antiquity, astonished people's minds. They everywhere asked who this young general was, whose name, known to some appreciators, and unknown to France, burst forth for the first time. They could not yet well pronounce it, and they said with joy that the republic saw new talents daily springing up to shed lustre upon, and to defend her. The Councils decided three several times that the army of Italy had deserved well of the country, and decreed a festival to Victory, for the purpose of celebrating the prosperous commencement of the campaign. The aide-de-camp sent by Bonaparte presented the colours to the Directory. The ceremony was imposing. Several foreign ambassadors were on that day received, and the government appeared surrounded by a consideration which it had not hitherto enjoyed.

* "Three years before the French had sustained an actual injury from the See of Rome, which was yet unavenged. The people of Rome were extremely provoked that the French residing there, and particularly the young artists, had displayed the tricolour, and proposed to exhibit the scutcheon containing the emblems of the republic over the door of the French consul. The Pope had intimated his desire that this should not be attempted; the French, however, pursued their purpose, and a popular commotion arose. The carriage of the French envoy, named Basseville, was attacked in the streets, his house was broken into by the mob, and he himself, unarmed and unresisting, was cruelly assassinated. This affair happened in 1793, but was not forgotten in 1796."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

"Basseville received a thrust of a bayonet in the abdomen; he was dragged into the streets holding his bowels in his hands, and at length left on a field-bed in a guard-house, where he expired."—*Montheolon*. E.

After the submission of Piedmont, General Bonaparte had nothing to hinder him from marching in pursuit of the Austrians, and hastening to the conquest of Italy.* The news of the victories of the French had deeply agitated all the states of that peninsula. It was requisite that he who had entered it should be a profound politician as well as a great captain, in order to conduct himself there with prudence. Everybody knows what an aspect it exhibits to one emerging from the Apennines. The Alps, the loftiest mountains in Europe, after describing an immense semicircle from east to west, in which they embrace Upper Italy, turn short and run all at once in an oblique line towards the south, thus forming a long peninsula, washed by the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Bonaparte, coming from the west, and having crossed the chain at the point where it lowers, and runs off, by the name of the Apennines, to form the peninsula, had before him the beautiful semicircle of Upper Italy, and on his right that long, narrow peninsula which forms Lower Italy. A number of petty states divided that country, which always sighed after a united government, without which a nation cannot be great.

Bonaparte had passed through the state of Genoa, situated on this side of the Apennines, and Piedmont, which is on the other. Genoa, an ancient republic, founded by Doria, was the only one of the Italian governments that retained any real energy. Placed for the last four years between the two belligerent armies, it had contrived to maintain its neutrality, and had thus secured all the advantages of commerce. Between its capital and the tract of coast, it numbered nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants; it kept in general from three to four thousand troops; in case of emergency, it could arm all the peasants of the Apennines, and form an excellent militia of them; and it possessed large revenues. Two parties divided it; the party adverse to France had had the ascendancy, and expelled several families. The Directory had to require the recall of these families and an indemnity for the outrage committed on the *Modeste* frigate.

On leaving Genoa, and advancing to the right into the peninsula, along the southern declivity of the Apennines, you first come to happy Tuscany, situated on the two banks of the Arno, in the mildest climate, and in one of the best sheltered parts of Italy. One portion of this tract formed the small republic of Lucca, peopled with one hundred and forty thousand inhabitants; the rest constituted the grand-duchy of Tuscany, lately governed by the Archduke Leopold, and now by the Archduke Ferdinand. In this country, the most enlightened and the most polished in Italy, the philosophy of the eighteenth century had kindly germinated. Leopold had there introduced his admirable legislative reforms, and successfully tried experiments most honourable to humanity. The Bishop of Pistoja had even commenced a sort of religious reform by propagating Jansenist doctrines there. Though the Revolution had alarmed the weak and timid minds of Tuscany, yet it was there that France had most appreciators and

* It was at this period that Bonaparte wrote to the Directory in the following energetic terms: "The King of Sardinia has surrendered at discretion, given up three of his strongest fortresses, and the half of his dominions. If you do not choose to accept his submission, but resolve to dethrone him, you must amuse him for a few weeks and give me warning; I will get possession of Valenza and march upon Turin. On the other hand, I shall impose a contribution of some millions on the Duke of Parma, and detach twelve thousand men to Rome, as soon as I have beaten Beaulieu, and driven him across the Adige, and when I am assured that you will conclude peace with the King of Sardinia, and strengthen me by the army of Kellermann. As to Genoa, by all means oblige it to pay fifteen millions."—*Napoleon's Secret Correspondence*. E.

friends. The archduke, though Austrian, had been one of the first princes in Europe to recognise the republic. He had a million of subjects, six thousand troops, and a revenue of fifteen millions. Unfortunately, Tuscany was the least able of all these principalities to defend itself. After Tuscany came the States of the Church. The provinces subject to the Pope, situated on both sides of the Apennines, and extending to the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, were the worst administered in Europe. They had only their admirable agriculture, an ancient tradition of remote ages, which is common to all Italy, and which makes amends for the absence of industry long banished from her bosom. Excepting in the legations of Bologna and Ferrara, where a profound contempt for the government of priests prevailed, and in Rome, the ancient abode of science and the arts, where a few nobles had participated in the philosophy of all the grandees of Europe, men's minds had remained in the most disgraceful barbarism. A superstitious and ferocious populace, and idle and ignorant monks, composed that population of two million and a half of subjects. The army amounted to four or five thousand men, everybody knows of what quality. The Pope, a vain, ostentatious prince, jealous of his authority and that of the Holy See, entertained a deep hatred for the philosophy of the eighteenth century. He had thought to recover for the chair of St. Peter part of its influence by displaying great pomp, and had undertaken works useful to the arts. Reckoning upon the majesty of his person and the persuasion of his words, which was great, he had formerly undertaken a journey to Vienna, to bring back Joseph II. to the doctrines of the Church, and to counteract philosophy, which seemed to be taking possession of the mind of that prince. This attempt had not been successful. The pontiff, filled with horror of the French Revolution, had launched his anathema against it; and preached a crusade. He had even winked at the murder of Basseville, the French agent in Rome. Inflamed by the monks, his subjects shared his hatred against France, and were seized with fanatic fury on hearing of the success of our arms.

The extremity of the Peninsula and Sicily compose the kingdom of Naples, the most powerful state in Italy, most like Rome in ignorance and barbarism, and still worse governed, if possible. There reigned a Bourbon, a mild, imbecile prince, devoted to one kind of pursuit, fishing and field sports. These occupations engrossed all his time; and, while he was engaged in them, the government of his kingdom was abandoned to his wife, an Austrian princess, sister of the Queen of France. This princess, a woman of a capricious disposition, of licentious passions, having a favourite sold to the English, the minister Acton, conducted the affairs of the kingdom in a senseless manner. The English, whose policy it always was to gain a footing on the continent by controlling the petty states bordering upon its coasts, had endeavoured to make themselves the patrons of Naples, as well as of Portugal and Holland. They excited the hatred of the queen against France, and infused with that hatred the ambition to rule Italy.

Such were the principal states in the Peninsula on the right of Bonaparte. Facing him, in the semicircle of Upper Italy, there was first, on the slope of the Apennines, the duchy of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, comprising five hundred thousand inhabitants, keeping three thousand troops, furnishing a revenue of four millions, and governed by a Spanish prince, formerly a pupil of Condillac, but who, in spite of a sound education, had fallen under the yoke of monks and priests. A little farther to the right, likewise

on the declivity of the Apennines, was the duchy of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, peopled with four hundred thousand inhabitants, having six thousand men under arms, and subject to the last descendant of the illustrious house of Este. This distrustful prince was so alarmed at the spirit of the age, that by dint of fear he had become a prophet, and foretold the Revolution. His predictions were quoted. In his terror, he had not forgotten to make provision against the strokes of fortune, and had amassed immense wealth by oppressing his people.* Avaricious and timid, he was despised by his subjects, who were the most enlightened and the most malicious in Italy, and the most disposed to embrace the new ideas. Farther on, beyond the Po, came Lombardy, governed for Austria by an archduke. This beautiful and productive plain, situated between the waters of the Alps which fertilize it, and those of the Adriatic which bring to it the wealth of the East, covered with corn, rice, pastures, herds of cattle, and rich beyond all the provinces in the world, was dissatisfied with its foreign masters. It was still Guelph, notwithstanding its long slavery. It contained twelve hundred thousand inhabitants. Milan was always one of the most enlightened cities in Italy. Less favoured in regard to the arts than Florence or Rome, it approached nearer to the illumination of the North, and contained a great number of persons who wished for the civil and political regeneration of the people. The last state in Upper Italy was the ancient republic of Venice. This republic, with its old aristocracy inscribed in the golden book, its state inquisition, its silence, its jealous and captious policy, had ceased to be a formidable power either to its subjects or to its neighbours. With its continental provinces, situated at the foot of the Tyrol, and those of Illyria, it numbered nearly three millions of subjects. It could raise so many as fifty thousand Sclavonians, good soldiers, because they were well disciplined, well fed, and well paid. It was rich in ancient wealth; but for two centuries its commerce had been transferred to the Ocean, which wafted its treasures to the islanders of the Atlantic. It still possessed a few ships; the passages of the lagoons were almost choked up; but it was yet powerful in revenues. Its policy consisted in amusing its subjects, in lulling them by pleasure and repose, and in observing the strictest neutrality in regard to other states. Yet the nobles of the main land were jealous of the golden book, and impatiently endured the yoke of the aristocracy intrenched in the lagoons. In Venice itself, the citizens, a wealthy class, began to think. In 1793, the coalition had forced the senate to declare against France: it had yielded, but had reverted to its neutral policy, as soon as the powers began to treat with the French republic. As we have seen elsewhere, it had been as eager as Prussia and Tuscany to send an ambassador to Paris. Now, too, complying with the remonstrances of the Directory, it had just given notice to the head of the house of Bourbon, then Louis XVIII., to quit Verona. That prince had accordingly departed, declaring that he should insist on the restitution of a suit of gilt armour given by his ancestor Henry IV. to

* "The Duke of Modena was a man of moderate abilities; his business was hoarding money, and his pleasure consisted in nailing up, with his own princely hands, the tapestry, which ornamented churches on days of high holiday, from which he acquired the nickname of the Royal Upholsterer. But his birth was illustrious as the descendant of that celebrated hero of Este, the patron of Tasso and Ariosto; and his alliance was no less splendid, having married the sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette and of Joseph II.; then his daughter was married to the Archduke Ferdinand, the governor of Milan."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

the senate, and on the erasure of the name of his family from the pages of the golden book.

Such was Italy at that time. The general spirit of the age had penetrated thither, and inflamed many minds. All the inhabitants did not wish for a revolution, especially when they recollected the frightful scenes which had imbrued the French Revolution in blood; but all desired, though in different degrees, a reform; and there was not a heart but throbbed at the idea of the independence and unity of the Italian father-land. That nation of husbandmen, tradesmen, artists, nobles—the priests alone excepted, who know no country but the Church—was fired with the hope of seeing all the divisions of the peninsula united into one, under one and the same government, republican or monarchical, but Italian. Assuredly a population of twenty millions, with an excellent soil, admirable coasts, spacious and magnificent cities, might compose a glorious and powerful state. It lacked but an army. Piedmont alone, always engaged in the wars of the continent, had brave and well-disciplined troops. Nature, indeed, was far from having refused natural courage to the other portions of Italy; but natural courage is nothing without a strong military organization. Italy had not a regiment that could bear the sight of the French or Austrian bayonets.

On the approach of the French, the enemies of political reform had been struck with consternation. Its partisans had been transported with joy. The entire mass was in anxiety; it had vague, uncertain presentiments; it knew not whether it ought to hope or to fear.

Bonaparte on entering Italy had orders, and for his object, to drive the Austrians out of it. His government being desirous, as we have stated, to procure peace, meant to conquer Lombardy, merely to restore it to Austria, and to compel her to cede the Netherlands. Bonaparte could not, therefore, think of emancipating Italy. Besides, with some thirty thousand men, how could he proclaim a political object? Still, if the Austrians were driven beyond the Alps, and his power firmly established, he might exercise great influence, and in the course of events attempt great things. If, for instance, the Austrians, beaten at all points, on the Po, on the Rhine, and on the Danube, were obliged to cede even Lombardy; if the people, truly inflamed for liberty, were to declare in favour of it on the approach of the French armies; then great destinies would open for Italy. But, in the meantime, it was incumbent on Bonaparte not to proclaim any object, lest he should irritate the princes whom he left in his rear. His intention, therefore, was not to show any revolutionary project, but at the same time not to damp the ardour of imaginations, and to await the effects of his presence upon the Italian people.

Accordingly, he had avoided encouraging the discontented in Piedmont, because he there saw a country difficult to revolutionize, a strong government, and an army the alliance of which might be serviceable to him.

No sooner was the armistice of Cherasco signed than he again set out. Many persons in the army disapproved of advancing.* What! said they, we are but thirty odd thousand; we have not revolutionized either Pied-

* "Many thought it madness to attempt the conquest of Italy with so small an army, and with a hostile kingdom in their rear. These persons were for revolutionizing Piedmont before they ventured further, but Bonaparte was of opinion that they ought not to halt till they reached the Adige. This counsel prevailed. To dare is in critical circumstances often the means of success; as to carry into effect what to others appears madness is the surest sign of genius."—*Hazlitt*. E.

mont or Genoa; we are leaving behind us governments which are secretly our enemies; and we are going to attempt the passage of a great river, the Po, to traverse Lombardy, and, perhaps, to decide by our presence the republic of Venice to throw fifty thousand men into the scale! Bonaparte had orders to advance, and he was not a man to fail to comply with a bold order; but he executed it because he approved of it, and he approved of it for profound reasons. Piedmont and Genoa would embarrass us much more, said he, if they were in revolution; thanks to the armistice, our line of march is now secured by three fortresses; all the governments of Italy will submit to us if we can drive the Austrians beyond the Alps; Venice will tremble if we are victorious at her side; the sound of our cannon will even decide her to ally herself with us: we must advance then, not only beyond the Po, but likewise the Adda and the Mincio, to the beautiful line of the Adige; there we will besiege Mantua, and we will make all Italy tremble on our rear. The head of the young general, heated by his march, conceived even still more gigantic projects than those which he avowed to his army. He proposed, after annihilating Beaulieu, to penetrate into the Tyrol, to cross the Alps a second time, and to throw himself into the valley of the Danube, for the purpose of joining there the armies which had started from the banks of the Rhine. This colossal and imprudent plan was a tribute which a great and enterprising mind could not fail to pay to the twofold presumption of youth and success. He wrote to his government soliciting authority to carry it into execution.

He had taken the field on the 20th of Germinal (April 11): the submission of Piedmont was complete on the 9th of Floreal (April 28), by the armistice of Cherasco; it had taken him eighteen days. He set out immediately in pursuit of Beaulieu. He had stipulated with Piedmont that Valenza should be delivered up to him; that he might pass the Po at that place; but this condition was a feint, it was not at Valenza that he intended to cross the river. Beaulieu, when informed of the armistice, had thought to possess himself by surprise of the three fortresses of Tortona, Valenza, and Alexandria. He succeeded in surprising Valenza only, into which he threw the Neapolitans; then, seeing Bonaparte advancing rapidly, he hastened to recross the Po, that he might place that river between himself and the French army. He went and encamped at Valeggio, at the conflux of the Po and the Tesino, near the apex of the angle formed by those two rivers. He there threw up some intrenchments, to strengthen his position and to oppose the passage of the French army.

Bonaparte, on quitting the dominions of the King of Sardinia and entering those of the Duke of Parma, was met by envoys from that prince, who came to solicit the clemency of the conqueror. The Duke of Parma was related to the King of Spain: it was requisite, therefore, to show him some indulgence, which, moreover, suited the views of the general. Still, he might fairly exercise upon him some of the rights of war. Bonaparte received his envoys at the passage of the Trebbia. He affected to be angry that the Duke of Parma had not availed himself, for making peace, of the moment when Spain, his relative, was treating with the French republic. He then granted an armistice, demanding a tribute of two millions in money, of which the chest of the army was much in need; sixteen hundred horses, requisite for the artillery and the baggage; a great quantity of wheat and oats; leave to pass through the duchy; and the establishment of hospitals for the sick at the expense of the prince. The general did not stop there. As an Italian, he was a lover and a connoisseur of the arts; he

knew how much they add to the splendour of an empire, and the moral effect which they produce on the imagination of men. He demanded twenty pictures, to be chosen by French commissioners and sent to Paris.* The envoys of the duke, glad to appease, at this price, the anger of the general, consented to all his demands, and hastened to execute the conditions of the armistice. They offered, however, a million to save the picture of St. Jerome. Bonaparte said to the army: "This million we should soon spend, and we shall find plenty more to conquer. A masterpiece is everlasting; it will adorn the country." The million was refused.

Bonaparte, having secured the advantages of conquest without its embarrassments, pursued his march. The condition inserted in the armistice of Cherasco, relative to the passage of the Po at Valenza and the direction of the principal French column towards that town, induced a belief that Bonaparte would attempt the passage of the river in its environs. While the main body of his army was already collected at the point where Beaulieu was expecting him to cross, on the 17th of Floreal (May 6), he took a corps of three thousand five hundred grenadiers, together with his cavalry and twenty-four pieces of cannon, descended along the Po, and arrived on the morning of the 18th at Placentia, after a march of sixteen leagues in thirty-six hours. The cavalry had seized all the boats which it found on the banks of the river, and taken them along with it to Placentia: it had also taken a great quantity of forage, and the medical stores of the Austrian army. A barge carried the advanced guard commanded by Colonel Lannes. No sooner had that officer reached the other bank, than he dashed with his grenadiers upon some Austrian detachments, which were running upon the left bank of the Po, and dispersed them. The rest of the grenadiers successively crossed the river, and began to construct a bridge for the passage of the army which had received orders to descend in its turn to Placentia. Thus, by a feint and a bold march, Bonaparte found himself beyond the Po, with the additional advantage of having turned the Tesino. Had he crossed higher up, besides the difficulty of doing so in the presence of Beaulieu, he would have come upon the Tesino, and have had to cross that too. But at Placentia, he avoided that inconvenience, for the Tesino had already joined the Po.

On the 18th of May, Liptai's division, which was the first to receive the information, proceeded to Fombio, at a little distance from the Po, on the road to Pizzighitone. Bonaparte, sensible of the danger of suffering it to establish itself in a position where the whole Austrian army was likely to rally, and might then oblige him to receive battle with the river Po at his back, hastened to attack it with all the forces that he had at hand. Rushing upon this division, which had intrenched itself, he dislodged it after a sanguinary action, and took from it two thousand prisoners. The rest of the division gained the road to Pizzighitone, and went and shut itself up in that place.

On the evening of the same day, Beaulieu, apprized of the passage of the Po at Placentia, came up to the support of Liptai's division. Not aware

* "It was on this occasion that Napoleon exacted a contribution of works of art to be sent to the Museum at Paris, being the first instance of the kind that occurs in modern history."—*Hazlitt*. E.

"The republic had already received and placed in its Museum the masterpieces of the Dutch and Flemish schools. The Romans carried away from conquered Greece the statues which adorn the Capitol. Every capital of Europe contained the spoils of antiquity, and no one had ever thought of imputing it to them as a crime."—*Thibaudau*. E.

of the disaster which it had sustained, he fell in with the French advanced posts, was warmly received, and obliged to fall back in the utmost haste. Unfortunately, the brave General Laharpe, so useful to the army for his intelligence and his intrepidity, was killed by his own soldiers amidst the darkness of the night. The whole army regretted the loss of this brave Swiss, whom the tyranny of Berne had driven to France.*

The Po being crossed, the Tesino turned, and Beaulieu beaten and unable to keep the field, the route to Milan was open. It was natural that a conqueror of twenty-six should be impatient to enter that city. But Bonaparte was desirous, above all, to complete the destruction of Beaulieu. With this view, he meant not merely to fight him; he meant to turn him, to cut off his retreat, and to oblige him, if possible, to lay down his arms. To accomplish this object, it was necessary that he should anticipate him at the passage of the rivers. A great number of rivers descend from the Alps, and, running through Lombardy, fall into the Po or the Adriatic. Besides the Po and the Tesino, there are the Adda, the Oglio, the Mincio, the Adige, and many others. Bonaparte now had before him the Adda, which he had not been able to turn like the Tesino, because he must then have gone as high as Cremona before he crossed the Po. The passage of the Adda is at Pizzighitone, but the wrecks of Liptai's division had just thrown themselves into that place. Bonaparte hastened to ascend the Adda to reach the bridge of Lodi. Beaulieu was there before him. It was impossible, therefore, to anticipate him at the passage of that river. But he had with him at Lodi only twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse. Two other divisions, under Colli and Vukassovich, had made a circuit to Milan, to throw a garrison into the citadel, and were then to return to the Adda, to cross it at Cassano, a great way above Lodi. By endeavouring, then, to cross the Adda at Lodi, in spite of the presence of Beaulieu, Bonaparte might possibly reach the other bank before the two divisions, which were to pass at Cassano, had completed their movement. There would then be a hope of cutting them off.

Bonaparte was before Lodi on the 20th (May 9). That town is situated on the same bank along which the French army was coming. Bonaparte caused it to be attacked unawares, and penetrated into it in spite of the Austrians. The latter, then, quitting the town, retired by the bridge, and went to rejoin the main body of their army on the other bank. This bridge it was necessary to pass over, on leaving Lodi, in order to cross the Adda. Twelve thousand infantry and four thousand horse were drawn up on the opposite bank; twenty pieces of artillery enfiladed the bridge; a host of sharpshooters was posted on the bank. It was not customary in war to confront such difficulties. A bridge defended by sixteen thousand men and twenty pieces of artillery was an obstacle which nobody would have attempted to surmount. The whole French army had sheltered itself from the fire behind the walls of Lodi, awaiting the orders of the general. Bonaparte sallied from the town, explored the banks of the river, amidst a shower of balls and grape-shot, and having formed his plan, returned to Lodi to put it in execution. He ordered his cavalry to go up the Adda and to endeavour to ford it above the bridge; he then caused a column of six

* "Laharpe was a Swiss of the canton of Vaud. He was an officer of distinguished bravery, and much beloved by his troops, though of an unquiet temper. It was remarked that, during the action of Fombio, on the evening preceding his death, he had appeared absent and dejected, giving no orders, seemingly deprived of his usual faculties, and overwhelmed by some fatal presentiment."—*Hazlitt*. E.

thousand grenadiers to be formed : he went through the ranks, encouraged them, and communicated extraordinary courage by his presence and his words. He then ordered them to debouch by the gate leading to the bridge, and to debouch in a run. He had calculated that, from the rapidity of the movement, the column would not have time to suffer much. This formidable column closed its ranks and debouched in a run upon the bridge. A tremendous fire was poured upon them. The entire head of the column was struck down. It nevertheless advanced : having reached the middle of the bridge, it hesitated ; but the generals encouraged it by their voices and by their example. It recovered itself, advanced, rushed upon the guns, and killed the gunners who attempted to defend them. At this moment the Austrian infantry approached, in its turn, to support its artillery ; but, after what it had just achieved, the terrible column was not afraid of bayonets ; it dashed upon the Austrians at the moment when the cavalry, which had found a ford, was threatening their flanks ; it overthrew them, dispersed them, and took two thousand prisoners.*

* The following is Bourrienne's account of the celebrated battle of Lodi :

" It now remained to cross the river ; but thirty pieces of cannon placed in battery, some at the further end of the old bridge, and some a little above, and others a little below it, on the left bank, in order to produce a cross-fire, seemed to render such an enterprise next to impossible. More than one brave republican general recommended a pause, which must have ended in a retreat, but Bonaparte, keeping his eyes fixed, and his hand pointing at the bridge, said, ' That is the way to Milan—to Rome—to the possession of all Italy,—we must cross, let it cost what it may. It must not be said that the tributary Adda stopped those heroes who had forced the Po ! ' On this occasion the French were pretty well supplied with artillery, and their first operation was to open a heavy fire across the river on the enemy's guns. General Beaumont, who commanded their cavalry, was sent to pass the Adda at a ford about a league above the bridge, and he took with him some flying artillery, with which he was to cannonade the right flank of the Austrians. By an inconceivable imbecility, the ford was not sufficiently guarded, and Beaumont, though not without difficulty, passed through it with his horses and guns. As soon as Bonaparte saw that the heads of the French cavalry were forming on the left bank of the Adda, and that the manœuvre gave great uneasiness to the Austrians, he pointed his sword at the bridge and sounded the charge. It was on the 10th of May, and about six o'clock in the evening, when 4,000 picked men, shouting ' Vive la Republique,' advanced on the bridge, which was literally swept by the enemy's guns. The first effect was tremendous ; the French were involved in a murderous hailstorm of cannon-balls, grape-shot, and musket-balls ;—they stopped—for a moment they wavered. Then Bonaparte, and Lannes, and Berthier, and Massena, and Cervoni, and Dallemagne, and Dupas, threw themselves at the head of the columns, which dashed across the bridge, and up to the mouths of the enemy's guns. Lannes was the first to reach the left bank of the Adda, Napoleon the second. The Austrian artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns before Beaulieu could get to their rescue, for this doomed old general had kept his infantry too far in the rear of the bridge. By this means also the French infantry was allowed time to debouch from the *tête-du-pont*, and form in pretty good order. The battle, however, was not over. Though stupid, Beaulieu was brave, and the Austrian troops had not yet lost their dogged obstinacy. They concentrated a little behind the river—they put their remaining artillery in battery, and for some minutes it seemed doubtful whether they would not drive their foes back to the blood-covered bridge, or into the waters of the Adda. But, in addition to Beaumont, who acted with his cavalry on their right flank, Augereau now came up from Borghetto to the opportune assistance of his comrades. Then Beaulieu retreated, but in such good order that the French made few prisoners. The shades of night closed over a scene of horror ;—between the town and the bridge of Lodi, and the scene of the prolonged action on the left bank, 2,500 men and 400 horses, on the part of the Austrians, lay dead or wounded, and the French could not have left fewer than 2,000 men in the same condition, although Bonaparte owned only to the loss of 400. This battle, which he used to call ' the terrible passage of the bridge of Lodi,' carried his fame to the highest pitch, while the great personal bravery he displayed in it endeared him to the troops. The men, who cannot always appreciate military genius and science, know perfectly well how to estimate courage, and they soon idolize the commander that shows himself ready

This most daring deed struck the Austrians with astonishment, but unfortunately it proved useless. Colli and Vukassovich had succeeded in gaining the causeway of Brescia, and could no longer be cut off. If the result had failed, at least the line of the Adda was carried, the courage of the soldiers was elevated to the highest pitch, and their devotion to their general was unbounded. In their gaiety they conceived a singular idea, which serves to illustrate the national character. The oldest of the soldiers assembled, one day, and, seeing that their general was very young, they took it into their heads to make him pass through all the ranks: at Lodi they made him corporal, and when he appeared in the camp, they saluted him by the title since become so famous of the *little corporal*.^{*} We shall find them hereafter conferring others upon him, according as he merited them.

The Austrian army had insured its retreat upon the Tyrol. It would have been of no use to follow it. Bonaparte then resolved to fall upon Lombardy, to take possession of, and to organize it. The remains of Lip-tai's division had intrenched themselves at Pizzighitone and might convert it into a fortification. He proceeded thither to drive them from the place; he then sent Massena before him to Milan; Augereau fell back to occupy Pavia. He wished to overawe that great city, celebrated for its university, and to show it one of the finest divisions of the army. Serrurier's and Laharpe's divisions were left at Pizzighitone, Lodi, Cremona, and Cassano, to guard the Adda.

Bonaparte at length set out for Milan. On the approach of the French army, the partisans of Austria, and all those who were terrified at the reputation of our soldiers, who were reported to be as barbarous as they were brave, had fled and covered the roads to Brescia and the Tyrol. The archduke had set out, and had been seen to shed tears on leaving his beautiful capital. The majority of the Milanese gave way to hope, and awaited our army in the most favourable mood. When they had received the first division

to share in their greatest dangers. It was on this occasion that the soldiers gave Bonaparte the honorary and affectionate nick-name of 'The little Corporal.' He was then slight in figure and had almost an effeminate appearance. 'It was a strange sight,' says a French veteran, 'to see him on that day on the bridge, under a *feu-d'enfer*, and mixed up with our tall grenadiers—he looked like a little boy!' Those men of routine and prescription, the Austrian officers, who adhered to the old system of warfare, could not comprehend his new conceptions and innovations. 'This beardless youth ought to have been beaten over and over again,' said poor Beaulieu, 'for who ever saw such tactics!' A day or two after the battle of Lodi, an old Hungarian officer, who did not know his person, was brought prisoner to the French commander-in-chief. 'Well,' said Bonaparte, 'what do you think of the state of the war now?' 'Nothing can be worse on your side,' replied the old martinet. 'Here you have a youth who absolutely knows nothing of the rules of war; to-day he is in our rear, to-morrow on our flank, next again in our front. Such gross violations of the principles of the art of war are not to be supported!'" E.

"Some one having read at St. Helena an account of the battle of Lodi, in which it was said that Bonaparte displayed great courage in crossing the bridge, and that Lannes passed it after him, 'Before me!' cried Bonaparte with much warmth, 'Lannes passed first, and I only followed him. It is necessary to correct that on the spot.' And the correction was accordingly made in the margin of the book.—*Hazlitt*. E.

"Vendémiaire and Montenotte," said the Emperor, "never induced me to look on myself as a man of a superior class; it was not till after Lodi that I was struck with the possibility of becoming famous. It was then that the first spark of my ambition was kindled."—*Las Cases*. E.

"How subtle is the chain which unites the most trivial circumstances to the most important events! Perhaps this very nickname contributed to the Emperor's miraculous success on his return from Elba in 1815. While he was haranguing the first battalion he met, which he found it necessary to parley with, a voice from the ranks exclaimed, 'Vive notre petit caporal! We will never fight against him.'"—*Las Cases*. E.

commanded by Massena, and saw those soldiers, whom report painted in such frightful colours, respecting property and person, and manifesting the benevolence natural to their character, they were filled with enthusiasm and treated them with the utmost kindness. The patriots had assembled from all parts of Italy, and awaited the young conqueror, whose exploits were so rapid, and whose Italian name sounded so sweetly to the ears. The Count de Melzi was immediately sent to meet Bonaparte, and to promise him obedience.* A national guard was formed and clothed in the three colours, green, red, and white. The Duke de Serbelloni was appointed to command it. A triumphal arch was erected to receive the French general. On the 26th of Floreal (May 15), a month after the opening of the campaign, Bonaparte made his entry into Milan. The whole population of the capital went forth to meet him. The national guard was under arms. The municipality came and delivered to him the keys of the city. Acclamations accompanied him all the way to the Serbelloni palace, where quarters were prepared for him. He had now won the imagination of the Italians, as well as that of the soldiers, and he could act by moral force as powerfully as by physical force.

It was not his intention to stay long in Milan, any more than he had done at Cherasco after the submission of Piedmont. He meant to remain there merely sufficient time to organize the province temporarily, to draw from it the resources requisite for his army, and to regulate everything upon his rear. His plan was still to hasten afterwards to the Adige and Mantua, and, if possible, to penetrate into the Tyrol and beyond the Alps.

The Austrians had left two thousand men in the citadel of Milan. Bonaparte caused it to be immediately invested. It was agreed with the commandant of the citadel that he should not fire upon the city, for it was Austrian property, which he had no interest in destroying. The operations of the siege were forthwith commenced.

Bonaparte, without entering into any specific engagement with the Milanese, or promising them an independence which he could not insure to them, nevertheless, encouraged sufficient hopes to excite their patriotism. He held energetic language to them, and said, that, to obtain liberty, they ought to deserve it by assisting to emancipate Italy for ever from Austria. He instituted a provisional municipal administration; he caused national guards to be everywhere formed, in order to give Lombardy a commencement of military organization. He then turned his attention to the wants of his army, and was obliged to impose on the Milanese a contribution of twenty millions. This measure appeared to him detrimental, because it must retard the march of the public mind; but it was indispensable, and it excited, nevertheless, no very great discontent. Owing to the magazines found in Piedmont, and to the corn furnished by the Duke of Parma, the army had abundance of provisions. The soldiers grew fat, eating good bread and good meat, and drinking excellent wine. They were satisfied, and began to observe strict discipline. All that was now left to be done, was to clothe them. They had still the same old clothes as in the Alps; they were in rags, and were imposing only by their renown, their martial bearing, and their admirable discipline. Bonaparte soon found new resources. The Duke of Modena, whose states bordered upon the Po, below those of the Duke of Parma, despatched envoys to obtain the same condi-

* "It was in memory of this mission, that Napoleon, when King of Italy, created the duchy of Lodi, in favour of Melzi."—*Montholon*. E.

tions as the latter. This avaricious prince, seeing all his predictions realized, had fled to Venice with his treasures, leaving the government of his dominions to a regency. Not wishing, however, to ruin them, he applied to negotiate. Bonaparte could not grant peace, but he was at liberty to grant armistices, which were equivalent to it, and which rendered him master of all the states of Italy. He required ten millions, supplies of all kinds, horses and pictures.

With the resources which he had thus obtained in the country, he established on the banks of the Po, large magazines, hospitals furnished with necessaries for the accommodation of fifteen thousand sick, and filled all the chests of the army. Deeming himself rich enough, he even sent off some millions to Genoa for the Directory. As he knew, moreover, that the army of the Rhine was in want of funds, and that this penury prevented it from taking the field, he sent a million, by way of Switzerland, to Moreau. It was an act of kindness to a comrade, that was both honourable and serviceable to himself; for it was of importance that Moreau should take the field, to prevent the Austrians from directing their principal forces against Italy.

On consideration of all these things, Bonaparte was still more confirmed in his plans. It was not necessary, in his opinion, to march against the princes of Italy; it was requisite to act against the Austrians only. So long as he should be able to resist them and to prevent their return into Lombardy, all the Italian states, trembling under the ascendancy of the French army, would submit one after another. The Dukes of Parma and Modena had submitted. Rome and Naples would do the same, if he continued master of the gates of Italy. It was requisite, in like manner, not to be precipitate in regard to the people, and, without overthrowing governments, to wait till the subjects should rise of their own accord.

But, amidst these just ideas, these vast plans, he was stopped short by a most mortifying circumstance. The Directory was enchanted with his services. Carnot, on reading his despatches, written with energy and precision, but with extreme warmth of imagination, was alarmed at his gigantic plans. He justly thought, that to attempt to traverse the Tyrol and to cross the Alps a second time, was too extravagant a scheme, nay, even impossible; but, in his turn, to correct the plan of the young general, he conceived another far more dangerous. Lombardy being conquered, the French ought to advance, according to Carnot, into the Peninsula, to punish the Pope and the Bourbons of Naples, and to drive the English from Leghorn, where the Duke of Tuscany suffered them to be masters. To this end, Carnot, in the name of the Directory, ordered the army of Italy to be divided into two: one part under Kellermann, to be left in Lombardy: the other, under the command of Bonaparte, to march upon Rome and Naples. This disastrous plan renewed the fault which the French have always committed, that of penetrating into the Peninsula before they were masters of Upper Italy. It is not with the Pope, or with Naples, that the possession of Italy ought to be disputed, but with the Austrians. In this case, the line of operation is not on the Tiber, but on the Adige. Impatience to possess, has always urged us on to Rome and Naples, and, while we have been overrunning the Peninsula, we have always found the road closed upon us. It was natural that republicans should wish to chastise a Pope and a Bourbon; but they committed the same blunder as the ancient kings of France.

Bonaparte, in his plan for throwing himself into the valley of the Danube, had kept the Austrians alone in view. It was the exaggeration of truth in

a sound but young mind. With such a conviction, then, he could not consent to march into the Peninsula; besides, aware of the importance of unity of direction in a conquest which required as much political as military genius, he could not endure the idea of sharing the command with an old general, brave, but of moderate abilities, and full of vanity. This was in him that just egotism of genius, which is anxious to perform its task alone, because it feels that itself alone is capable of performing it. He behaved here as in the field of battle. He hazarded his future prospects, and tendered his resignation in a letter equally respectful and bold.* He was aware that the Directory durst not accept it; but it is certain that he would much rather have resigned than obeyed, because he could not consent to suffer his glory and the army to be thrown away in the execution of a vicious plan.

Opposing the most luminous reason to the errors of Carnot, he said that the French ought to continue to make head against the Austrians, and to attend to them alone: that a mere division, marching upon the Po and Ancona, would frighten the Peninsula, and force Rome and Naples to beg for quarter. He prepared immediately to leave Milan, to hasten to the Adige, and to lay siege to Mantua. There he proposed to wait for fresh orders from the Directory and a reply to his despatches.

He published a new proclamation to his soldiers, which could not fail to strike their imagination strongly, and which was also calculated to make a powerful impression on that of the Pope and the King of Naples:

"Soldiers! you have rushed like a torrent from the top of the Apennines; you have overthrown, dispersed, everything that opposed your progress. Piedmont, delivered from Austrian tyranny, has returned to her natural sentiments of peace and friendship for France. Milan is yours, and the republican flag waves throughout all Lombardy. The Dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity alone. The army which proudly threatens you finds no longer any barrier to secure it against your courage: the Po, the Tesino, and the Adda, have not stopped you for a single day; those highly vaunted bulwarks of Italy have proved insufficient; you have passed them as rapidly as the Apennines. These successes have produced joy in the bosom of the country; your representatives have ordered a festival dedicated to your victories, which are celebrated in all the communes of the republic. There your fathers, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your sweethearts, are rejoicing in your achievements, and boasting with pride that you belong to them. Yes, soldiers! you have done much; but is there nothing more left for you to do? Shall it be said of us that we knew how to conquer, but not how to follow up the victory? Shall posterity reproach you with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I see you already running to arms. Well! let us set out! We have still forced marches to make, enemies to subdue, laurels to gather, injuries to revenge. Let those who have whetted the daggers of civil war in France, who have basely assassinated our ministers, who burned our ships at Toulon—let those tremble! The hour of vengeance has struck; but let not the people be alarmed; we are friends of the people everywhere, and more particularly of the descendants of the Brutuses, the Scipios, and the great

* The following are the terms in which Napoleon addressed Carnot on this occasion: "Kellermann would command the army as well as I; for no one is more convinced than I am of the courage and audacity of the soldiers; but to unite us together would ruin everything. I will not serve with a man who considers himself the first general in Europe; and it is better to have one bad general than two good ones. War is, like government, decided in a great degree by tact." E.

men whom we have taken for our models. To re-establish the Capitol, to set up there with honour the statues of the heroes who rendered it celebrated; to rouse the Roman people, stupefied by several centuries of slavery—such will be the fruit of our victories. They will form an epoch with posterity. You will have the immortal glory of changing the face of the finest portion of Europe. The French people, free, and respected by the whole world, will give to Europe a glorious peace, which will indemnify her for the sacrifices of all kinds that she has been making for the last six years. You will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens, pointing to you, will say, *He belonged to the army of Italy.*"*

After a stay of only a week at Milan, he left it on the 2d of Prairial (May 22), to proceed to Lodi, and to advance towards the Adige.

While Bonaparte was pursuing his march, an unexpected event suddenly recalled him to Milan. The nobles, the monks, the servants of the fugitive families, a multitude of creatures of the Austrian government, prepared a revolt against the French army. They spread a report that Beaulieu, having been reinforced, was at hand with sixty thousand men; that the Prince of Condé was coming through Switzerland upon the rear of the republicans, and that they were on the brink of destruction. The priests, availing themselves of their influence over some of the peasantry, who had suffered from the passage of the army, excited them to take arms. Bonaparte having just quitted Milan, the moment was deemed favourable for carrying the revolt into execution, and for raising all Lombardy on his rear. The garrison of the citadel of Milan gave the signal by a sortie. The tocsin was immediately rung throughout the whole surrounding country; and armed peasants repaired to Milan, to make themselves masters of the city. But the division which Bonaparte had left to blockade the citadel quickly forced the garrison to fall back within its walls, and drove out the peasants who ventured to make their appearance. In the environs of Pavia the insurgents were more successful. They entered that city, and made themselves masters of it, in spite of the three hundred men whom Bonaparte had left in garrison there. These three hundred men, fatigued or sick, shut themselves up in a fort, to escape being slaughtered. The insurgents surrounded the fort, and summoned it to surrender. A French general, passing at that moment through Pavia, was seized, and obliged, while a dagger was held to his throat, to sign an order, commanding the garrison to open its gates. The order was signed and executed.

This revolt might produce disastrous consequences. It might provoke a general insurrection and bring ruin on the French army. The public mind of a nation is always more advanced in the cities than in the country. While the population of the cities of Italy was declaring for us, the peasants, excited by the monks, and suffering severely from the passage of the armies, were most unfavourably disposed. Bonaparte was at Lodi, when, on the 4th of Prairial (May 24), he received intelligence of the occurrences at Milan and Pavia. He immediately turned back with three hundred horse, a battalion of grenadiers, and six pieces of cannon. Order was already restored in Milan. He pursued his route to Pavia, sending the Archbishop of Milan before him. The insurgents had pushed an advanced guard as far as the village of Binasco. Lannes dispersed it. Bonaparte, conceiving that it behoved him to act with promptitude and energy, in order to put an end to the evil in its birth, caused the village to be set on fire, that the

* "On reading over this proclamation one day at St. Helena, the Emperor exclaimed, 'And yet they have the folly to say that I could not write!'"—*Las Cases*. E.

sight of the flames might strike terror into Pavia. On arriving before that city, he halted. It contained thirty thousand inhabitants; it was enclosed within an old wall, and it was occupied by seven or eight thousand insurgent peasants. They had closed the gates and manned the walls. To take this city with three hundred horse and one battalion was no easy matter; yet there was no time to lose, for the army was already on the Oglio, and it required the presence of its general. In the night, Bonaparte caused a threatening proclamation to be posted on the gates of Pavia, in which he said that a misled mob, without any real means of resistance, was defying an army triumphant over kings, and meant to plunge the people of Italy into ruin; that, adhering to this intention of not making war upon the people, he would pardon this act of madness, and leave a door open for repentance; but that those who should not instantly lay down their arms, should be treated as rebels, and their villages burned. The flames of Binasco, he added, ought to serve as a warning to them. In the morning, the peasants, who were masters of the city, refused to deliver it up. Bonaparte ordered the walls to be cleared with grape and howitzer-shot: he then brought up his grenadiers, who broke open the gates with hatchets. They forced their way into the city, and had to sustain a combat in the streets. The resistance, however, was not long. The peasants fled, and left unfortunate Pavia to the wrath of the conqueror. The soldiers, with loud shouts, demanded leave to pillage. Bonaparte, by way of giving a severe example, allowed them three hours to plunder.* They were scarcely a thousand men, and they could not do any great mischief in so large a city as Pavia. They fell upon the goldsmiths' shops, and secured a considerable quantity of jewelry. The most censurable act was the pillage of the Mont de Piété, but fortunately, in Italy, as in every other country where there are poor and vain individuals among the great, the Monts de Piété were full of articles belonging to the higher classes of the country. The houses of Spallanzani and Volta were preserved by the officers, who themselves guarded the dwellings of those illustrious votaries of science—an example doubly honourable to France and to Italy.

Bonaparte then despatched his horse to the surrounding country, and ordered a great number of the insurgents to be put to death. This prompt severity produced universal submission, and overawed the party in Italy which was hostile to liberty and to France. It is painful to be obliged to employ such means; but Bonaparte was compelled to resort to them, upon pain of sacrificing his army and the destinies of Italy. The party of the monks trembled; the sufferings of Pavia, passing from mouth to mouth, were exaggerated; and the French army recovered its formidable reputation.

This affair finished, Bonaparte immediately returned to rejoin the army, which was on the Oglio, and about to enter the Venetian territory.

On the approach of the French army, the question so much agitated in Venice, whether to take part with Austria or France, was discussed anew by the senate. Some of the old oligarchy, who had retained a degree of energy, would have wished the republic to form an immediate alliance with Austria, the natural protector of all old despotisms; but Austrian ambition was dreaded for the future, and the vengeance of France at the moment. Besides, it would be necessary to take arms—a resolution

* "Pavia," said the Emperor, "is the only place I ever gave up to pillage. I had promised it to the soldiers for twenty-four hours; but after three hours I could bear it no longer, and put an end to it. Policy and morality are equally opposed to the system. Nothing is so certain to disorganize and completely ruin an army."—*Las Cases*. E.

extremely unpleasant to an enervated government. Some young members of the oligarchy, equally energetic, but less infatuated than their elders, likewise recommended a courageous determination. They proposed to raise a formidable armament, but to maintain the neutrality, and to threaten with fifty thousand men either of the powers which would violate the Venetian territory. This was a strong resolution, but too strong to be adopted. Some prudent persons, on the contrary, proposed a third course, namely, an alliance with France. Battaglia, the senator, a man of an acute, sagacious, and temperate mind, adduced arguments, which the lapse of time has invested, as it were, with the character of prophecies. In his opinion, neutrality, even an armed neutrality, was the worst of all determinations. It was impossible to make themselves respected, whatever force they displayed; and, not having attached either of the parties to their cause, they would, sooner or later, be sacrificed by both. It was absolutely necessary, therefore, to decide either for Austria or for France. Austria was for the moment driven out of Italy; and, even supposing her to possess the means of returning, she could not do so in less than two months, during which time the republic might be destroyed by the French army. Besides, the ambition of Austria was always more to be dreaded by Venice. She had always coveted her provinces in Illyria and Upper Italy, and would seize the first opportunity to possess herself of them. The only guarantee against this ambition was the power of France, which had nothing to envy Venice for, and which would always have an interest in defending her. France, it was true, professed principles which were repugnant to the Venetian nobility; but it was high time to make some indispensable sacrifices to the spirit of the age, and to yield to the nobles of the main land those concessions which could alone bind them to the republic and to the golden book. With some slight modifications in the ancient constitution, they might satisfy the ambition of all classes of Venetian subjects and attach France to them; if, moreover, they should take arms for the latter, they might hope, perhaps, to be rewarded for the services which they should have rendered by the spoils of Austria in Lombardy. In every case, repeated Battaglia, neutrality would be the very worst course for all parties.

This opinion, the wisdom of which time has demonstrated, too deeply wounded the pride and the prejudices of the old Venetian aristocracy to be adopted. It must also be observed that sufficient reliance was not placed on the duration of the French power in Italy, for Venice to seek an alliance with it. There was an ancient Italian adage which said that *Italy was the grave of the French*, and the Venetians were apprehensive lest they should afterwards find themselves exposed, without defence, to the wrath of Austria.

To these three courses one more convenient was preferred, and one more conformable with the routine and the weakness of this old government—unarmed neutrality. It was decided that *proveditori* should be sent to meet Bonaparte, to assure him of the neutrality of the republic, and to claim the respect due to the Venetian territory and subjects. A great dread of the French prevailed, but they were known to be easy and sensible to kind treatment. Orders were issued to all the agents of the government, to receive and to treat them in the best manner, and to pay particular attention to the officers and generals in order to gain their good will.

Bonaparte, on his arrival in the Venetian territory, had as much need of prudence as Venice herself. This power, though in the hands of an en-

feeble government, was still great. It behoved him not to indispose it to such a degree as to oblige it to take up arms; for then Upper Italy would be no longer tenable for the French; but it was also requisite, while observing the neutrality, to compel Venice to suffer us to remain upon her territory, to allow us to fight, and even to supply ourselves with provisions there, if possible. She had granted a passage to the Austrians: that was the reason which it would be necessary to urge for taking every liberty and demanding everything, while continuing within the limits of neutrality.

Bonaparte, on entering Brescia, published a proclamation, in which he declared that, in passing through the Venetian territory in pursuit of the imperial army, to which a passage had been granted, he should respect the territory and the inhabitants of the republic of Venice; that he should make his army observe the strictest discipline; that whatever it should take should be paid for; and that he should not forget the old ties which united the two republics. He was cordially received by the Venetian proveditore of Brescia, and continued his march. He had crossed the Oglio, which is the next stream to the Adda; he arrived before the Mincio, which, issuing from the lake of Garda, winds through the plain of the Mantuan, then, after a course of some leagues, forms a new lake, and at last falls into the Po. Beaulieu, reinforced by ten thousand men, had posted himself on the line of the Mincio, to defend it. An advanced guard of four thousand foot and two thousand horse was drawn up in advance of the river, at the village of Borghetto. The mass of the army occupied the position of Valeggio, beyond the Mincio; the reserve was a little farther back at Villa Franca; and detached corps guarded the course of the Mincio, above and below Valeggio. The Venetian town of Peschiera is situated on the Mincio, at the very point where it issues from the lake of Garda. Beaulieu, who wished to have that place, in order to gain a firmer support for the right of his line, deceived the Venetians, and, upon pretext of gaining a passage for fifty men, surprised the town and placed in it a strong garrison. It had a bastioned enclosure and eighty pieces of cannon.

Bonaparte, in advancing upon this line, wholly neglected Mantua, which was on his right, and which he had not yet time to blockade, and supported his left towards Peschiera. His plan was to cross the Mincio at Borghetto and Valeggio. To this end, it was requisite that he should deceive Beaulieu in regard to his intention. On this occasion, he had recourse to the same stratagem as at the passage of the Po. He directed one corps upon Peschiera and another upon Lonato, so as to alarm Beaulieu about the Upper Mincio, and to make him suppose that he designed to cross at Peschiera, or to turn the lake of Garda. At the same time, he directed his most serious attack against Borghetto. That village, situated in advance of the Mincio, was, as we have stated above, guarded by four thousand foot and two thousand horse. On the 9th of Prairial (May 29th), Bonaparte commenced the engagement. He had always had great trouble to make his cavalry fight. It was not accustomed to charge, because formerly very little use had been made of it, and it was, besides, intimidated by the high reputation of the German cavalry. Bonaparte was determined to bring it into action at all hazards, because he attached great importance to the services that it was capable of rendering. In advancing upon Borghetto, he distributed his grenadiers and his carbiniers on the right and left of his cavalry; he placed the artillery in the rear, and, having thus enclosed it, he launched it upon the enemy. Supported on either side, and led on by the impetuous Murat, it performed prodigies, and put to flight the Austrian

squadrons. The infantry then attacked the village of Borghetto and took it. The Austrians, retiring from it by the bridge leading from Borghetto to Valeggio, attempted to break it down. They actually succeeded in destroying one arch. But some grenadiers, led by General Gardanne, plunged into the Mincio, which was fordable in some places, and crossed it, holding their muskets above their heads, in defiance of the fire from the opposite heights. The Austrians fancied that they beheld the column of Lodi, and retired without destroying the bridge. The broken arch was repaired, and the army was enabled to cross. Bonaparte instantly started to ascend the Mincio with Augereau's division, in pursuit of the Austrians; but they declined battle the whole day. Leaving Augereau's division to continue the pursuit, he returned to Valeggio, where he found Massena's division beginning to make their soup. All at once the charge sounded, and the Austrian hussars dashed into the middle of the village. Bonaparte had scarcely time to escape. He mounted a horse and soon ascertained that this was one of the enemy's corps left to guard the Lower Mincio, and which was ascending the river to rejoin Beaulieu in his retreat towards the mountains. Massena ran to arms and gave chase to this division, which, however, succeeded in rejoining Beaulieu.

The Mincio was thus crossed. Bonaparte had decided for a second time the retreat of the Imperialists, who threw themselves definitively into the Tyrol. He had gained an important advantage, that of making his cavalry fight, and curing it of its dread of the Austrian cavalry. To this he attached great consequence. Before his time but little use was made of the cavalry, and he had judged that it might be rendered very serviceable by employing it to cover the artillery. He had calculated that the light artillery and the cavalry, seasonably employed, were capable of producing the effect of a mass of infantry of ten times the number. He began already to take a great liking to young Murat, who knew how to make his squadrons fight—a merit which he then considered as very rare among the officers of that army. The surprise which had endangered his person suggested another idea, namely, to form a corps to which he gave the name of guides. It was to consist of picked men, and its destination was to accompany him wherever he went. In this case, his personal safety was but a secondary consideration with him; he perceived the advantage of having always at hand a devoted corps, capable of the boldest actions. We shall hereafter see him, in fact, deciding important engagements by employing twenty-five of these brave fellows. He gave the command of this corps to a cavalry officer, possessing great coolness and intrepidity, and afterwards well-known by the name of Bessières.*

* "Jean Baptiste Bessières was born in 1768. His family was of humble origin. At an early age he obtained admission into the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI., and on the dissolution of that body was attached to the legion of the Pyrenees. In 1796 he joined the army of Italy, and was noticed for his bravery by Bonaparte, who entrusted him with the command of his *guides*, a corps which by successive augmentations became in the sequel the famous Imperial Guard, of which Bessières retained the command till his death. He attended the Emperor throughout his German campaigns, and fought at Jena, Friedland, and Eylau, exhibiting both valour and prudence. He then went to Spain, and defeated Cuesta in a pitched battle, which opened the way for the French to Madrid. At Wagram he led the French horse against the Austrian flank, and in 1812 went through the Russian campaign with honour. The opening of the next saw him in the place of Murat—at the head of the cavalry of the whole army. He was killed in the evening before the battle of Lutzen while forcing a defile. Marshal Bessières was an excellent soldier and a good man, and did all in his power to mitigate the horrors of war."—*Court and Camp of Bonaparte*. E.

"Bessières was a stouter man than Lannes, and, like him, he was from the South, as

Beaulieu, on evacuating Peschiera, had retreated to the Tyrol. A combat had taken place with the Austrian rear-guard, and it was not till after a very brisk action that the French army entered the town. The Venetians having been unable to recover it from Beaulieu, it had ceased to be neutral, and the French were authorized to establish themselves there. Bonaparte knew that the Venetians had been deceived by Beaulieu, and he resolved to avail himself of that circumstance to obtain from them all that he wished. He wanted the line of the Adda, and more particularly the important city of Verona, which commands the river; but, above all, he wanted to obtain supplies.

Foscarelli, the provveditore, an old Venetian oligarch, strongly wedded to his prejudices and full of hatred against France, was commissioned to repair to Bonaparte's head-quarters. He had been told that the general was highly enraged at what had happened at Peschiera, and report represented his anger as dreadful. Binasco and Pavia attested his severity; two armies destroyed and Italy conquered attested his power. The provveditore arrived at Peschiera full of terror, and, on setting out, he wrote to his government: *May God be pleased to accept me as a victim!* He was charged with the special mission of preventing the French from entering Verona. That city, which had afforded an asylum to the Pretender, was in the most painful anxiety. Young Bonaparte, who was subject to violent gusts of passion, but who could also feign them, omitted nothing to increase the fright of the provveditore. He inveighed vehemently against the Venetian government, which pretended to be neutral, and could not enforce respect for its neutrality; which, in suffering the Austrians to seize Peschiera, had exposed the army to the loss of a great number of brave fellows before that place. He said that the blood of his comrades cried for vengeance, and a signal vengeance they must have. The provveditore made many excuses for the Venetian authorities, and then adverted to the essential point, which was Verona. He declared that he had orders to forbid both the belligerent powers the entry into that city. Bonaparte replied that it was then too late; that Massena had already marched thither; that perhaps at that very moment he was setting fire to it, to punish a city which had had the insolence to consider itself for a moment as the capital of the French empire.*

the accent of both sufficiently testified; like him too, he had a mania for powder, but with a striking difference in the cut of his hair; a small lock at each side projected like little dog's ears, and his long and thin Prussian cue supplied the place of the *cadogan* of Lannes. He had good teeth, a slight cast in the eye, but not to a disagreeable extent; and a rather prepossessing address."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

"Bessières, Duke of Istria, always continued good, humane, and generous; of antique loyalty and integrity; and, whether considered as a citizen or a soldier, an honest, worthy man. He often made use of the high favour in which he stood to do extraordinary acts of kindness, even to people of very different ways of thinking from himself. He was adored by the guards, in the midst of whom he passed his life. At the battle of Wagram, a ball struck him off his horse, without doing him any further injury. A mournful cry arose from the whole battalion, upon which Napoleon remarked, the next time he saw him, 'Bessières, the ball which struck you drew tears from all my guard. Return thanks to it. It ought to be very dear to you.' After living like Bayard, Bessières died like Turenne. He was sincerely attached to the Emperor. Indeed, he almost worshipped him; and would certainly never have abandoned his person or his fortunes."—*Las Cases*. E.

* "To the Venetian commissioners, Napoleon, from the first, used the most insulting and rigorous language. 'Venice,' said he, 'by daring to give an asylum to the Count de Lille, a pretender to the throne of France, has declared war against the republic. I know not why I should not reduce Verona to ashes—a town which has had the presumption to esteem itself the capital of France.'"—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

The proveditore renewed his supplications, and Bonaparte, affecting to be somewhat appeased, replied that the utmost he could do was, if Massena had not already entered by main force, to grant a delay of twenty-four hours, after which he would employ bombs and cannon.

The awe-struck proveditore retired. He returned to Verona, where he gave directions for admitting the French. On their approach, the wealthiest inhabitants, conceiving that they should not be forgiven for the residence of the Pretender in their city, fled in great numbers to the Tyrol, carrying with them their most valuable effects. The Veronese, however, soon regained confidence on seeing the French, and on convincing themselves with their own eyes that these republicans were not so barbarous as rumour had represented them.

Two other Venetian envoys arrived at Verona to see Bonaparte. Erizzo and Battaglia, senators, had been chosen for this mission. The latter was the person who had recommended an alliance with France, and it was hoped at Venice that these new ambassadors would succeed better than Foscarelli in pacifying the general. He actually received them much more favourably than Foscarelli; and, now that he had attained the object of his wishes, he affected to be appeased, and to consent to listen to reason. What he wanted for the future was provisions, and, if possible, an alliance between Venice and France. It was requisite to be by turns haughty and winning. He was both. "The first law," said he, "for men is to live. I would gladly spare the republic of Venice the trouble of feeding us; but, since the fortune of war has obliged us to come hither, we are forced to live where we happen to be. Let the republic of Venice furnish my soldiers with what they need: she may afterwards settle with the French republic." It was agreed that a Jew contractor should procure for the army all that it wanted, and that Venice should secretly pay this contractor, that she might not appear to violate the neutrality by supplying the French. Bonaparte then adverted to the subject of an alliance. "I have just occupied the Adige," said he; "I have done so because I must have a line, because that is the best, and because your government is incapable of defending it. Let it arm fifty thousand men, let it place them on the Adige, and I will restore to it the towns of Verona and Porto Legnago. For the rest," added he, "you must be pleased to see us here. What France sends me to do in these parts is entirely for the interest of Venice. I am come to drive the Austrians beyond the Alps, perhaps to constitute Lombardy an independent state: can nothing more advantageous be done for your republic? If she would unite with us, no doubt she would be handsomely rewarded for that service. We are not making war upon any government: we are the friends of all those who shall assist us to confine the Austrian power within its proper limits."

The two Venetians retired, struck by the genius of this young man, who, alternately threatening and caressing, imperious and supple, and conversing on all subjects, military and political, with equal profundity and eloquence, demonstrated that the statesman was as precocious in him as the warrior. "*That man,*" they observed, writing to Venice, "*will some day have great influence over his country.*"*

Bonaparte was, at length, master of the line of the Adige, to which he attached so much importance. He attributed all the blunders committed in the ancient campaigns of the French in Italy to the injudicious choice of the defensive line. The lines are numerous in Upper Italy, for a multi-

* The date of this prediction is June 5, 1796.

tude of rivers run from the Alps to the sea. The largest and the most celebrated of them, the Po, which traverses all Lombardy, was in his opinion bad, as being too extensive. In his opinion, an army could not guard a stream fifty leagues in length. A feint might always open the passage of a large river. He had himself crossed the Po, a few leagues from Beaulieu. The other rivers, such as the Tesino, the Adda, the Oglio, falling into the Po, mingled with it, and had the same inconveniences. The Mincio was fordable, and besides, that also fell into the Po. The Adige alone, coming from the Tyrol and running to the sea, covered all Italy. It was deep, and had only one channel, of no great extent, from the mountains to the sea. It was covered by two fortified places, Verona and Porto Legnago, which were very near each other, and which, without being strong, were capable of withstanding a first attack. Lastly, on leaving Legnago, it traversed impassable morasses, which covered the lower part of its course. The rivers farther on in Upper Italy, such as the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, were fordable, and, besides, were turned by the high-road from Tyrol, which debouched behind them. The Adige had the advantage of being placed at the outlet of that road, which runs through its own valley.

Such were the reasons which had decided Bonaparte in favour of that line, and a glorious campaign proved the accuracy of his judgment. This line being occupied, it now behoved him to think of commencing the siege of Mantua. This place was situated on the Mincio; it was behind the Adige, and was covered by that river. It was regarded as the bulwark of Italy. Situated amidst a lake formed by the waters of the Mincio, it communicated with the main land by five dikes. Notwithstanding its ancient fame, and that which a long campaign procured it, this fortress had inconveniences which diminished its real strength. Seated amidst marshy exhalations, it was liable to fevers; in the next place, the *têtes de chaussées* being carried, the besieged would be driven back in the place, and might be blockaded by a corps far inferior to the garrison. Bonaparte calculated upon taking it before a new army could come to the succour of Italy. On the 15th of Prairial (June 14), he ordered the *têtes de chaussées*, one of which was formed by the suburb of St. George, to be attacked, and carried them. From that moment, Serrurier, with eight thousand men, was enabled to blockade a garrison composed of fourteen thousand, ten of which were under arms and four in the hospitals. Bonaparte caused the works of the siege to be commenced, and the whole line of the Adige to be put in a state of defence. Thus, in less than two months, he had conquered Italy. The point now was, to keep it. This was matter of doubt, and it was the test by which people meant to try the young general.

The Directory had just replied to Bonaparte's letters on the plan for dividing the army and marching into the Peninsula. The ideas of Bonaparte were too correct not to strike Carnot's mind, and his services too eminent to admit of his resignation being accepted. The Directory hastened to write to him, to approve of his plans, to confirm him in the command of all the forces acting in Italy, and to assure him of the entire confidence of the government.* If the magistrates of the republic had possessed the

* "The Directory (wrote Carnot to Napoleon) has maturely considered your arguments; and the confidence which they have in your talents and republican zeal, have decided the matter in your favour. Kellermann will remain at Chambery, and you may adjourn the expedition to Rome as long as you please."—*Memoirs of Prince Hardenberg*. E.

vigilance and reinforced all his posts. Both sides claimed his assistance. He replied that he could not interfere in the quarrels of Venetian subjects with their government, and said that the doubling of the posts was only a precaution for the safety of the place committed to his charge. In executing his orders and remaining neutral, he did a great deal for the people of Bergamo. They assembled on the following day, March 12, formed a provisional municipality, declared the town of Bergamo free, and drove away Ottolini, the podesta, who retired with the Venetian troops. They immediately sent an address to Milan to obtain the support of the Lombards. The conflagration could not fail to spread rapidly to Brescia, and to all the neighbouring cities. No sooner had the inhabitants of Bergamo asserted their freedom, than they sent a party to Brescia. The presence of these Bergamascans excited the Brescians to rise. Bataglia, the same Venetian who had given such prudent counsel in the deliberations of the senate, was podesta of Brescia. Conceiving himself unable to resist, he withdrew. The Revolution of that city took place on the 15th of March. The flame continued to spread, proceeding along the foot of the mountains. From Bergamo and Brescia it communicated to Salò, where the Revolution was accomplished in like manner by the arrival of Bergamascans and Brescians, by the retreat of the Venetian authorities, and in presence of the French garrisons, which remained neuter, and whose aspect, though they said nothing, filled the revolvers with hope. This rising of the patriotic party in the towns could not fail of course to determine the rising of the opposite party in the mountains and in the country. The mountaineers and the peasants, armed long before by Ottolini, received the signal from the Capuchins and the monks who came to preach in the hamlets. They prepared to go and sack the insurgent towns and to butcher the French, if they could. From that moment, the French generals could no longer remain inactive, although they wished to continue neuter. They were too well acquainted with the intentions of the mountaineers and of the peasants to suffer them to take up arms; and, without wishing to give support to either party, they found themselves obliged to interfere, and to quell that which entertained and proclaimed hostile intentions against themselves. Kilmaine immediately ordered General Lahoz, commanding the Lombard legion, to march towards the mountains to oppose their arming. It was not his wish any more than his duty, to throw obstacles in the way of the operations of the Venetian regular troops, if they came to act against the insurgent towns; but he could not suffer a rising, the result of which was incalculable in case of a defeat in Austria. He immediately despatched couriers to Bonaparte, and sent to hasten the march of Victor's division, which was returning from the Papal states.

The government of Venice, like all blind governments, which will not prevent danger by granting what is indispensable, was alarmed at these events, as if they had been unforeseen. It immediately despatched the troops which it had long been collecting, and marched them towards the towns on the right bank of the Mincio. At the same time, persuaded that the French were the secret influence which it was necessary to conciliate, they addressed themselves to Lallemand, the minister of France, inquiring if, in this emergency, the republic of Venice could rely on the friendship of the Directory. Lallemand's reply was simple, and dictated by his position. He declared that he had no instructions from his government for this case, which was true: but he added that, if the Venetian government would introduce into its constitution such modifications as were

required by the wants of the times, he thought that France would cheerfully support it. Lallemand could not have given any other answer; for, if France had offered her alliance to Venice against the other powers, she had never offered it to her against her own subjects; and she could not offer it to her against them, but on condition of the adoption of wise and rational principles. The great council of Venice deliberated on Lallemand's reply. It was several centuries since the proposal of a change of constitution had been publicly made. Out of two hundred votes it obtained but five. About fifty were for the adoption of energetic measures; but one hundred and eighty declared in favour of a slow, gradual reform, deferred till quieter times, that is, in favour of an evasive determination. It was resolved to send immediately two deputies to Bonaparte, to sound his intentions and to solicit his aid. One of the sages of the *terra firma*, J. B. Cornaro, and Pezaro, the well-known proveditore, whom we have seen more than once in the presence of the general, were the persons selected for this mission.

Kilmaine's couriers and the Venetian envoys reached Bonaparte at the moment when his bold manœuvres had insured to him the line of the Alps, and opened the hereditary states. He was at Gorice, settling the capitulation of Trieste. He learned with real pain the events that were occurring on his rear, and to be certain of this, it is sufficient to consider the audacity and the danger of his march upon Vienna. Besides, his despatches to the Directory attest the concern which he felt, and it shows but little judgment to assert that he did not express his real sentiments in those despatches, since he made no scruple of avowing his least creditable artifices against the Italian governments. But what could he do under such circumstances? It would not be generous in him to repress by force the party which proclaimed our principles, which welcomed, which caressed, our troops, and to give the triumph to a party which was ready, in case of a reverse, to annihilate our principles and our armies. He resolved to avail himself of this circumstance to make one more attempt to obtain from the envoys of Venice the concessions and the succours which he had not yet been able to wring from them. He received the two envoys politely, and gave them an audience on the 5th of Germinal (March 25). "For me to arm against my friends," said he, "against those who welcome us and are ready to defend us, in favour of my enemies, in favour of those who detest and would fain slaughter us, is an absolute impossibility. This base policy is as far from my heart as from my interest. Never will I lend my aid against the principles for which France has achieved her revolution, and to which I owe in part the success of my arms. But I offer you once more my friendship and my advice. Ally yourselves frankly with France; draw nearer to her principles; make modifications indispensably necessary to your constitution; then I will answer for everything, and, without employing violence, to which I cannot possibly resort, I will obtain by my influence over the people of Italy, and by the assurance of a more rational system, the restoration of order and of peace. This result would be for your own advantage as well as mine."

This language, which was sincere, and the wisdom of which needs no demonstration, was not relished by the Venetian envoys, and especially by Pezaro. This was not what they wanted. They were desirous that Bonaparte should restore the fortresses which he had occupied by way of precaution in Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona; that he should permit the arming of the fanatic party against the patriotic party, and that he should

to leave Genoa. He then demanded a categorical explanation. "Can you," he asked, "or can you not, clear your territory of the murderers who infest it? If you cannot take measures, I will take them for you. I will cause the towns and villages to be burned in which a murder shall be committed; I will cause the houses to be burned that shall afford an asylum to the murderers, and punish in an exemplary manner the magistrates who shall tolerate them. The murder of a Frenchman must bring woe upon the whole communes which have not prevented it." To obviate diplomatic delays, he sent Murat, his aide-de-camp, to carry his letter, and to read it himself to the Senate. "There needs," he observed, writing to Faypoult, the minister, "a kind of communication that shall electrify those gentry." At the same time, he despatched Lannes with twelve hundred men to chastise the imperial fiefs. The mansion of Augustin Spinola, the principal instigator of the revolt, was burned. The Barbets taken in arms were shot without mercy. The senate of Genoa, in consternation, displaced the governor of Novi, dismissed Gerola, the minister, and promised to have the roads guarded by its own troops. It sent Vincent Spinola to Paris, to come to an arrangement with the Directory about all matters in dispute, about the indemnity due for the *Modeste* frigate, about the expulsion of the feudatory families, and about the repeal of the exiled families.

Bonaparte then proceeded to Modena, where he arrived on the 1st of Messidor (June 19), and on the same day Augereau entered Bologna.

The enthusiasm of the Modenese was extreme. They went to meet him, and sent a deputation to compliment him. The principal of them beset him with solicitations, and implored him to emancipate them from the yoke of their duke, who had carried off the wealth squeezed out of them to Venice. As the regency left by the duke had faithfully adhered to the terms of the armistice, and Bonaparte had no reason to exercise the rights of conquest on the duchy, he could not satisfy the Modenese. It was, besides, a question of which policy counselled the adjournment. He contented himself with holding out hopes, and recommended quiet. He set out for Bologna. The fort of Urbino was on his route; it was the first place belonging to the Pope. He sent to summon it; the castle surrendered. It contained sixty pieces of cannon of large calibre, and a few hundred men. Bonaparte sent off this heavy artillery for Mantua, to be employed in the siege. He arrived at Bologna, where Augereau's division had preceded him. The joy of the inhabitants was most vehement.* Bologna is a city of about fifty thousand souls, magnificently built, celebrated for its artists, its men of science, and its university. Their love for France and hatred for the Holy See were carried to the highest pitch. Bonaparte was not afraid there to suffer sentiments of liberty to burst forth; for he was in the possessions of a declared enemy, the Pope, and he was justified in exercising the right of conquest. The two legations of Ferrara and Bologna beset him with their deputies; and he granted to them a provisional independence, promising to cause it to be acknowledged at the peace.

The Vatican was in alarm, and immediately sent a negotiator to intercede in its favour. D'Azara, the ambassador of Spain, known for his abili-

* "Napoleon's appearance at Bologna was the signal for universal intoxication. The people at once revolted against the papal authority, while the general encouraged the propagation of every principle which was calculated to dismember the ecclesiastical territories."—*Alison*. E.

ties and his partiality for France, and the minister of a friendly power, was chosen. He had already negotiated for the Duke of Parma. He arrived at Bologna, to lay the tiara at the feet of the victorious republic. Adhering to his plan, Bonaparte, who would not yet either demolish or build up, required in the first place that the legations of Bologna and Ferrara should remain independent, that the city of Ancona should receive a French garrison, that the Pope should give twenty-one millions, corn, cattle, and one hundred pictures or statues: these conditions were accepted. Bonaparte had a long conversation with D'Azara, and left him full of enthusiasm. He wrote a letter, in the name of the republic, to Oriani, the celebrated astronomer, desiring to see him. That modest cultivator of science was thunderstruck in the presence of the young conqueror, and paid homage to him only by his embarrassment. Bonaparte omitted nothing to honour Italy, and to rouse her pride and her patriotism. He was not a barbarous conqueror come to ravage, but a champion of liberty come to rekindle the torch of genius in the ancient land of civilization. He left Monge, Berthollet, and the brothers Thouin, whom the Directory had sent to him, to select the articles destined for the museums of Paris.

On the 8th of Messidor (June 26th), he crossed the Apennines with Vaubois's division and entered Tuscany. The duke, in alarm, sent to him Manfredini, his minister. Bonaparte strove to allay his fears, but without disclosing his intentions. Meanwhile, his column proceeded by forced marches to Leghorn, entered the city unawares, and took possession of the English factory. Spannochi, the governor, was seized, put into a post-chaise, and sent to the grand-duke, with a letter explaining the motives of this act of hostility committed against a friendly power. He was told that his governor had violated all the laws of neutrality, by oppressing French commerce, by affording an asylum to the emigrants and to all the enemies of the republic; and it was added that, out of respect for his authority, the punishment of an unfaithful servant was left to himself. This act of vigour proved to all the neutral states that the French general would take their police into his own hands, if they could not manage it themselves. All the vessels of the English could not be secured; but their commerce sustained a great loss. Bonaparte left a garrison at Leghorn, and appointed commissioners to see that everything belonging to the English, the Austrians, and the Russians, was given up. He then proceeded himself to Florence, where the grand-duke gave him a magnificent reception.* Having passed three days there, he recrossed the Po, on his return to his head-quarters at Roverbella, near Mantua. Thus in twenty days, and with one division marched *en échelon* on the right of the Po, he had overawed the powers of Italy, and insured tranquillity during the fresh struggles which he had still to maintain against the Austrian power.

* "Bonaparte contented himself with seizing on the grand-duke's seaport of Leghorn, confiscating the English goods which his subjects had imported, and entirely ruining the once flourishing commerce of the dukedom. It was a principal object with the French to seize the British merchant-vessels, who, confiding in the respect due to a neutral power, were lying in great numbers in the harbour; but the English merchantmen had such early intelligence, as enabled them to set sail for Corsica, although a very great quantity of valuable goods fell into the possession of the French. While Bonaparte was thus violating the neutrality of the grand-duke, and destroying the commerce of his state, that unhappy prince was compelled to receive him at Florence, with all the respect due to a valued friend."—*Scott's Life of Napoleon*. E.

While the army of Italy was acquitting itself with such glory of the task imposed upon it in the general plan of the campaign, the armies of Germany had not yet put themselves in motion. The difficulty of forming magazines and procuring horses had kept them so long inactive. Austria, on her part, who would have had the strongest interest in briskly commencing the campaign, was inconceivably dilatory in her preparations, so that she would not be in a state to commence hostilities before the middle of Prairial (the beginning of June). Her armies were on a formidable footing, and far superior to ours. But our successes in Italy had obliged her to detach Wurmsers with thirty thousand of her best troops from the Rhine, to collect and reorganize the wrecks of Beaulieu's army. The Aulic council, which had resolved to take the offensive, and to carry the theatre of the war into the heart of our provinces, thenceforth thought only of keeping the defensive, and opposing our invasion. It would even have gladly suffered the armistice to continue; but it was denounced, and hostilities were to commence on the 12th of Prairial (May 31).

We have already given an idea of the theatre of war. The Rhine and the Danube, issuing, the one from the high Alps, the other from the Alps of Swabia, after approaching each other in the environs of the Lake of Constance, separate, and run, the first of them towards the north and the second towards the east of Europe. Two transverse and almost parallel valleys, those of the Mayn and the Neckar, form, as it were, two passes through the chain of the Swabian Alps into the valley of the Danube, or from the valley of the Danube into that of the Rhine.

This theatre of war, and the plan of operation suitable to it, were not then so well known as, owing to great examples, they now are. Carnot, who directed our plans, had formed a theory for himself from the celebrated campaign of 1794, which had gained him so much glory in Europe. At that period, the enemy's centre, intrenched in the forest of Mormale, could not be touched; the French had filed off upon his wings, and by attacking them had obliged him to retreat. This example had deeply engraven itself in Carnot's memory. Endowed with an innovating but systematic mind, he had formed a theory from that campaign, and persuaded himself that it was always requisite to act at once on both wings of an army, and to strive invariably to overpower them. Military men have considered this idea as a real advance, and as being far preferable to the system of cordons, tending to attack the enemy at all points; but on Carnot's mind it had changed into a settled and dangerous system. The circumstances which here presented themselves held out a still stronger inducement to follow this system. The army of the Sambre and Meuse and that of the Rhine and Moselle were both placed upon the Rhine at points very far distant from one another; two valleys ran off at these points and debouched upon the Danube. There were sufficient motives for Carnot to form the French into two columns, one of which, ascending along the Mayn, the other along the Neckar, should thus tend to fall upon the wings of the Imperial army, and to force them to retire upon the Danube. He, therefore, directed Generals Jourdan and Moreau to set out, the former from Düsseldorf, the latter from Strasburg, and to advance separately into Germany. As a great captain and a shrewd critic have remarked, and as facts have since proved, to form into two corps was at once to give the enemy the faculty and the idea of concentrating himself, and of overwhelming one or other of these corps with the entire mass of

his forces. Clairfayt had made very nearly this manœuvre in the late campaign, by first driving Jourdan back upon the Lower Rhine, and then falling upon the lines of Mayence. If even the enemy's general were not a superior man, we forced him to adopt this plan, and suggested to him an idea which genius ought to have inspired.

The invasion was, therefore, concerted on this vicious plan. The means of execution were as injudicious as the plan itself. The line which separated the armies ran along the Rhine from Düsseldorf to Bingen, then described an arc from Bingen to Mannheim, by the foot of the Vosges, and followed the Rhine again to Basle. Carnot's intention was that Jourdan's army, debouching by Düsseldorf and the *tête de pont* of Neuwied, should cross, to the number of forty thousand men, to the right bank, to get at the enemy; that the rest of that army, twenty-five thousand strong, setting out from Mayence, under the command of Marceau, should ascend the Rhine, and filing off in the rear of Moreau, should clandestinely cross the river in the environs of Strasburg. Generals Jourdan and Moreau joined in representing the inconveniences of this plan to the Directory. Jourdan, reduced to forty thousand men on the Lower Rhine, might be overwhelmed and destroyed, while the rest of his army would lose incalculable time in ascending from Mayence to Strasburg. It was much more natural that the passage near Strasburg should be effected by the extreme right of Moreau. This mode of proceeding promised quite as much secrecy as the other, and would not occasion a loss of valuable time to the armies. This modification was admitted. Jourdan, availing himself of the two *têtes de pont* which he had at Düsseldorf and Neuwied, was to cross first, to draw the enemy upon him, and thus to divert his attention from the Upper Rhine, where Moreau had to effect a passage by main force.

The plan being thus fixed, preparations were made for putting it into execution. The armies of the two nations were nearly equal in force. Since the departure of Wurmser, the Austrians had on the whole line of the Rhine one hundred and fifty and a few odd thousand men, cantoned between Basle and the environs of Düsseldorf. The French had as many, exclusively of forty thousand who occupied Holland, and were maintained at its own expense. There was, however, a difference between the two armies. The Austrians had, in their one hundred and fifty thousand men, nearly thirty-eight thousand horse, and one hundred and fifteen thousand foot; the French had more than one hundred and thirty thousand foot, but at most only fifteen or eighteen thousand horse. This superiority in cavalry gave the Austrians a great advantage, especially for retreat. The Austrians had another advantage, that of being commanded by a single general. Since the departure of Wurmser, the two Imperial armies had been placed under the supreme command of the young Archduke Charles, who had already distinguished himself at Turcoing, and from whose talents great things were augured. The French had two excellent generals, but acting separately, at a great distance from one another, and under the direction of a cabinet seated two hundred leagues from the theatre of the war.

The armistice expired on the 11th of Prairial (May 30). Hostilities commenced by a general reconnoissance of the advanced posts. Jourdan's army extended, as we have seen, from the environs of Mayence to Düsseldorf. He had at Düsseldorf a *tête de pont* for debouching on the right bank; he could then ascend between the Prussian line of neutrality and

the Rhine to the banks of the Lahn, with a view to proceed from the Lahn to the Mayn. The Austrians had from fifteen to twenty thousand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, scattered between Mayence and Düsseldorf. Jourdan sent Kleber to debouch by Düsseldorf with twenty-five thousand men. That general made the Austrians fall back, beat them on the 16th of Prairial (June 4), at Altenkirchen, and ascended the right bank between the line of neutrality and the Mayn. When he had proceeded as high as Neuwied, and had covered that *débouché*, Jourdan, availing himself of the bridge which he had at that point, crossed the river with part of his troops and rejoined Kleber on the right bank. He thus found himself with nearly forty-five thousand men on the Lahn, on the 17th (June 5). He had left Marceau with thirty thousand before Mayence. The Archduke Charles,* who was near Mayence, on learning that the French were repeating the excursion of the preceding year, and again debouching by Düsseldorf and Neuwied, crossed with part of his forces to the right bank to oppose their march. Jourdan purposed to attack the corps of the Prince of Wirtemberg before he should be reinforced; but, being obliged to defer his intention for a day, he lost the opportunity, and was himself attacked at Wetzlar on the 19th (June 7). He bordered the Lahn, having his right on the Rhine, and his left on Wetzlar. The archduke, pressing with the mass of his forces on Wetzlar, beat his extreme left, formed by Lefebvre's division, and obliged it to fall back. Jourdan, beaten on the left, was obliged to support himself on his right, which was near the Rhine; and was thus pushed toward that river. To avoid being thrown into it, he must attack the archduke. In this event he would be obliged to fight with his back to the Rhine; he might thus, in case of defeat, have to regain with difficulty his bridges at Neuwied and Düsseldorf, and, perhaps, sustain a disastrous rout. A battle would, therefore, be dangerous, and perhaps useless, since he had accomplished his object by attracting the attention of the enemy, and drawing off the Austrian forces from the Upper to the Lower Rhine. He thought it best, therefore, to fall back, and gave orders for retreat, which was effected coolly and firmly. He recrossed at Neuwied, and directed Kleber to descend again to Düsseldorf, and there return to the left bank. He recommended to him to march slowly, but not to involve himself in any serious action. Kleber, finding himself too closely pressed at Ukerath, and hurried away by his martial instinct, instantly faced about and dealt the enemy a vigorous but useless blow; after which he regained his intrenched camp at Düsseldorf. Jourdan, in advancing for the purpose of afterwards falling back, had performed an ungrateful task for the benefit of the army of the Rhine. Ill-informed persons might, in fact, consider this manœuvre as a defeat; but the devotedness of that brave general disregarded every consideration, and he waited, to resume the offensive, till the army of the Rhine should have profited by the diversion that he had just operated.

Moreau, who had displayed extraordinary prudence, firmness, and coolness, in the operations in which he had been previously engaged in the North, made all necessary dispositions for worthily performing his task.

* Napoleon entertained a high opinion of this illustrious military chief: "Prince Charles," said he, "is a man whose conduct can never attract blame. His soul belongs to the heroic age, but his heart to that of gold. More than all, he is a good man; and that includes everything when said of a prince."—*Duchess d'Abrantes*. E.

He had resolved to cross the Rhine at Strasburg. This large fortress was an excellent point of departure. He could there collect a great number of boats and troops, and a large quantity of provisions. The woody islands which stud the course of the Rhine at this point, favoured the passage of the river. The fort of Kehl, situated on the right bank, might be easily surprised; once in our possession, it might be repaired and employed to protect the bridge which was to be thrown across before Strasburg.

Everything being prepared for this purpose, and the attention of the enemy being directed to the Lower Rhine, Moreau ordered, on the 26th of Prairial (June 14), a general attack on the intrenched camp of Mannheim. The object of this attack was to fix upon Mannheim the attention of General Latour, who commanded the troops of the Upper Rhine under the Archduke Charles, and to confine the Austrians within their line. This attack, directed with skill and vigour, was completely successful. Immediately afterwards Moreau despatched part of his troops upon Strasburg. It was reported that they were going to Italy, and provisions were bespoken for them all through Franche-Comté, in order to give an air of semblance to that rumour. Other troops set out from the environs of Huningen to descend to Strasburg; and these, it was asserted, were going to garrison Worms. These movements were so concerted that the troops should arrive at the destined point on the 5th of Messidor (June 23). Accordingly, on that day twenty-eight thousand men were collected, either in the polygon of Strasburg, or in the environs, under the command of General Desaix. Ten thousand men were to endeavour to cross below Strasburg in the environs of Gamsheim, and fifteen thousand were to pass from Strasburg to Kehl. On the evening of the 5th (June 23d), the gates of Strasburg were shut, that information of the passage might not be given to the enemy. In the night, the troops proceeded in silence towards the river. The boats were taken into the Mabile branch, and from the Mabile branch into the Rhine. The large island of Ehrlen Rhine offered a favourable stepping-stone for the passage. The boats landed upon it two thousand six hundred men. These brave fellows, to avoid giving an alarm by the report of fire-arms, rushed with the bayonet upon the troops stationed in the island, pursued them, and did not allow them time to break down the little bridges which connect it with the right bank. They crossed these bridges at their heels, and, though neither the artillery nor the cavalry could follow them, they had the hardihood to debouch alone in the extensive plain which borders the river, and to approach Kehl. The Swabian contingent was encamped at some distance, at Wilstett. The detachments sent from it, and especially the cavalry, rendered the situation of the French infantry, which had dared to debouch on the right bank, very dangerous. It hesitated not, however, to despatch the boats which brought it, and thus to compromise its retreat, for the purpose of fetching succours. More troops arrived; they advanced upon Kehl, attacked the intrenchments with the bayonet, and carried them. The artillery found in the fort was immediately turned upon the enemy's troops coming from Wilstett, and they were repulsed. A bridge was then thrown over from Strasburg to Kehl, and finished the next day, the 7th (June 25th). The whole army now crossed it.* The ten thousand men

* "Such was the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, which, at the time, was celebrated as an exploit of the most glorious character. Without doubt, the secrecy, rapidity, and

sent to Gamsheim were unable to attempt the passage, on account of the swelling of the river. They ascended to Strasburg, and crossed there by means of the bridge which had just been constructed.

This operation had been executed with secrecy, precision, and boldness; but the distribution of the Austrian troops from Basle to Mannheim served materially to diminish the difficulty and the merit of it. The prince of Condé was with three thousand eight hundred men towards the Upper Rhine, at Breisach; the Swabian contingent, to the number of seven thousand five hundred, was near Wilstett, opposite to Strasburg, and nearly eight thousand men under Starrai, were encamped between Strasburg and Mannheim. The enemy's forces, therefore, were not formidable at this point, but this advantage itself was owing to the secrecy of the passage, and that secrecy to the prudence with which it had been prepared.

This situation afforded occasion for the most splendid triumphs. If Moreau had acted with the rapidity of the conqueror of Montenotte, he might have fallen upon the corps scattered along the river, destroyed them one after another, and even overwhelmed Latour, who recrossed from Mannheim to the right bank, and who, at the moment, had at most only thirty-six thousand men. He might thus have put the whole army of the Upper Rhine *hors de combat*, before the Archduke Charles could return from the banks of the Lahn. History demonstrates that rapidity is all-powerful in war, as in all situations of life. Anticipating the enemy, it destroys in detail; striking blow after blow, it gives him no time to recover himself, demoralizes him, takes from him all his presence of mind and courage. But this rapidity, of which we have just seen such bright examples on the Alps and on the Po, supposes more than mere activity; it supposes a great object, a great mind to conceive it, and great passions to dare pretend to it. Nothing great whatever is to be accomplished without passions, and without the ardour and the daring which they impart to the conceptions. Moreau, a man of luminous and firm mind, had not that impetuous ardour which, in the tribune, in war, and in all situations, hurries men away, and elevates them in spite of themselves to vast destinies.

Moreau took from the 7th to the 10th of Messidor (June 25th to the 28th) to assemble his divisions on the right bank of the Rhine. That of St. Cyr, which he had left at Mannheim, was coming by forced marches. While waiting for that division, he had at his disposal fifty-three thousand men, and he saw about twenty thousand scattered around him. On the 10th (June 28th), he attacked ten thousand Austrians intrenched on the Renchen, beat them, and took eight hundred prisoners. The wrecks of this corps fell back upon Latour, who was ascending the right bank. On the 12th (June 30th), St. Cyr having arrived, the whole army was beyond the river. It numbered sixty-three thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, forming a total of seventy-one thousand men. Moreau gave the right to Ferino, the centre to St. Cyr, the left to Desaix. He was at the foot of the Black Mountains.

The Alps of Swabia form a chain, which, as is well known, sends forth the Danube to the east and the Rhine to the north. Through this chain wind the Neckar and the Mayn to throw themselves into the Rhine. They

decision with which it was carried into effect, merit the highest eulogium. But the weakness and dispersion of the enemy's forces rendered it an enterprise of comparatively little hazard; and it was greatly inferior, both in point of difficulty and danger, to the passage of the same river in the following campaign at Dursheim."—*Alison*. E.

are mountains of moderate height, covered with wood and intersected by narrow defiles. The valley of the Rhine is separated from that of the Neckar by a chain called the Black Mountains. Moreau, removed to the right bank, was now at the foot of them. He would be obliged to cross them to debouch in the valley of the Neckar. The Swabian contingent and Condé's corps were ascending towards Switzerland, to guard the upper passes of the Black Mountains. Latour, with the principal corps, was coming from Mannheim for the purpose of securing the lower passes by Rastadt, Ettlingen, and Pforzheim. Moreau might, without inconvenience, have disregarded the detachments retiring toward Switzerland, and have borne down with the entire mass of his forces upon Latour. He must infallibly have overwhelmed him. He might then have debouched as conqueror, in the valley of the Neckar, before the Archduke Charles. But, in general prudent, he directed Ferino to follow with his right the detached corps of the Swabians and of Condé; he despatched St. Cyr with the centre direct for the mountains, for the purpose of occupying certain heights, and himself skirted the foot of them to descend to Rastadt before Latour. This march was the double effect of his caution and of Carnot's plan. He wished to cover himself everywhere, and, at the same time, to extend his line towards Switzerland, that he might be ready to support by the Alps the army of Italy. Moreau set himself in motion on the 12th (June 30th). He marched between the Rhine and the mountains, through an unequal country, interspersed with woods and intersected by torrents. He advanced with circumspection, and did not arrive at Rastadt till the 15th (July 3d). He was still in time to overwhelm Latour, who had not yet been rejoined by the Archduke Charles. That prince, after receiving intelligence of the passage, was coming by forced marches with a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men. He left thirty-six thousand on the Lahn, and twenty-seven thousand before Mayence, to make head against Jourdan, the whole under the command of General Wartensleben. He made all possible haste, but the heads of his columns were still at a great distance. Latour, after leaving a garrison in Mannheim, had at most thirty-six thousand men. He was ranged along the Murg, which falls into the Rhine, having his left at Gernsbach, in the mountains: his centre at their foot towards Kuppenheim, a little in advance of the Murg; his right in the plain along the woods of Niederbuhl, which extend to the banks of the Rhine; and his reserve at Rastadt. It would have been imprudent in Latour to fight before the arrival of the Archduke Charles. But, deriving confidence from his position, he determined to resist, for the purpose of covering the high-road which leads from Rastadt to the Neckar.

Moreau had only his left with him: his centre, under St. Cyr, had stayed behind, to take possession of some posts in the Black Mountains. This circumstance diminished the inequality of the forces. On the 17th (July 5th), he attacked Latour. His troops behaved with great intrepidity, took the position of Gernsbach on the Upper Murg, and penetrated to Kuppenheim, towards the centre of the enemy's position. But in the plain his divisions found it difficult to debouch, under the fire of the artillery and in presence of the numerous Austrian cavalry. They, nevertheless, pushed on to Niederbuhl and Rastadt, and succeeded in making themselves masters of the Murg at all points. A thousand prisoners were taken.

Moreau halted on the field of battle, without attempting to pursue the enemy. The archduke had not yet arrived, and he might still have

overwhelmed Latour; but he thought that his troops were too much fatigued; he deemed it necessary to call St. Cyr to him, that he might act with a greater mass of force, and he awaited till the 21st (July 9th), before making a new attack. This interval of four days allowed the archduke to arrive with a reinforcement of twenty-five thousand men, and gave an equal chance to the combatants.

The respective position of the two armies was nearly the same. They were both in a line perpendicular to the Rhine, with one wing in the mountains, the centre at the foot of them, and the left in the woody and marshy plain bordering the Rhine. Moreau, who was slow of conviction, but who had still time to be convinced, because he still retained the coolness requisite for correcting his faults, had perceived, when engaged at Rastadt, the importance of making his principal effort in the mountains. In fact, he who was master of them possessed the avenues to the valley of the Neckar, the principal object in dispute. He had it in his power, besides, to fall upon his adversary and to drive him into the Rhine. Moreau had an additional reason for fighting in the mountains; this was his superiority in infantry and his inferiority in cavalry. The archduke was as well aware as he of the importance of establishing himself there, but he had in his numerous squadrons a strong reason too for keeping in the plain. He rectified the position taken by Latour; he threw the Saxons into the mountains to meet Moreau; he sent reinforcements to the plateau of Rothensol, on which his left supported itself; he deployed his centre at the foot of the mountains in advance of Malsch, and his cavalry in the plain. He meant to attack on the 22d (July 10). Moreau anticipated him, and attacked on the 21st (July 9th).

General St. Cyr, whom Moreau had called in, and who formed the right, attacked the plateau of Rothensol. He displayed that precision, and that skill in manœuvring, which distinguished him throughout his glorious career. Finding himself unable to dislodge the enemy from a formidable position, he surrounded him with riflemen, then ordered a charge to be sounded, and feigned a flight to induce the Austrians to quit their position and to pursue the French. This stratagem was successful: the Austrians, seeing the French advance, and then flee in disorder, dashed after them. General St. Cyr, who had troops ready, then threw them upon the Austrians, who had quitted their position, and made himself master of the plateau. From that moment he kept advancing, intimidated the Saxons destined to attack our right, and obliged them to fall back. At Malsch, in the centre, Desaix had a brisk action with the Austrians, took and lost that village, and finished the combat by taking possession of the last heights that border the foot of the mountains. In the plain our cavalry had not been engaged, and Moreau had kept on the skirt of the woods.

The battle was, therefore, indecisive excepting in the mountains. But that was the important point, for, in following up his success, Moreau might extend his right wing around the archduke, take from him the avenues to the valley of the Neckar, and drive him into the Rhine. It is true that the archduke, if he lost the mountains, which were his base, could, in his turn, deprive Moreau of his, which was the Rhine; he might renew his efforts in the plain, beat Desaix, and, advancing along the Rhine, blow Moreau into the air. On these occasions, it is the least bold who is compromised: it is he who fancies that he is cut off who really is so. The archduke deemed it prudent to retire, lest he might by a hazardous move-

ment compromise the Austrian monarchy, which had no other support than his army. This resolution, which led to the retreat of the imperial armies, and exposed Germany to an invasion, has been censured. We may admire those sublime darings of genius, which obtain great results at the expense of great dangers; but we must not make a law of them. Prudence alone is a duty in the situation in which the archduke was, and we cannot blame him for having retreated, in order to reach the valley of the Neckar before Moreau, and thus cover the hereditary states. Accordingly, he immediately formed the resolution of abandoning Germany, which no line was capable of covering, and ascending the Mayn and the Neckar to the grand line of the hereditary states, that of the Danube. This river, covered by the two fortresses of Ulm and Ratisbon, was the surest rampart of Austria. In concentrating his forces there, the archduke was at home, *à cheval* on a large river, with forces equal to those of the enemy, with the power of manœuvring on both banks, and of overwhelming one of the two invading armies. The enemy, on the contrary, would be very far from his home, at an immense distance from his base, without that superiority of forces which compensates for the danger of that distance, with the disadvantage of a frightful country to traverse for the purpose of invading, and to traverse again for the purpose of returning, and lastly, with the inconvenience of being divided into two corps and commanded by two generals. Thus the Imperialists would gain in approaching the Danube as much as the French would lose. But, to insure all these advantages, it was necessary that the archduke should reach the Danube without defeat; and, after that, it was requisite that he should retire with firmness, but without exposing himself to the risk of any engagement.

After leaving a garrison at Mayence, Ehrenbreitstein, Cassel, and Mannheim, he ordered Wartensleben to retire foot by foot through the valley of the Mayn, and to gain the Danube, fighting daily enough to keep up the courage of his troops, but not enough to involve himself in a general action. He pursued the same course himself with his army. He proceeded with it to Pforzheim in the valley of the Neckar, and halted there no longer than was requisite to collect his artillery, and to allow time for its retreat. Wartensleben fell back with thirty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse; the archduke with forty thousand infantry and eighteen thousand cavalry; amounting in the whole to one hundred and three thousand men. The remainder was in fortresses, or had filed off by the Upper Rhine into Switzerland, before General Ferino, who commanded Moreau's right.

Jourdan's army, as soon as Moreau had decided the retreat of the Austrians, again crossed the Rhine at Düsseldorf and Neuwied, manœuvring as it had always done, and proceeding towards the Lahn, with the intention of afterwards debouching into the valley of the Mayn. The French armies advanced, therefore, in two columns, along the Mayn and the Neckar, following the two imperial armies, which made a most admirable retreat. The numerous squadrons of the Austrians, hovering in the rear-guard, overawed by their mass, covered their infantry from the insults of the French, and frustrated all their efforts to get at it. Moreau, who had not had any fortress to mask on leaving the Rhine, marched with seventy-one thousand men. Jourdan, who had to blockade Mayence, Cassel, and Ehrenbreitstein, and who had been obliged to devote twenty-seven thousand men to these various purposes, marched with only forty-six thousand, and was very little superior to Wartensleben.

According to the vicious plan of Carnot, it was still necessary to attack the wings of the enemy, that is to say, to relinquish the essential object, that of a junction of the two armies. This junction would have enabled the French to direct upon the Danube a mass of one hundred and fifteen or twenty thousand men, an enormous, an overwhelming mass, which would have thrown out all the calculations of the archduke, foiled all his efforts to concentrate himself, crossed the Danube before his face, taken Ulm, and from that base threatened Vienna and shaken the imperial throne.*

Agreeably to Carnot's plan, Moreau was to support himself on the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube, Jourdan towards Bohemia. Moreau was furnished with an additional reason for apportioning on this point, namely, the possibility of communicating with the army of Italy by the Tyrol, which presupposed the execution of the gigantic plan of Bonaparte, justly disapproved of by the Directory. As Moreau wished, at the same time, not to be too far separated from Jourdan, and to extend his left hand to him while he gave the right to the army of Italy, he was seen on the banks of the Neckar occupying a line of fifty leagues. Jourdan, on his part, directed to follow up Wartensleben, was obliged to separate from Moreau; and, as Wartensleben, a common-place general, comprehending nothing of the archduke's plan, instead of approaching the Danube, proceeded towards Bohemia with the intention of covering it, Jourdan, in order to comply with his instructions, was obliged to extend himself more and more. Thus the two hostile armies were both doing the contrary to what they ought to have done. There was this difference between Wartensleben and Jourdan, that the former disobeyed an excellent order, and the latter was obliged to comply with a bad one. Wartensleben's fault was his own, Jourdan's was that of Carnot, the director.

Moreau fought a battle at Canstadt for the passage of the Neckar, and then penetrated into the defiles of the Alb, a chain of mountains separating the Neckar from the Danube, as the Black Mountains separate it from the Rhine. He cleared these defiles, and debouched in the valley of the Danube, about the middle of Thermidor (the end of July), after a month's march. Jourdan, after proceeding from the banks of the Lahn to those of the Mayn, and fighting a battle at Friedberg, halted before the city of Frankfurt, which he threatened to bombard unless it were given up to him immediately. The Austrians complied only on condition of a suspension of arms for two days. This suspension would allow them to cross the Mayn, and to gain a considerable start; but it would save an interesting city, the resources of which might prove serviceable to the army. Jourdan assented to it. The place was given up on the 28th of Messidor (July 16th). Jourdan levied contributions on this city, but acted with great moderation, and even displeased his army by the lenity which he showed to an enemy's country. The report of the opulence in which the army of Italy lived had inflamed the imaginations of the army, and excited a wish to live in the same manner in Germany. Jourdan ascended the Mayn, made himself master of Wurzburg on the 7th of Thermidor (July 25th), and then debouched beyond the mountains of Swabia, on the banks of the Naab, which falls into the Danube. He was nearly on a level with Moreau,

* On this subject, the reader should refer to the arguments employed by Napoleon, and which he has supported by such striking examples.

and, at the same time, that is, about the middle of Thermidor (the beginning of August), Swabia and Saxony had acceded to the neutrality, sent agents to Paris to treat for peace, and consented to contributions. The Saxon and Swabian troops retired, and thus reduced the Austrian army by about twelve thousand men, of little use it is true, and fighting without zeal.

Thus, about the middle of summer, our armies, masters of Italy, the whole of which they controlled, masters of half of Germany, which they had overrun as far as the Danube, threatened Europe. It was two months since La Vendée had been subdued. One hundred thousand men were in the West, and fifty thousand of them might be detached in any direction. The promises of the directorial government could not be more gloriously accomplished.

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
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